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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1810.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, TASTE, and SCIENCE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen Anne, —Part IV.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

MOST of the domestic events which the historical department of the present volume of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER embraces, excited a very general and deep interest when they occurred, and will be contemplated as portions of our history, with attention, by all who wish to study and understand the British Character and Constitution.

The investigation respecting the causes of the failure and disgrace of our arms at Walcheren first occurred: the examinations, the documents, the evidence on this subject are full and explicit, and bear strongly on those who planned, and on him to whom was intrusted the execution of the expedition. It is true the British Public did not regard the inquiry with such eager and suspicious attention as they did in the preceding year the proceedings respecting the Duke of York; but they were by no means careless or inattentive observers of what was passing; and they beheld with surprise and sorrow their Representatives applaud what they, from weighing the same evidence, almost unanimously condemned.

Their attention and interest were soon called from the Walcheren investigation to the proceedings respecting Sir Francis Burdett. In the metropolis the popular feeling on this subject was exceedingly powerful, and at one time touched very closely on serious disturbance and riot. In other parts of the kingdom, the question respecting the Privileges of the House of Commons was viewed with more coolness, but not as of less importance and magnitude. What passed in the Country and in the House of Commons while this question was in agitation deserves to be carefully considered by all who wish to mark and understand the signs of the times.

Towards the close of the year the unfortunate malady with which His Majesty was afflicted called forth the sympathy of an affectionate and loyal people, intermixed and divided, however, by an anxiety respecting the Government of the Nation at a period of foreign warfare and internal commercial embarrassments.

Of domestic events, not strictly political, the commercial embarrassments and failures that occurred, and the attention and investigation to which the Report of the Bullion Committee gave rise, are the most important. On account of their importance we have deemed it adviseable to step a little out of our usual plan in order to devote two chapters to what may be termed the History of the Political Economy of Great Britain during the year 1810.

In our last volume we briefly referred to the disturbances that had taken place in our East India territories.

ritories. In the present will be found a full, and we trust an accurate and impartial, account of the cause, the rise, progress, and termination of these disturbances. We have spoken freely, but we apprehend neither uncandidly nor without good and sufficient reason, respecting the policy which dictates our public measures in that part of the world.

The History of Foreign Affairs during the year 1810 is, perhaps, not so important in itself as interesting with regard to the events which the present year has witnessed. In the Peninsula, during the autumn and winter of 1810, Lord Wellington with admirable sagacity laid those plans, and with unexpected but no less admirable prudence persevered in them, of which he has now reaped the advantages and the glory. It will be remembered by the Readers of our former volumes, that we never despaired of ultimate success* in the Peninsula; we acknowledge that the events which have occurred in Spain have not answered our expectations: but the affairs of Portugal have exceeded our most sanguine hopes. The Portuguese under British leaders have proved themselves worthy of fighting by the side of those who have repeatedly defeated the conquerors of Europe; while the Spanish troops, deprived by the blind and unaccountable obstinacy of their government of the same advantages, have hitherto made but small progress towards discipline or success. The people of that country have, however, in a great measure, supplied the defects of

* See Preface to the Volumes for 1808 and 1809: see also Chapter XVIII. of the British and Foreign History of the present Volume.

their regular armies, and have withstood the immense power of Bonaparte with more perseverance and valour than most of the disciplined troops of the Continent. So long as they have arms in their hands their country can never become the peaceable or permanent prey of the invader. The common enemy may continue to pour in his myriads till he has even exhausted the population of his own country: but they cannot avail against a nation determined to be free, and assisted by the British, who know how to appreciate their own rights as an independent nation. The events of the present campaign; the glorious victories lately obtained by our countrymen Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, are, we trust, but preludes to still nobler deeds, in which Spain and Portugal shall, in a much larger degree, participate in the triumphs of the army of the United Kingdom.

London, June 4th, 1811.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, TASTE AND SCIENCE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF ANNE.

PART IV.

WE shall now, as the conclusion of our history for the reign of queen Anne, notice the literary and philosophical career of a few more of our countrymen; who, as we have seen, ranked very high among the learned, at this period, in the annals of Science. Sir Isaac Newton, with whom we concluded our last part of the History of Knowledge, towards the close of the year 1704, published, at the end of his Optics, his "Enumeratio Linearum tertiæ Ordinis," and his treatise "De Quadratura Curvarum." The first of these papers displays great ability, but is founded only on common algebra, and the doctrine of series, which the author had already brought to great perfection. The treatise "De Quadratura Curvarum" contains the resolution of fluxional formulæ, with one variable quantity which leads to the quadrature of curves. By means of certain series he obtained the resolution of certain complicated formulæ, by referring them to such as are more simple; and these series being interrupted in particular cases give the fluent in finite terms. From this he deduced among other things the me-

thod of resolving rational fractions. In 1711 Newton published his "Method of Fluxions." The object of this work is to determine, by simple algebra, the linear coefficients of an equation that satisfies as many conditions as there are coefficients, and to construct a curve of the parabolic kind passing through any number of given points. The mathematical sciences were at this time indebted to foreigners as well as to Englishmen for a vast extension of their boundaries. Manfredi, professor of mathematics at Bologna, published a very learned work entitled "De Constructione Equationum differentialium primi Gradus." He was author of other treatises, which did him high honour as a philosopher and mathematician. Anthony Parent, a native of Paris, resolved about the same period the famous problem by which we obtain the ratio between the velocity of the power, and the weight, for finding the maximum effect of machines: and Joseph Saurin was celebrated for his theoretical and practical knowledge of watch-making, and was the first who elucidated the theory of tangents to the multiple points of curves. While the science of analysis was thus rapidly advancing, the dispute between Newton and Leibnitz began to be agitated among the mathematicians of Europe. Hitherto these illustrious rivals seemed to have been contented with sharing the honour of having invented the fluxional calculus; but as soon as the priority of the discovery was attributed to Newton, the friends of Leibnitz came forward with eagerness in support of the claims of their master. In a small work on the curve of the swiftest descent, and the solid of the least resistance, de Duillier, an eminent mathematician of Genoa, attributed to Newton the invention of fluxions, and hinted that Leibnitz had borrowed his principles from the English philosopher. Exasperated at this insinuation, Leibnitz came forward in his own defence, and appealed to the admissions of Newton in his Principia, that neither had borrowed from the other. Here the matter seemed to rest, till Dr. Keill, whom we shall have occasion shortly to refer to more at large, instigated by an attack upon Newton in the Leipsic Journal, repeated the same charge against Leibnitz. In 1711 he addressed a letter to sir Hans Sloane, secretary to the Royal Society, and accused

cused Leibnitz of having adopted the differential notation, in order to make it credible that he did not borrow his calculus from the writings of Newton.

Leibnitz was irritated at this accusation, and called upon the Royal Society to interfere. A committee of that body was accordingly appointed to investigate the subject, and their report was published in 1712, under the title of "Commercium Epistolicum de Analysi promota." In this report, which makes a small octavo volume, the committee maintain that Leibnitz was not the first inventor, and they absolve Dr. Keill from all blame in giving the priority of the invention to Newton. They were, however, cautious in stating an opinion upon that part of the charge in which Leibnitz was accused of plagiarism. John Bernoulli now entered the lists in behalf of his friend; but his arguments in defence of Leibnitz were too flimsy to obtain much credit, and it was generally allowed that Newton was the first inventor of the method of fluxions: and the real question is simply this,—Did Leibnitz see any of the writings of Newton that contained the principles of fluxions before he published in 1684 his "Nova Methodus pro maximis et minimis?" The friends of Leibnitz have adduced presumptive proofs that he had never seen the treatise of Newton "de Analysi," nor the Letter to Collins, in both of which the principles of the new calculus were to be found: and to strengthen their argument, they asserted that the writings already mentioned contained but a vague and obscure indication of the method of fluxions, and that Leibnitz or any one else might have perused them without having discovered it. Montucla, however, who will be regarded as impartial, or at least who cannot be suspected of partiality towards the English, has admitted that Newton in his treatise "de Analysi" has disclosed in a very concise and obscure manner his principles of fluxions, and that the suspicion of Leibnitz having seen this work is not destitute of probability: for Leibnitz admitted, that in his interview with Collins, he had seen a part of the epistolary correspondence between Newton and that gentleman. A more full account of this controversy may be found under the arti-

cle *Keill* in the Biographia Britannica. Dr. John Keill was born at Edinburgh in 1671. At the university of that city he was educated, and took his degree of M. A. From whence he entered himself at Baliol college, Oxford. He is deserving of particular notice, as having been the first person who undertook to render the Newtonian philosophy popular, and to illustrate the profound theory of sir Isaac by experiments. By this method he became early conversant with the Principia, and made himself master of a large portion of the immense treasure of mathematical and philosophical learning contained in that valuable but abstruse work. In 1698 he became more generally known by his "Examination of Dr. Thomas Burnet's Theory of the Earth," which was very well received. In 1701 he published his celebrated treatise entitled "Introductio ad Veram Physicam:" this contained the substance of several lectures on the new philosophy, which he had the happy art of simplifying and of adapting to the faculty of young persons who had not gone very deeply into mathematical researches. It was at this period that he was on account of his superior merit elected a member of the Royal Society, and in 1708 he gave to that learned body a paper on the "Laws of Attraction and its physical Principles;" a work that owed its foundation to certain propositions in sir Isaac Newton's Principia: of which he gives the following modest and unassuming account. "After frequently revolving in my mind the divine discoveries of this most sagacious man, I fell at last upon this thought, that a certain principle might be applied not unlike to those of Newton, to the explication of the terrestrial phænomena; and after experiments often repeated, I perceived there was a certain attractive force in terrestrial matter, from whence the reason of many terrestrial phænomena is to be derived: and this thought of mine about five years ago I opened to Mr. Newton, and I understood from him that he had long ago observed the same thing; and I found he had proposed some queries relating to this attractive force at the end of the Optics, published in Latin about two years ago. Now as it cannot be expected that this great man should proceed still to improve

improve these studies, both by reason of his age and other business, I thought it not amiss if I should pursue his steps herein, though at a great distance from him." This paper was published in the Philosophical Transactions, as was another by the same author, containing theorems on the rarity of matter, and the tenuity of its composition. In this paper he shows that a quantity of air, not bigger than the smallest grain of sand, may be diffused through the whole of Saturn, in such a manner as to leave therein no vacuity whose diameter shall exceed a given right line how small soever. This paper was drawn up as a sort of answer to Des Cartes's notion of a plenum: but while our author was busy in vindicating his theory, her majesty queen Anne was pleased to appoint him her decipherer; and in the same year he was appointed Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. A short time after this he published his "Introductio ad veram Astronomiam," which he afterwards translated into English, and which was long a very popular book in the universities.

Among the mathematicians of this period must be noticed Flamsteed, Halley, and Cotes. For Mr. Flamsteed the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich was laid, and he was the first resident as astronomer royal. It was, in honour of him, named Flamsteed-House, by which epithet it has ever since been known. Mr. Flamsteed was a clergyman, but never attained to any high degree of preferment. He had, however, learned of the religion which he taught, to be contented with a little. Through the whole course of his life he showed the most indefatigable assiduity in the prosecution of his labours for the improvement of astronomy; and the Transactions of the Royal Society afford clear evidences of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactness. His principal work was partly printed off before his death; but it was not completed till 1725, when it was published and dedicated to King George I. This great work was entitled "Historia Cœlestis Britannica." It consisted of three volumes folio, of which the first contained the observations of Mr. Gascoine, taken at Middleton in

Yorkshire, and those made by Mr. Flamsteed at Derby, between the years 1638 and 1643: also those made at the Royal Observatory between the years 1675 and 1689. The second volume contains his observations made with a capital telescope, on the zenith distances of the fixed stars, sun, moon, and planets, with their transits over the meridian; also notes and observations on the diameters of the sun and moon, with their eclipses, and those of Jupiter's satellites between the years 1689 and 1719. The third volume comprises a catalogue of the right ascensions, polar distances, longitudes and magnitudes of nearly 3000 fixed stars. The preface to this volume contains an account of all the astronomical observations made before his time, with a description of the instruments employed, and much other curious and highly important matter.

Dr. Halley was on account of his great scientific knowledge much employed by the queen. Scarcely had this princess ascended the throne than she sent him out to take a survey of the ports of Dalmatia, with a view of forming a safe and convenient harbour for shipping in the Austrian territories on the Adriatic. He was on this occasion introduced to the emperor, to whom he gave an account of two harbours on the Istrian coast, and for which his majesty presented him with a valuable diamond ring, taken from his own finger, at the same time giving him a highly commendatory letter to the queen, written with his own hand. In 1703 he was appointed Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, in the room of Dr. Wallis, which he held till he was appointed secretary to the Royal Society. He now undertook and completed a translation from the Arabic into Latin of "Apollonius de Sectione Rationis." He next prepared for the press "Apollonius's Conics," and subjoined to it the treatise of "Serenus on the Section of the Cylinder and Cone." In 1708 he published his "Miscellanea Curiosa," in three volumes octavo, containing many original pieces of his own: and in 1719 he succeeded Mr. Flamsteed as astronomer-royal. In this situation he exerted all his powers in completing the theory

theory of the moon's motion, and in other observations on the heavens.

The only remaining mathematician which we shall notice as attaching to this period is Mr. Roger Cotes, who in 1699, at the age of seventeen, was admitted pensioner of Trinity-college, Cambridge, and in 1705 was chosen fellow of that college, being at the same time private tutor to the earl of Harold and his brother, the sons of the then marquis, afterwards duke of Kent. In the following year he was appointed professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy, upon the foundation made by Dr. Plume. For this office Mr. Cotes was not the only candidate, yet the votes were unanimously in his behalf. At the election, Mr. Whiston, who possessed considerable influence, said that he pretended himself to be not much inferior to Dr. Harris, the other candidate's master, but he confessed he was but a child to Mr. Cotes, who was then only in his 24th year. In 1713, at the desire of Dr. Bentley, he published a new edition of sir Isaac Newton's Principia, to which he prefixed a preface, which has been reprinted in all subsequent editions, whether issuing from British or foreign presses. Mr. Cotes in this preface, like the great author, endeavours to make the new philosophy subservient to rational piety and religion. In speaking of the advocates for a plenum, who maintain that the world was caused and existed not by the will of God, but by some necessity of nature, he says: "they will at last sink into the mire of that infamous herd, who dream that all things are governed by Fate and not by Providence." Having opposed this doctrine, he says: "Without all doubt, this world so diversified with that variety of forms and motions which we find in it, could arise from nothing but the perfectly free will of God directing and presiding over all. From this fountain it is that those laws, which we call laws of nature, have flowed; in which there appear many traces indeed of the most wise contrivance, but not the least shadow of necessity." In reference to the Newtonian system and its author, he says: "To this method it is hardly to be said or imagined what

light, what splendor hath accrued from this admirable work of our illustrious author, whose happy and sublime genius, resolving the most difficult problems, and reaching to discoveries of which the mind of man was thought incapable before, is deservedly admired by all those who are somewhat more than superficially versed in these matters. The gates are now set open, and by his means we may freely enter into the knowledge of the hidden secrets and wonders of natural things. He has so clearly laid open and set before our eyes the most beautiful frame of the system of the world, that if king Alphonsus were now alive he would not complain for want of the graces either of simplicity or of harmony in it. Therefore we may now more nearly behold the beauties of nature, and entertain ourselves with the delightful contemplation, and, which is the best and most valuable fruit of philosophy, be thence incited the more profoundly to reverence and adore the great Maker and Lord of all. He must be blind who from the most wise and excellent contrivances of things, cannot see the infinite wisdom and goodness of their Almighty Creator, and he must be mad and senseless who refuses to acknowledge them."

This edition of the Principia, and a paper in the Philosophical Transactions containing a description of a meteor that was seen March 6, 1715-16, were the only works that he published; but after his death some other tracts of great merit were presented to the world by his relation Dr. Robert Smith. These were, 1. "Harmonia Mensurarum, sive Analysis et Synthesis per Rationum Angulorum Mensuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuscula Mathematica." 2. "Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Lectures." Mr. Cotes died June 5, 1716, to the great regret of his friends, and his loss was particularly deplored by the mathematical world. His early death (being but in his 33d year) has ever been esteemed a public calamity. Newton himself asserted that had Mr. Cotes been spared, he would have proved one of the greatest men that ever lived.

We have in the preceding volume alluded to the controversy

versy concerning the freedom of the human will, which during this period was carried to a very high pitch, and was connected with some of the most illustrious writers of the day. We shall here consider the subject more at large.

In behalf of the freedom of the mind, in opposition to the doctrine of necessity, Dr. Clarke, concerning whom we have spoken in our last, was the leading writer. Though he wrote Remarks upon Mr. Collins's "Inquiry," his chief antagonist on this subject was the acute and learned Leibnitz. Mr. Collins indeed refused to notice Dr. Clarke's remarks, inasmuch as the divine had represented the doctrines maintained in the "Inquiry" as of a most dangerous tendency. Mr. Collins did not, therefore, think it prudent to enter into a controversy in support of a system that was said to be inimical to the best interests of society. Dr. Clarke, in his letters to Leibnitz, is said to have greatly excelled his antagonist in the argument, but never more so than when he was pressed with the strength which his learned adversary was master of: this made him exert all his talents to set the subject in a clear light, to guard it against the evil of metaphysical obscurities, and to give the finishing stroke to what must ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the sole ground of the accountableness of intelligent creatures for all their actions. Bishop Hoadley speaks of this work as the last of Dr. Clarke's "relating to a subject which had been, by the writings of cloudy and artful men, rendered so intricate; I shall take the liberty to say with regard to all of the same tendency, from his first discourse about the being of God to these letters, that what he has written to clear and illustrate this cause does now stand, and will forever remain, before the world a lasting monument of a genius which could throw in light where darkness used to reign, and force good sense and plain words into what was almost the privileged place of obscurity and unintelligible sounds."

The leading arguments made use of at the period to which our history refers, and which are still had recourse to by disputants

putants in this cause, may be enumerated and stated in short for the satisfaction of the general reader, who, though desirous of knowing the nature of the controversy, may have neither time nor inclination to pursue it through all its ramifications. Those who contend with Dr. Clarke in favour of philosophical liberty, or the freedom of the human will, maintain that man possesses "an independent, self-governing, self-determining power, which he may at his own discretion exert, by acting either according to motives, or in opposition to motives, or without any motives at all." In other words, that a man may choose differently, the previous circumstances remaining the same. To prove the existence of this self-determining power, which is capable of choosing and acting independently of motives, they appeal first to consciousness, which proves, they say, that we do choose without any motive, or where motives are equal, or even in opposition to the influence of motive. Secondly, Free-will is argued from common sense, that is, from the irresistible conviction and universal consent of mankind. Thirdly, The existence of a self-determining power is argued from the absurd, immoral, impious, and dangerous consequences of philosophical necessity. To act, say the advocates of free-will, upon the principles of necessity, would expose a person to universal ridicule and contempt:—the doctrine is said also to subvert the argument for the divine existence; to destroy the distinction between natural and moral qualities; to be inconsistent with all moral discipline and moral government; and to be contrary to all the declarations in Scripture respecting the recompense of the virtuous and the punishment of the wicked. It is also added that upon the system of necessity, God is the only agent in the universe, and the proper efficient cause of evil natural and moral. Such were the arguments maintained by the learned Dr. Clarke and others of the same school; whereas Mr. Anthony Collins, who flourished at this period, considered the ground on which he stood, as the advocate of the doctrine of philosophical necessity, not only tenable but impregnable.

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The tract published by this gentleman in 1713, in vindication of his principles, entitled, "A Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty," is still regarded as the best piece on that side of the question, being concise—but weighty and luminous. He lays it down as a kind of axiom, "that man is a *necessary agent*, if all his actions are so determined by the causes preceding each action that not one past action could possibly not have come to pass, or have been otherwise than it was; nor one future action can possibly not come to pass or be otherwise than it shall be.—He is a *free agent* if he is able at any time under the circumstances and causes he then is to do different things: or, in other words, if he is not ever unavoidably determined in point of time by the circumstances he is in, and causes he is under, to do that one thing he does, and not possibly to do any other."

The first argument adduced by Mr. Collins in favour of philosophical necessity is derived from experience or consciousness; for he says, We know that we can never form a volition, nor perform a voluntary action, without an assignable motive; that the vigour of the action is uniformly proportioned to the vigour of the motive, and that in proportion as motives approach to equality the choice becomes more difficult; of course if motives were perfectly equal, no choice could be made. Another argument is that derived from cause and effect; but a still stronger is taken from the consideration of the prescience of the Deity. The foreknowledge of God supposes that all things future will certainly exist in such time, such order, and with such circumstances, and not otherwise. For if any things future were contingent, or uncertain, or depended on the liberty of man, that is, might or might not happen, their certain existence could not be the object of the divine prescience; it being a contradiction to know that to be certain which is not certain, and God himself could only guess at the existence of such things; and if the divine prescience supposes the certain existence of all things future, it supposes also the *necessary* existence of all things

things future; because God can foreknow their certain existence only either as that existence is the effect of his decree, or as it depends on its own causes. Mr. Collins, and the other advocates for the doctrine of necessity of that day, were charged by their opponents with infidelity, but as it should seem without sufficient ground; for the ablest abettors of the system have ranked with the best informed and most pious believers in Christianity. As a man, the moral conduct of Mr. Collins was exemplary for the virtues of temperance, humanity, benevolence, and patient industry. In the exercise of his magisterial functions he was active, upright, and impartial; and in domestic life he was a tender husband, a kind parent, a good master, and a true friend. In the cause of rational liberty he was an ardent votary; and whatever his particular sentiments might be on certain topics, he appears to have been sincerely attached to the investigation of truth, so that on his dying bed he could appeal to his Maker for the rectitude of his intentions, declaring that he had always endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to serve his God, his country, and his sovereign.

Mr. Collins, however, rendered himself obnoxious on other accounts besides that to which we have referred. Early in the reign of the queen he published an "Essay concerning the Use of Reason," &c. a work containing many valuable observations, but which was thought to discover strong prejudices against revealed religion. He engaged also in the controversy carried on by Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Clarke concerning the natural immortality of the soul; and in 1709 he published "Priestcraft in Perfection," &c. "A Vindication of the Divine Attributes;" and in 1713 he published "A Discourse on Free-Thinking," in which he vindicated the universal right of unlimited freedom of inquiry, and exposed the tyranny exercised by the abettors of priestcraft. Though this was the avowed object of the piece, it was generally and perhaps justly believed that the author's secret intention was to attack revealed religion, which he probably identified with its prevailing corruptions. It created a considerable

siderable clamour against him, and called forth several excellent replies from the ablest divines of the age.

Other writers of this period were less reserved, and did not scruple to avow their disbelief of Christianity as a system sent from God and depending on miracles as a just foundation. They were known under the denomination of Deists or Freethinkers, whose distinguishing characteristic was not to profess any particular form of religion, but only to acknowledge the existence of God, and to follow the light and law of nature, rejecting revelation, and opposing Christianity. These writers, many of whom were men of talents and probity, held, that considering the multiplicity of religions, the numerous pretences to revelation, and the precarious arguments generally advanced in proof thereof, the best and surest way is to return to the simplicity of nature and the belief of one God; which is the only truth agreed to by all nations. They complained that the freedom of thinking and reasoning was oppressed under the yoke of religion; and that the minds of men are ridden and tyrannized by the necessity imposed on them of believing inconceivable mysteries; and contended that nothing should be required to be assented to or believed but what their reason clearly conceived. They discarded all pretences to revealed religion as the effects of imposture and enthusiasm. They professed a regard for natural religion, though scarcely any two of them agreed in their notions concerning it.

Dr. Clarke, who entered the lists with these writers, distinguished four kinds of Deists: 1. Those who pretend to believe the existence of God, who made the world without concerning himself in the government of it. 2. Those who admit the existence and providence of God, but deny the difference of actions as morally good or evil, resolving it into the arbitrary constitution of human laws, and therefore they suppose God takes no notice of them. 3. Those who having right apprehensions concerning the nature, attributes, and providence of God, seem also to have some notion of his moral

moral perfections, though they consider them as so transcendent that we can form no idea of them: they deny a future state of existence, and take for granted that the present life is the whole of human existence. 4. Those who believe in the existence, perfections, and providence of God, the obligations of natural religion, and a state of future retribution, on the evidence of the light of nature without a divine revelation.

The first deistical writer that appeared in this country was Herbert lord Cherbury. His book "De Veritate" was published at Paris in 1624. This, with his books "De Causis Errorum" and "De Religione Laici," was afterwards published in London; and his celebrated treatise "De Religione Gentilium" was first published at Amsterdam, and an English translation of it appeared in London in 1705. Lord Cherbury was the first who attempted to form Deism into a system, by asserting the sufficiency, universality, and absolute perfection of natural religion, with a view to discard all extraordinary revelation as useless and needless.

At the period of which we are writing Toland was obliged to leave Ireland, of which he was a native, to avoid a prosecution for writing a book entitled "Christianity not mysterious." He came to London, and printed his treatise entitled "Nazarenus," written on sceptical principles, and other pieces of a like tendency. Thomas Woolston in 1705 published "The Old Apology for the Truth of the Christian Religion against the Jews and Gentiles revived," which was little noticed; but his "Six Discourses on the Miracles of Christ" were written with so much freedom as to occasion not only answers, but a prosecution against the author, who was convicted, imprisoned, and fined.

To these might be added other names of considerable note in the literary world, who vindicated the cause of infidelity in the beginning of the eighteenth century; but the friends of Christianity have no reason to regret the free and unreserved

served discussion which their religion then underwent, and has since experienced. The cause of truth must prevail by open discussion. Objections have been stated and urged in their full force, and as fully answered; argument and raillery have been repelled, and the controversy between Christians and Deists has called forth a great number of excellent writers, who have illustrated both the doctrines and evidences of Christianity, in a manner that will reflect honour on their names, and be of lasting service to the cause of genuine religion, and the best interests of mankind.

See Biog. Brit.—Encyc. Brit.—Rees's New Cycl.—Leland's Deistical Writers.—Collins's Commer. Epist.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1810.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1810.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Observations on the Importance of the Discussions in Parliament—Heads of His Majesty's Speech—State of other Countries—Debates on the Address to His Majesty in the House of Lords; and in the House of Commons—Mr. Whitbread's Motion on the Report of the Address—The Earl of Liverpool's Motion for Thanks to Lord Wellington—Mr. Bankes's Notice on the Question of Reversionary Grants—Lord Porchester's Motion on the Expedition to Walcheren—Navy Estimates—Mr. Bankes's Bill—Mr. Horner on the Bullion Trade—Debates on Mr. Sheridan's Motion respecting the Standing Orders of the House—Motion of Thanks to Lord Gambier—Annuity to Lord Wellington—Discussions on Sir Samuel Romilly's Attempts to revise and improve the Criminal Law of the Land.

THE discussions in parliament, whether they relate to domestic concerns, and its own privileges; or whether they refer to foreign expeditions, or to our relations with other potentates and countries, will be found of considerable interest and importance. When the two houses met for business, the opening speech (which is given among the PUBLIC PAPERS) was read by commissioners, on account of his majesty's illness and infirmities. The chief topics in that production were, the Austrian peace;—the expedition to Walcheren;—the situation of Sweden;—the necessity of assisting Portugal and Spain against the ambitious projects of France;—the victory of Talavera;—and the interruption of the intercourse with America. With respect to this last business it is said, "His majesty sincerely regrets this event; he has, however, received the strongest assurances from the American minister resident at this court, that the United States are desirous of maintaining a friendly intercourse between the two countries. This desire will be met by a corresponding disposition on the part of his majesty." The house of commons was called on for fresh supplies, with the assurance that his majesty deeply regretted the pressure which his subjects must feel, and which the protracted continuance of the war rendered inevitable. Both houses were desired to take into their consideration the state of the inferior clergy: they were, at the same time, assured that the accounts, to be hereafter laid before them, respecting the state of trade and the revenue, would be found to be highly satisfactory; and finally, they were exhorted to call forth their utmost efforts of vigilance, fortitude, and perseverance.

Previously to our entering upon the parliamentary debates, we must consider, for a moment, the situation of other countries with which our interests are much involved. In our last volume we gave an account of the divorce of Bonaparte from the empress Josephine. It will there

be seen that all the Napoleon family met upon this important subject. No offspring had resulted from their union, and the emperor declared it to be necessary for the welfare of his empire, that he should leave an heir to the imperial throne. To this proposal she gave her full assent, in expressions of gratitude to her lord, who had highly exalted her, and to whose welfare she was ready to sacrifice every comfort of life. The senate of France, upon this representation, was as complaisant to Bonaparte as the parliament of England had three centuries before been to the wishes of Henry VIII. This subject does not appear to have excited a murmur in France. The people of that country had, about the same time, been flattered by a public *exposé*, laid before the senate by order of the executive government. In this, which seemed to absorb all their thoughts, the victories of France over its enemies, and the more important victories over the face of the country, by the digging of canals, levelling hills, piercing mountains, building bridges, ports and quays, are displayed with great ostentation. Improvements in agriculture, manufactures, arts, sciences, literature, form a part of the relation; and throughout it appears, that no sovereign in Europe can rival the emperor of the French in attention to the splendour and comfort of his subjects. There are in this public paper two points which affect religion; the one is, that in France there shall be universal toleration, and the other relates to the pope, on which the *exposé* dilates very considerably. It dwells on his protection of the English in his capital; —on his acrimonious briefs;—on the hatred of the court of Rome to that of France;—on his complaints of the principles of toleration consecrated in the Napoleon code, and on his endeavours to sow divisions in the empire. To overcome the pope's malignity, there remained only one of two modes of conduct, either to create a patriarch for France, or to destroy the pope's sovereignty as a temporal prince. The first might have excited religious disputes, the second was a right belonging to the imperial power. Neither the pope, says the *exposé*, nor any other priest, ought to enjoy any temporal sovereignty. Never shall the emperor acknowledge the right of the triple crown.

Besides the princes of the imperial house, other dependent kings and princes had travelled to France to pay their homage to their patron and creator. Most of them returned after the business was ended for which they came; but the king of Holland remained for some time, with the hope, perhaps, of conciliating his brother to his views of government. In this he was unsuccessful, and in a short time after he resigned his sovereignty, and the states of Holland have been annexed to the empire of France.

In the beginning of the year, a question of great importance was agitating in the North; for the diet of Sweden were considering whether there was any necessity for an order of bishops. The question of course was taken up very warmly by the clergy, who saw in the abolition of this order, a diminution of their interests. It was proposed that the duties discharged by the bishops should, in future, be performed by the deans of chapters. This, it was thought, would be of great advantage to the country, by improving the state of the inferior clergy, in appropriating the revenues of every see, as it became vacant, to their support, and dividing among the deans of the cathedrals and

and collegiate churches, the duties performed by the bishops.

The late king of Sweden had quitted the country. Sweden itself was busy in the regulation of its government, in receiving the heir appointed to the crown, and renewing its connexion with the countries with which it was lately at war. Russia had not been so successful in the South as was expected. The grand vizier had gained a decisive victory over her troops, and compelled them to retire beyond the Danube. Still we do not look upon Constantinople as safe. The French are pressing on the Turks, on their western limits; and whenever Bonaparte is prepared for the contest, a pretext will easily be found for entering their territories. At present, his views are bent on Spain; and all the intelligence from that country proclaims the defeat of their troops and the distraction of their councils. The English have quitted the country, and have taken up their temporary residence in Portugal.

The disputes between Great Britain and America had been increased by a correspondence between the American secretary of state and Mr. Jackson: the States had met in congress, and the message of the president complained of the conduct of our ambassador, and forbid all communication with him; at the same time declaring, that an opening is left for a fresh communication between the two countries. The injuries to commerce from the war are a great theme; and under the apprehension of being compelled to take part in it, the congress is called on for prudence in deliberation, and the country for spirit in execution. In every other respect the States are flourishing beyond the most sanguine expectation, and the neighbouring Indians are improving in civilization.

Another quarter of the world has afforded some melancholy reflections to England. The discontents of the military in India have broken out into open insurrection. From the relations given by the governor-general, there are points which the military cannot justify; and it remains for them to make out some palliation for their conduct. This is supposed to be found in certain arrangements, which deprived the officers of their accustomed perquisites; but it is difficult at this distance to form a judgement on differences which excited such alarming consequences. This affair has led to an investigation of the military system in India, where there are two species of troops, the king's troops and the forces of the East-India company. How far the claim of each can be made to agree with the general welfare of the whole, must be ascertained by those who have a full knowledge of our East-Indian concerns.

The differences between the common hall of London and the ministry were not settled. A refusal having been given to the receipt of the petition, the common hall entered into very strong resolutions, and ordered them to be presented to the king by the sheriffs. Access was now denied to the king's person. The sheriffs made their report to the common hall, which entered into stronger resolutions, and very severe censures on the conduct of ministers.

Such was the state of public affairs when parliament met on the 23d of January. The topics just referred to excited very warm debates, as will be seen in the subsequent pages. The first subject was, as usual, the address, which was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Glasgow, and seconded by lord Grimstone, who

expressed himself of a different opinion from those who thought that our system of policy ought to be merely home defence, to the exclusion of any assistance afforded to our allies, and therefore justified the expeditions undertaken by ministers. His lordship, in the conclusion of his speech, dwelt upon the necessity of unanimity amongst ourselves; and observed, that Britons could only be injured by Britons; and that we were placed by Providence in such a situation that we might defy the world, if true to ourselves.

The earl of St. Vincent said, he had intended never to open his lips again in that house; but he could not sit silent after the disasters and failures which had recently overwhelmed the country; disasters and failures which were solely attributable to the ignorance and incapacity of ministers; of those ministers who, on a former occasion, fired guns, rung bells, and trumpeted forth shouts of joy, as if for a great triumph, when that triumph turned out to be the disastrous convention of Cintra; and who now, in his majesty's speech, had converted a disaster into another triumph, talking of the glorious victory of Talavera, a victory which, to us, had all the consequences of defeat, the enemy taking prisoners whilst we took none; taking also our hospital with our sick and wounded, and our own troops finally obliged to retreat. He did not mean to condemn the conduct of the officers employed either in Spain or in Walcheren—he believed they did their duty—the disasters and failures in both instances were to be attributed to ministers. In the case of Walcheren, the expedition was ill-planned, ill-advised, and the object of it impracticable. It was high time that parliament should adopt measures adequate to the present alarming crisis of affairs, or else the voice of the country would resound like thunder in their ears. When he considered the state of the ministry themselves, he was quite at a loss to characterize them; the ministers popped in and popped out like the man and woman in a peasant's barometer; they changed situations and shuffled about; they rose up like tadpoles, they assumed all sorts of shapes, sometimes that of wasps, then of hornets, and sometimes that of locusts, devouring and devastating the country.

Lord Grenville.—"My lords, I am anxious to address your lordships thus early, for the purpose of moving such an amendment as I conceive necessary at the present crisis, that I may anticipate any casual observation by which the discussion of this night might have been drawn out of that course which I think ought to be adopted upon the present occasion. We are now imperiously called upon to do our duty, and to institute those inquiries which the misconduct of ministers has rendered absolutely necessary—a misconduct, from which a series of disasters and calamities have resulted to the country. My lords, my heart is full, and I must give vent to my feelings. The day must come when ministers will have to render an account to parliament of the treasure which they have wasted, and the lives which they have sacrificed, in useless and unprofitable expeditions. We owe it to the country, that the king's ministers should be called upon to render that account, and we shall not do our duty to the country if we do not insist upon it. The day will come when the mere fact of an overflowing treasury, alluded to in the speech of the king's commissioners, will be utterly

utterly insufficient to satisfy this house, or the people; when we must inquire, not merely as to the fact, but as to the foundation of it, and the consequences which result from it. The day will come when the conduct of ministers respecting America must come under discussion, and be brought to the test of inquiry; when it must become a subject for deep and serious investigation,—whether in a country that boasts of freedom; whether in a house of parliament, that yet keeps up the forms of discussion; whether it is to be endured that garbled, mutilated, and misrepresented documents are to be laid before parliament, not merely concealing what it was not thought fit to communicate, but actually, upon the face of those garbled and mutilated documents, giving an interpretation directly opposite to the sense of them in their entire and original state. In the same manner, with respect to our expeditions, it is due to the memory of those who have fallen in the service of their country; it is due to the memory of those who have ingloriously fallen a sacrifice to the ignorance, the incapacity, and the misconduct of ministers; it is due to a deluded and a suffering people, who demand it at our hands, that we should institute a rigorous and an effectual inquiry into the conduct of those ministers to whom those disasters are to be attributed. Yet, in spite of the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, where the treasure of the country was so lavishly wasted, and the lives of its gallant defenders so uselessly sacrificed, did his majesty's ministers advise his majesty to tell the city of London that he did not think it necessary to institute an inquiry: however, we find in the speech of the king's commissioners, that ministers, from a sense of their situation, from a consciousness of their own misconduct, and from a fear of the consequences of that misconduct, have condescended to tell us, that they will lay before parliament certain documents and papers relative to this subject. But let us not be deluded by this show of a readiness for inquiry; the speech merely says, such papers and documents as shall be deemed satisfactory by ministers themselves. It becomes us, my lords, to adopt a course of proceeding adequate to the exigency of the case. We were told, my lords, last session, of the vast successes which were to flow from our efforts, of the impression we were to make upon the continent; nay, my lords, one noble lord went so far as to talk of the deliverance of Europe. And how has Europe been delivered? By a series of unparalleled disasters; by expeditions which, in their conduct and results, have rendered us the derision of the whole continent. And yet, my lords, in the speech of the king's commissioners, ministers have the confidence to tell us of a victory gained to the country. Are we then arrived at that melancholy situation of our affairs, in which disasters are to be called victories, and the cypress that droops over the tombs of our gallant defenders, whose lives have been uselessly sacrificed, to be denominated laurels? The noble lord who seconded the address spoke of a system of policy, in opposition to which the address gives a pledge of the continuance of the war, upon the system of continental assistance adopted by the present ministers. My lords, I have often repeated, and must now repeat again, that the true policy of

this country, under its present circumstances, is that of husbanding our resources, and acting upon a system of home defence. In the early period of the last war, the system of policy which then appeared to be the best was essentially different. It was undoubtedly then of importance, to endeavour to raise up a spirit in Europe capable of meeting and counteracting the power of France. After, however, France had defeated and broken the confederacy against her, the scene of continental co-operation closed, and our force became no longer available to any useful purpose upon the continent. The same causes operated in the present war; and the late ministers, acting upon the system of policy which they thought the most advisable, determined to concentrate the means and resources of the country for the purpose of placing her in a position, in which we might say to France, 'Our situation is such, that we are completely defended against any domestic insult, whilst our naval superiority will effectually defeat the execution of your designs against our interests.' For this purpose a plan was adapted to our financial system, under the operation of which we might have gone on to the end of time, still preserving our commanding attitude, and maintaining our ample means of defence. His majesty's present ministers came into office, and then, my lords, the system was immediately changed. We were then told, in high-sounding periods, of the disgrace sustained in the character of the country by not assisting our allies, and that our conduct should only be looked to as a beacon and a landmark to avoid the same course. Magnificent preparations were immediately made for expeditions upon a great scale. Ministers had the unlimited disposal of the treasure of the country, and, I lament to say, the unlimited disposal of the lives of its brave defenders. How they have wasted the one and sacrificed the other is too painfully apparent."

[Here his lordship entered into an elaborate account of the several expeditions, imputing to ministers the want of success, and misery, which attended them all.]

"You have seen, my lords, that these expeditions have been attended with a dreadful waste of life; that they were collected at an immense expense; that the resources of the country, and the lives of its armies, were squandered upon vain and impracticable objects, under circumstances naturally to be foreseen! I know there may be cases in which it may be necessary to expose your armies not only to the dangers of battle, but also to those of disease. Deeply to be regretted such cases are undoubtedly; but they may certainly exist. Why they were exposed in unhealthy situations in Spain—whether it was necessary they should be so exposed—will be matter for future inquiry. But with respect to Walcheren, all is owing to yourselves. You had the choice of the season for sending your troops there. You yourselves had the choice of the place; yet to Walcheren you sent them, and fixed upon the most unhealthy season for that purpose! What, my lords, would Austria have said, for whom this expedition was, it seems, intended as a diversion? What would Austria have said, had she been consulted on this subject? She would have said, 'If you do send them to that place at all, send them there when France shall

shall be engaged in active war against me, and do not wait till the contest is decided; and send them thither, too, at a season when the climate is not so pestilential as it occasionally is. To that pestilential climate if you will send your troops, let it not be when common information tells us they must waste away by sickness, without accomplishing any valuable object.' Have ministers then not read of the nature of the climate of Walcheren, in that book to which one would think they would naturally resort under their circumstances — I mean Sir John Pringle's work upon the Diseases of the Army? Have they not examined that work, where they would find the pestilential effects of the climate of that island described, and proved by our own dearly-bought experience? Nay, so notorious have been the effects of that climate, that the Swiss cantons, when they furnished auxiliaries to the Dutch, thought it necessary to stipulate expressly that they should not be sent to Walcheren, it being well known that if they were sent there they must perish. This then, my lords, is not a case of unforeseen calamity. Ministers knew, or ought to have known, all these things before they sent an army into Walcheren; and they are responsible for the lives of those brave men who perished there without the chance of being able to confer any benefit upon their country, to afford her some consolation under a loss so afflicting.

"Great, then, my lords, as were the deficiencies in the formation and execution of the plan of this expedition, a further essential defect is, that it was directed to an object in which its exertions could be of no avail. Our armies had hardly been there a month, when the object appeared clearly impracticable to all but to ministers. And the commander, though too late in coming to that resolution, determined to return. What excuse can these ministers offer to the parents, the relations, the friends of those brave men, who were suffered to perish thus ingloriously? What excuse, my lords, can they offer to their country for this most afflicting loss, which they who do not most bitterly lament, must be totally incapable of any generous or patriotic feeling? While letters were passing and repassing on this subject (when the ministers were attending to other things of comparatively trifling importance), hundreds of British soldiers were perishing for no object whatever. What man is there who, under such circumstances, would not say, 'If I have been so unfortunate as to send you to such a place, for a purpose which cannot be accomplished, at least I shall not suffer you to remain there after it is determined that your remaining there can be of no use: this atonement, at least, I shall make to you and to my country?' Such, my lords, I should have thought, would have been the feelings of ministers. What they actually were, I know not.

"With such a case then already established, my lords, do you mean to wait for inquiry before you pronounce upon that which is now evident? Will garbled papers be a compensation for all this to an injured and outraged country? Will they be a compensation to yourselves: or will such conduct be consistent with your own dignity and duty? Separate not yourselves, my lords, I beseech you, till you have, at least, declared your severe disapprobation of the conduct of ministers on that point, which is already

ready completely before you, and which, from its very nature, can admit of no defence. These are not times for votes of confidence and implicit reliance upon ministers. Parliament must now exert itself in this most imminent crisis of the fate of our country. You cannot be ignorant, my lords, of the situation, the tremendous situation, in which your country is placed. Its dangers are no longer to be aggravated by description. No description can come up to the feelings of those who are at all capable of judging upon the subject. If you cannot look to parliament for its deliverance, where can you look? Can you look for its deliverance to the government? See it, my lords, broken, distracted, incapable of exerting any energy, or of inspiring confidence. It is not from the government, then, that our deliverance is to be expected. It must, my lords, be found, if it is to be found at all, in your own energy and in your own patriotism. On these grounds I shall move an amendment to this address, that after the word "that" in the second paragraph, the following amendment be introduced, expressing our sentiments to his majesty in such terms as the nature of the case imperiously demands:

"'That we have seen with the utmost sorrow and indignation the accumulated failures and disasters of the last campaign, the unavailing waste of our national resources, and the loss of so many thousands of our brave troops, whose distinguished and heroic valour has been unprofitably sacrificed in enterprises, productive not of advantage, but of lasting injury to the country—enterprises marked only by a repetition of former errors, tardy and uncombined, incapable in their success of aiding our ally in the critical moment of his fate, but exposing in their failure his majesty's councils to the scorn and derision of the enemy.

"'That we therefore feel ourselves bound to institute, without delay, such rigorous and effectual inquiries and proceedings as duty impels us to adopt, in a case where our country has been subjected to unexampled calamity and disgrace.'"

Lord Harrowby could not suppose that his noble friend (lord Grenville) could have moved an amendment such as that he had just proposed; it went not only to determine that there should be an inquiry, but it would induce their lordships now to come to a vote of indiscriminate censure, of absolute condemnation. Such a mode of proceeding was surely unusual and unprecedented. It was unjust not to allow the proper time for producing the grounds, and stating the reasons upon which rested the decision and conduct of his majesty's government, in adopting the measures which his noble friend had so loudly arraigned and so severely condemned. His noble friend had laid down the line of policy to which, he says, he would himself have adhered, and by which he thinks his majesty's ministers ought to have been directed. That policy admonished the abstaining from continental expeditions; from making ourselves parties in a warfare which had long ceased to afford any hope of what was so often emphatically called their deliverance of Europe. He had not the honour of being any length of time in his majesty's councils since a contrary line of conduct had been pursued; but he believed he might remind his noble friend, that such had not been exactly his sentiments on all occasions. He imagined that

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not very lately, even in the course of the last session, his noble friend had joined in the general enthusiasm in favour of the Spanish cause, and in the anxiety prompted by that enthusiasm, to afford it every possible aid in our power. Government did not stimulate and give birth to these exertions on the part of the Spaniards; but they felt it their duty, and conceived it to be the interest of this country, to encourage and assist them. Neither had they incited other powers to embark anew in hostilities with France. Austria was inclined to appeal to the chances of war, to the decision of the sword; but to the adoption of those hazardous steps she had not been advised or impelled by the British government. On the contrary, she was warned by them of the perils of the attempt, and of the inability of this country to lend her any effectual support; she could not therefore have entered into a new war from the hope of any powerful diversion to be effected in her favour by the military operations of a British army.

His lordship went over all the topics of debate, vindicating in every particular the measures of government; and concluded by asking whether it would be fair to condemn in the gross the conduct of his majesty's ministers; to precipitate an inquiry into the measures they had pursued, or rather to pronounce judgement and condemnation on them without instituting an inquiry at all? Such, he thought, would be the effect of adopting the amendment moved by his noble friend, and he therefore felt himself called upon to resist it as unprecedented and unjust.

The earl of Moira contended that it was needless to wait for any information which ministers would produce. They would produce none but mutilated and imperfect documents, and such only as would tend to palliate their own misconduct. There were sufficient facts before the country, on the face of which their incapacity and misconduct were fully apparent, and their condemnation was already sealed in the mind of every observing man.

Lord Sidmouth could not but acknowledge, that there was much to regret, and perhaps much to reprehend, both in the expedition to Spain, and especially in that to Walcheren. He could not, however, bring himself to think that the amendment proposed by his noble friend was altogether unobjectionable. It would condemn without inquiry. There was much of irritation, and much of despondency in the public mind, and the adopting such a proceeding would not tend to soothe the one or to animate the other. He wished an early day might be fixed for going into that inquiry, and he wished the inquiry to be full and rigorous; but he was not for prejudging the conduct of his majesty's government, which would be the case if the amendment of his noble friend were adopted without any alteration.

Lord Mulgrave spoke at some length in vindication of the measures which government had pursued respecting the two expeditions. To the expedition to the Scheldt, and the means of carrying it into execution, he had paid particular attention; and nothing, he believed, had been omitted or neglected that could secure its complete success.

Lord Grey observed, that when he came to this house, in the days of our debasement and humiliation, he was both astonished and concerned to listen to the language of the

the speech read by the lord chancellor. For the first time he was now told, on that authority, of the successes in Holland, and the achievements in Spain, which had earned for the commander the honourable distinction he had received from his sovereign. Contrasting this language with the indelible disgrace of the country from the failure of all its projects, what must be the impression produced, and how anxious must he be to support an amendment, which substituted for this perversion of terms, what was consistent with the dignity of the house, and with the just expectation of the British people!

His lordship took a comprehensive view of all the operations in Spain and Portugal, commenting on the instructions to lord Wellington, and on the manner in which his lordship had obeyed those instructions, complaining in pointed terms both of the plan and the execution. The survey of the campaign in the Peninsula was followed by a luminous summary of the whole argument, and a pathetic appeal to the honour, wisdom, and humanity of the house, to relieve the country, if possible, by supporting the amendment, from the accumulated disgrace and misery which must inevitably be the consequence of the neglect of the high duties of parliament on this most serious occasion.

The earl of Liverpool rose in reply to lords Grey and Grenville, and, in an able speech, went through and answered the topics of these noble lords. He observed, that the amendment was unprecedented in parliamentary history. It first went to condemn certain measures, and afterwards requested an inquiry into them. It was completely the judgement of Rhadamanthus, *castigat auditque*; by which the house might, if they adopted it, reduce themselves to this situation, that they might first condemn administration, and, upon investigation, it might turn out that there was no cause of blame. He next adverted to the operations of our army in Portugal and Spain, and insisted that they had been most beneficial for the interest of this country; and whenever the details came to be inquired into, he pledged himself to prove, that the conduct of our general and army had been most wise and beneficial.

Lord Carysfort spoke in favour of the amendment.—After which the house divided,

For the amendment - -	92
For the original address -	144
Majority in favour of the address	52

Adjourned.

In the house of commons, on the same day, after the speaker had read his majesty's speech, lord Bernard rose to move the address. On the subject of the expedition to Walcheren, he observed, that the particular merits of the armament were not at present the subject of discussion; but this much he would say of it, that the advantages the country would derive, if not now generally acknowledged, would soon be generally experienced. The sentiments the king had thought fit to express to his parliament were worthy of those he had upon all occasions entertained; he was beloved by his allies and dreaded by his enemies.—While empires were sinking, either by their own weight, or were hurled down by the rude hand of power, this country had defied the insults of ambition, and had remained uninjured amidst the machinations of the continent. He concluded by moving,

moving, that an humble address be presented, expressive of their acquiescence in the observations and sentiments of his majesty's speech.

Mr. Peele, in rising to second the motion, looked for the indulgence of the house to his inexperience in debate. He admitted that the conjuncture had its perils, and that the calamities which his majesty's speech had enumerated were serious and melancholy. Austria had rushed into war, but it was only when she found it impossible to preserve peace. Austria had suffered a defeat, but she was not undone; she had an armistice; she was still not unable to struggle, and struggle successfully for empire. The armament in the British ports might still protract the evil day. The force which had been assembled for the aid of Austria was directed to the coasts and arsenals of the enemy; thus attracting the attention of the hostile forces, and at once operating an important diversion in favour of Austria, and an essential service to the security of Britain. He lamented the misfortunes in Spain, and said he felt a high and solemn regret at the calamitous evils which the brave efforts of that devoted people had not yet been able to avert.—He hoped there would be no opposition to the address. He felt that they must be unanimous; he felt that there could be but one sentiment among the men to whom he addressed himself, and that that sentiment must do honour to themselves and to their country.

Earl Gower took a short view of the different topics which were introduced into the speech; and, after a most comprehensive survey of the conduct of ministers during the recess, considered how far such conduct was consistent with the honour or true policy of Great Britain. At a time when the country was overburthened with taxes, it might also have been expected that some attention would have been paid to œconomy in the disbursement of the resources of the country; instead of which, the most extravagantly expensive plans were formed, and the most extensive armaments fitted out, without one solid reason for supposing that they were such as could eventually tend to the relief of our allies, or to the promotion of the honour or the maintenance of the security of Great Britain. Lord Chatham himself, the commander of that expedition, and a member of his majesty's cabinet council, declared that the plan was erroneously formed: it was supposed that Antwerp was in a weak defenceless state, instead of which it was discovered to be strongly fortified, and numerously garrisoned, with the few shipping which it was at first our intention to destroy, moored up close within the protection of the guns of that citadel; and upon the whole, it was found that every object, as it arose to actual view, was in a far different state from that in which it was supposed to be in the minds of his majesty's ministers. But, if there was one circumstance which called more loudly than another for the indignation of that house and of the country, it was that of our troops being detained in that unwholesome country until they were compelled to leave it by disease. An eminent physician, whose veracity and judgement could be relied on, stated, that the proportion which the number of sick bore to those which were in health was, on an average, four to one. From these considerations, it was his firm opinion, that ministers were justly answerable for all the lives of the British

British soldiers that were wasted in that unhealthy climate. He only made these few observations in order to justify himself in proposing an amendment, which he then submitted to the house. His lordship then moved the amendment.

The amendment was the same as in the house of lords, except with the introduction of the following words, at the commencement of the second paragraph:

"That we therefore feel ourselves bound, with a view to the only atonement that can now be made to an injured people, to institute without delay, &c."

Mr. Ward supported the amendment in a speech of great length and ability. The main point to which the consideration of the house was naturally led, was the conduct of the war. Our warlike operations during the last campaign had certainly been of the most extensive kind, and these had been attended with losses greater than any this country had ever before experienced. Speaking according to the common sense and feeling of mankind, the very number and magnitude of their failures were proofs of the incapacity of ministers; for how could they be adequate to the administration of the country, all whose schemes had been accompanied by constant, repeated, and disgraceful failure? Within a very short period, they have failed in three great undertakings—the expedition to Portugal, to Spain, and to Walcheren. The result of all their enterprises had either been disastrous and disgraceful, or ridiculous. There must then be a species of miracle wrought, if we persuade ourselves that the expedition to Portugal, which ended in the Cintra convention, and all the others, down to that of Ischia and Procida, may all lay in their claim to have been planned in the best and wisest manner, though at the same time, as we must allow, by the most unfortunate of ministers. When the government was conducted by Mr. Pitt, a man certainly of great talents, of a firm mind, and whose whole attention was directed to the affairs of the state, there might be some room for claims of confidence; but now we were required to place confidence in a government of mere party, which had lately for its nominal head a nobleman old and infirm, some of the principal members of which entertained for each other the most profound contempt, even while ostensibly acting together; and whose attention, instead of being devoted to the service of the country, was wholly occupied by dark Machiavelian schemes for parting out the different branches of administration, rather as if they had been matters of private right and inheritance, than conferred for the benefit of the public. Was it then for discord at home, as well as for disaster and disgrace abroad, that we were to credit administration for the wisdom of its plans, and the vigour of their execution?—The hon. member then entered into a comprehensive review of our disasters in Spain. With respect to the achievements of our troops there, he said, had lord Wellington been defeated, it might have been ascribed to the uncertain fate of war, which could not be guarded against; but the victory of Talavera resembled rather a defeat, if we may judge from its consequences, since on that very spot, which had been the scene of their unequalled valour, our brave troops were obliged to leave 2000 of their

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sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy! What else had been the consequence of the victory of Talavera, but an actual renunciation of all the objects of the war? and yet lord Wellington had been rewarded with a peerage! It was related by the historians of William III. that such were his talents, that he always found means, even after defeat, to restore the fate of the campaign. Our plans were of a different kind—our victories were attended with all the consequences of defeat—we derived no advantage even from victory itself. With regard to the expedition to Walcheren, that *monstrum nullis virtutibus redemptum*, he could not find terms strong enough to express the horror and disgust with which it filled him. If its purpose was the aid of Austria, our first object should have been to draw as near as possible to the great scene of action, where we might have had an opportunity of dealing with the best troops of our enemy. But, instead of this, we make a dexterous selection of the spot as far from the great scene of contest as possible. Bonaparte, instead of diverting any of his troops to oppose us, knew that it would answer his purpose much better to permit our troops to perish in the marshes of Walcheren, and that there they would be much more usefully employed for him than in their camp in England. He knew that the fate of Austria and of continental independence was to be decided on the plains of Wagram, and was not to be effected by the capture of Flushing, or the seizure of Middleburgh. But supposing the plan of this expedition had been wise, and that the execution had been intrusted to an able officer, distinguished for talent and success, still there remained this preposterous absurdity, that we sent an army, at the most unhealthy season of the year, to the most unhealthy spot in Europe; the consequence of which was, that we lost 5,000 men by deaths, and more than that number disabled and rendered unfit for actual service: and what was the strangest of all, the government remained two whole months in a state of vacillation and uncertainty, before they could determine whether they should retain or relinquish this most mortal and pernicious possession.

Sir Thomas Turton contended for the necessity of an immediate inquiry into the cause of the late military failures.

Lord Kensington could neither concur altogether in the address nor in the amendment.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst said it was by no means his intention to support the address; but still, as the amendment was worded, it was not in his power to vote for it.

Mr. Ponsonby took a luminous view of the disasters of the late campaign, particularly respecting the Walcheren expedition. Who, said he, was sent to command that expedition? Was it an officer of great experience and of high military reputation; who had often fought the battles of his country, and been crowned with laurels and renown; one who was celebrated for his energy and activity? No; it was an officer, who, under an inauspicious administration, of which his own brother was at the head, was obliged to resign on account of the inactivity, indolence, and imbecility of his proceedings in the high office then intrusted to his care.

Lord Castlereagh said, the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, though

though he differed with him in opinion, must in candour allow, that he never found him shrink from inquiry. The hon. gentlemen might rest assured, he should never shrink from his penal punishment; he would on the contrary court inquiry; and the more it was gone to the bottom of, the more confident he would be in the decision of the house in his favour. He would not deny that the failure of the last campaign was such as to call for the inquiry of the house; but he protested against the argument of the measures of the last three years being incapable and disastrous. As to the expedition to Walcheren, it branched into two objects, the possession of the island of Walcheren, and the destruction of the fleet at Antwerp. The first, he maintained, was effected in a soldier-like manner. As to the failure of the second, he wished it to be understood, that from the peculiar situation he at that time found himself in, he did not consider himself as accountable for it; nor had he any share in the delay which took place at Flushing, nor in advising the subsequent evacuation. As to his own conduct, with respect to the expedition, he should be always happy to have it undergo the strictest examination.

General Tarleton differed entirely from the opinion pronounced by a noble lord, that Portugal could be defended. He thought a most peculiar degree of responsibility lay upon lord Chatham, who was at the same time a minister and a general. The expedition which he commanded was attended with greater expense of treasure, and a greater sacrifice of human life, than almost any other in our history, and it had most completely failed in its objects.

Mr. Canning then rose and said, that he perceived the house wished to come to a decision on the question, and it would not be necessary for him to detain them long, in explaining the reasons for the vote he should give this night against the amendment, and in favour of the original address. He defended the expedition to Walcheren; but admitted he could not agree with some of those gentlemen who had spoken, and who seemed to consider that the calamitous failure of the main objects of the expedition was in some degree alleviated by the partial success it had met with. This was a doctrine to which he could never agree. He never would have consented to the expedition, if he had supposed that nothing greater would have been accomplished. After a variety of other observations, he then turned to what applied to him more personally; and thought that the dignity and the decency of the house, and the feeling that was due to individual members, should prevent a subject that had been touched on from being discussed in that house; but for himself he would say, that it was his fixed determination, that no provocation whatever should induce him to enter into any discussion on that particular topic. (Mr. C. alluded here to his dispute and duel with lord Castlereagh. See the last vol. p. 166.)

Mr. Whitbread said, that it was rather strange that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had not deigned to give them his idea of the state of the country, or to inform them upon what grounds he himself was their minister. He (Mr. W.) had given way to the right honourable gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Canning), because he conceived that he wished to

make

make some explanations on what was certainly a very delicate subject. The right hon. gentleman had, however, now to answer, not to that other individual, but to the country, why he suffered the noble lord to remain in office, when he was convinced that he was not fit for the situation in which he was placed? He did hope, that this would, on a future day, be made the subject of substantial inquiry, and that the right hon. gentleman would be constrained to tell to the house, and the public, the reasons for his conduct. He would wish to know, why, in the season of unexampled calamity, the meeting of parliament was so long delayed? His majesty had been advised to say, "that he would not institute any inquiry into the conduct of his military and naval commanders, but that he referred it to the wisdom of parliament to take it into their serious consideration." Now, although in common circumstances parliament had frequently not met sooner; yet, in the present extraordinary circumstances of the country, and when such a serious subject was to be submitted to the wisdom of parliament, it appeared to him that they ought to have met sooner. The king's speech perfectly accorded with his answer to the corporation of London—an answer which declared the expedition had only succeeded in part. In what part? was the natural question of every man in the country. Now, however, the mystery was solved; the part in which it succeeded was, in the blowing up of a basin!! This, say ministers, was one of the objects, and the king is satisfied with its accomplishment. So little satisfied was he, however, that this very ground he should conceive sufficient as a foundation for a criminating resolution. Ministers, it seemed, were not aware even of the fatality of climate; but this was one of the casualties of war, and therefore, in their opinion, ought to be cheerfully encountered. Certainly, if the object was worthy of the hazard; but here the object was contemptible, the means mighty, and the consequences ruinous! Even inactivity was preferable to such perilous and causeless exertion. The noble lord, however, reduced to his last shift, declared the object of the expedition to be a *coup-de-main*.—What did he mean by a *coup-de-main?* Did he suppose that Antwerp and Lillo, and the fortified forts, and the well-secured fleet, were all to be taken by his miraculous *coup-de-main?* The idea was surely too preposterous, even to enter into the calculations of his lordship. To show indeed the perfect folly of such a supposition, the resistance of Flushing, the continuance of which was sufficient to frustrate all the ulterior objects of the expedition, was, in the opinion of Bonaparte, so ill protracted, that he condemned the officer who conducted it to death!—He next turned to the affairs of Spain. Even with all his respect for lord Wellington, he could not approve of the battle of Talavera—it had no one good end, and only tended to establish what was never questioned, the valour of our soldiers. Our victories, indeed, were this night the particular themes of congratulation; and Maida, Corunna, Vimiera, and Talavera, were held up as monuments of our eternal glory; he beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions. None of them were happy in their consequences. Maida left the inhabitants at the mercy of a cruel enemy. At Co-

runna we lost general Moore, to prove the valour of our soldiers. What! was our population so redundant, that we could spare men to prove what no one doubted? Was the valour of Britain so questionable, that a bloody experiment was necessary to prove it? Had we so many skilful generals, that they were become superfluous? Alas! how shall we dry up the tears of the orphan, or reimburse the beggared citizen? The battle of Vimiera, followed by the disgraceful convention of Cintra, had better never have taken place; and Talavera was, at best, but an exhibition of victorious rashness. He wished particularly to know, why lord Wellesley delayed so long in the country, after his appointment to the Spanish embassy. On this subject he should hereafter demand an explanation from the right hon. gentleman. To Spain, however, at last, the marquis went, and there what were his services? Why, he went through the mummery of dancing on the French flag! He did more, he visited the junta, went through all the routine of etiquette, and religiously toasted the pope!—It was surprising, indeed, to see him so soon returning after his flirtation with "the whore of Babylon" at Cadiz. On his return, of course, when the places were going about, he came in for his share, and made one of the administration; an administration, the members of which could not have been distinguished, had it not been for the motions that day for the issuing of writs. It was made up, indeed, by a kind of political ballot;—one gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had gone the entire circumnavigation of offices, from the board of control to the Irish secretaryship! The right hon. gentleman had, however, at length compiled an administration; and indeed he had fully shown, that, supported by the favour of the court, he felt little fear in stemming the authority of the people. But how did the right hon. gentleman proceed to form even this administration? Why, the very first application he made was to a dear friend of his, and a noble lord, with whose principles he had been at war all his political life. This tender was rejected by them in a manner worthy of their dignity; and the rebuff which they gave the right hon. gentleman would have daunted any man of less temerity than himself. There was not a man in the country, from the Orkneys to the Land's End, who did not pronounce him and his administration weak, incapable, and inefficient. Even with the addition of the two colleagues, who had deserted them, they were feeble, but they then stood on a principle, or rather in opposition to a principle—but now rejected by all who were worthy, the weak, and old, and infirm, were collected from the hedges and high roads, and consorted with for want of better. The motley combination was duly appreciated by the people—no one respected them—they might now exclaim, "The church is in danger," but every one would know they meant "My place is in danger." Threats have been held out by the runners of the government, that, as on a former occasion, a dissolution of parliament would be now resorted to. He believed in his soul government dared not realize the threat; but if they did, it would only leave them ten times as bad as they were before. Pompous language as to the flourishing state of our revenue was however held out. But was it sound at bottom? Was there a legitimate trade? Was it not a system of placing

placing (by the requisition of licenses) the merchants under the control of government? Was it not rather the chicane of smugglers and pirates, than the fair, liberal commerce of merchants?—But our "Treasury was full." Aye, by the rigorous severity with which the taxes were collected. Under the system pursued, the collection of the property-tax would soon be in the hands of government collectors. Indeed, the liberty of the subject was directly struck at by the method by which the taxes were collected. He gave it as his sincere advice, Let an œconomical reform be instituted before the "last ounce" was exacted, and the country reduced to despair. Let a government be removed to which the people have refused their confidence. Let our relative situation with the enemy be well considered. Let the policy of succouring Spain be also weighed under the existing circumstances; Austria gone—the French force concentrated, and that country their only object. The marquis of Wellesley he considered completely insignificant.—Who was he? The governor of India, the man who had scarcely escaped the censure of that house for his cruel tyranny!—the man who had assailed the press, the sacred palladium of the people! the friend of despotism—the foe of liberty. Good God! could this man say to Bonaparte, in the noble indignation of insulted virtue, "I have not done as you have." Alas! if such a man had strength, he would indeed be a fearful acquisition to such a government; but he was known, and therefore weak and harmless. Peace should be the cry of the nation. Peace—particularly because the thraldom of millions of our fellow-subjects was the tenure by which this incapable junta held their offices. "It has been said by our enemy (said Mr. W.), that the genius of France guided our armies. Alas! it now presides in our cabinet! for surely, whether we consider their ignorance, their imbecility, their bigotry, or the fate with which Providence visits all their measures, our enemy, had he the nomination, could not select men more suitable to his ends, or more pernicious to our interests."

The chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that the right hon. member had accused him of remaining obstinately silent all night to all the charges urged against his administration; and that, speaking to him, an indictment of several counts was now preferred against him, on behalf of that house and of the country; and it was now his duty to plead, by either acknowledging the justice of the charges, or putting himself upon his trial. He had been charged with a culpable silence, as to certain differences between a noble, and another right hon. friend of his. With regard to this charge, he wished to say as little as possible now, or at any other time; but he should state this much, that with regard to the transactions to which the hon. gentleman had alluded, he could assure him and the house, that he was entirely ignorant of them until the close of the last session of parliament; and when he did know them, he did not conceive, whatever might be the motives which induced his right hon. friend to wish for the removal of the noble lord, that he (the chancellor of the exchequer) should be a party in them; more especially as an expedition of great importance was at that time in great forwardness, with which the noble lord

(Castlereagh) was intimately connected. With respect to himself, the situation was by no means an object of his own desire; and had his wishes been realized, another person would now have filled the office of first lord of the treasury. After the death of the duke of Portland, his majesty had commanded himself and a noble friend of his, to apply to the two noble lords alluded to (lords Grenville and Grey) for their co-operation, in order to form an extended administration. It was in consequence of this command he had made the application. The situation of the country was obviously such as required as strong an administration as could be formed; and he did think there were circumstances at the time the application was made, which rendered it not improbable that that application would not have been unsuccessful. But if he was to be accused of arrogance, and of wishing to reign without a rival, it was strange that he should have made the application to the two noble lords, and more especially when he informed the house that the first proposition which he should have made to them, if they had given him an opportunity of stating it, would have been that they should determine who should be the first lord of the treasury. With respect to himself, he again repeated, that it was a situation which he did not desire. The right hon. gentleman then, at considerable length, went over the other topics in discussion, and defended the conduct of ministers with respect to the expeditions.

Mr. Tierney replied, and the house then divided:

For the amendment -	167
For the original address -	263
Majority for ministers	96

Adjourned at five o'clock in the morning.

When the address was brought up on the 25th, sir Francis Burdett rose, and said, that upon the first day of the session he had been very anxious to learn what effect the recent events had produced on the minds of the members of that house, and to hear the sentiments of the political men expressed upon them. He wished to know whether the interest of the public could be combined with the opinions and the feelings of many distinguished speakers in that assembly; and it was with the utmost mortification he perceived, that the unparalleled disasters which we have lately suffered in the waste of blood and treasure, had not made upon the members of that assembly the impressions which might naturally be expected. Ministers were still supported by the same kind of majorities which they commanded in times of less disaster: they were still supported by the same men, and the same line of argument. Seeing this, he was the more thoroughly convinced of the necessity there was of taking into early consideration that great measure which he had recommended at the close of the late session. He was the more and more convinced of the absolute and urgent necessity of parliamentary reform, from the whole of his parliamentary experience since he had obtained a seat in that room: but never had any circumstances occurred which gave more strength to these impressions than the circumstances under which parliament had lately met. He did not mean to compare the pretensions of one set of public men to those of another, but he never before witnessed, in any debate, the measures of any set of ministers so com-

completely abandoned as they appeared to be in the last debate. The minister really seemed not to have a word to say in his defence.

Under the circumstances of the present times, what name could be given to that degree of imbecility and folly which induced ministers to advise his majesty to treat with contempt and insult the petition and address of the most important city in his empire?—a city, which from its antiquity, its wealth, and great importance in the state, had always been treated with distinguished attention by all former sovereigns. This distinguished attention was due to the city of London, not less from its ancient privileges than from its real consequence in the state. He could not avoid noticing that even some slight had recently been shown to the gentlemen of that assembly. It had been customary formerly to have the king's speech read the night before at the Cock-pit, and afterwards it was usual to send copies of it to the different members, that they might have sufficient notice of what was to be the subject of discussion. This usage was now abandoned.

We were told, that that most disastrous expedition to the Scheldt was intended as a *coup-de-main*; but it was managed in such a manner, that Bonaparte apprised his officer commanding in these parts, of our intended *coup-de-main*, no less than *three months* before the sailing of our expedition. There was an insinuation in the speech, that the expedition to Walcheren had in part succeeded; but it could hardly be expected that the public should consider it in any other light than as a most completely disastrous and disgraceful failure. The expedition to Spain was as nearly destructive to our army as that of Holland. A dispute with America, of a very serious nature, had been provoked by the imprudence of ministers; and yet, notwithstanding all these misfortunes, and the strange occurrences in India, ministers were supported with the same steadiness as if these measures had been prosperous. He could feel no asperity in considering this circumstance, as it only served to confirm that opinion with which his mind was intimately and strongly impressed, of the necessity of a *total change of system*, and, as the only means of obtaining such a change, a reform in the representation of the people. He thought those gentlemen wrong who stopped short to compare the merits of one set of ministers with another. It was the whole system which was wrong, and which ought to be altered.

When it was considered for what a great length of time this country had been ruled by a benevolent sovereign, whose reign was constantly unfortunate—who was every successive year compelled to regret the necessity of imposing fresh burdens upon his people; some would attribute this constant course of misfortunes to some malignant star which ruled at the period of his accession. It was not, however, necessary for the members of that assembly to look to any stars, but only to themselves. It was there, and on the floor of that *room*, that he saw the organized causes of all the calamities and evils which afflicted and oppressed this country—it was there he saw that tree, under whose shade no salutary plant could thrive. The fruits of that tree were bitterness and grief to the people of England. He had high authority for saying,

that it was fair to judge of the tree by the fruit; and "that the tree which beareth not good fruit should be hewn down." It was that corruption which struck its root in that *room* and assembly which had brought, and which continued to bring, so many evils upon the country. It was that which destroyed our national honour abroad, by its interference with our army and navy. This corruption, which was the cause of all our misfortunes, he should constantly oppose. It was to parliamentary reform that he looked, to remedy all our evils, and heal the sufferings of this injured people.

Mr. Yorke said, that before he proceeded to observe on the topics urged by the hon. baronet, he should request to call the attention of the house to the terms he used throughout the whole course of it. The hon. baronet had never addressed or alluded to them as the house of commons; but he had always called that house "room" or "this assembly," by which he would seem to infer, that they were not the representatives of the people. The right honourable member then entered into a general defence of the conduct of ministers, and of the events of the late campaign. He contended, that the late expeditions were not subjects of unparalleled calamity and disgrace. He adverted to the army in Spain, spoke highly in favour of lord Wellington's splendid military talents, and extraordinary courage and activity; denied that any disgrace attached to that expedition, and lamented that lord Wellington should have been set up as a mark for censure and attack.

Mr. Whitbread rose and observed, that he had an amendment to offer to one part of the address which had been just read to the house: viz. that after the paragraph of the address which relates to the supply to his majesty, he should propose that words to the following effect should be inserted:—

"That in justice to his majesty's subjects, who have so long and so patiently borne a system of severe taxation, which the long continuance of the war has rendered necessary, they would immediately apply themselves to the consideration and adoption of such an œconomical reform, as would not only be consistent with the welfare of the state, but gratify the feelings, and in some degree alleviate the sufferings, of a loyal people."

On the question being put upon this amendment,

The chancellor of the exchequer declared, that in his opinion there was *no occasion* for the adoption of the amendment of the honourable gentleman, and expressed his confidence that the house would not agree to it. As to what the honourable gentleman had said with respect to the grinding operation of the taxes, he would appeal to the house, whether it was right to hold out to the country, that taxes imposed by laws enacted by its representatives in parliament were severe and oppressive, as the honourable member had represented them.

After a few observations from Mr. Ponsonby, lord Temple, and Mr. Wharton, the house divided—

Ayes - -	54
Noes - -	95

We understand an amendment was afterwards proposed by Mr. Tierney; upon which also a division took place—

Ayes - -	52
Noes - -	100

The house adjourned.

In the house of lords, on the 26th

26th, the earl of Liverpool moved the thanks of the House to lord viscount Wellington for the skill and ability displayed by him in the battle of Talavera. This was opposed by the earl of Suffolk, who could not consider that a victory, of which the results were that our sick and wounded fell into the hands of the enemy.—The earl of Grosvenor spoke on the same side, protesting against the introduction of the principle, that the thanks of the house should be given merely for the display of military valour and energy.—Lord Mountjoy contended, that an important victory had been gained at Talavera, and on that account the general in chief had a title to all the honours that could be bestowed on him:—and the marquis of Wellesley, after an able defence of his brother's conduct, said, that he had as just a claim to the reward which the motion was intended to grant, as any noble lord who had ever been honoured by a similar distinction, or even as any noble lord can have to the hereditary title which he now enjoys. The lords Grey and Grenville were against the motion: it was, however, carried without a division; after which motions of thanks to the inferior officers and army were passed unanimously. Similar motions were afterwards moved and carried in the house of commons.

In the house of commons, on the same day, Mr. Bankes gave notice of his intention to revive the question of reversionary grants, by bringing in, on a future day, a bill for the perpetual prevention of granting offices in reversion. After this, and some other notices,

Lord Porchester rose to make a motion relative to the expedition to Walcheren. His lordship entered into a comprehensive review of the blunders of ministers, in selecting Antwerp as the object of a *coup-de-main* attack—of the delay at Flushing, which occasioned such a dreadful mortality amongst our troops—on their selection of a general for this enterprise. His lordship said, he would make no personal objection to lord Chatham; but without an idea of hurting an individual's feelings, he must express his surprise at such an appointment. He should have looked to some hardy and vigorous veteran, some man known to be a soldier, and to whom the soldier might have looked up with confidence. There was but one solution: the project which none but the ministry could understand, none but the ministry could execute;—*the miserable offspring of their dotage—the unhappy bantling which bore in all its movements the marks of the combined incapacities of all its parents*—was not to be committed into the rude and uncourteous hands of a stranger. What were the prospects with which we commenced the campaign? An army, strong in numbers, high in discipline, well known in spirit: that army had been sent to perish in the charnel-houses of Holland. We had allies, prepared to make a fierce and final struggle against the common oppressor. We had wasted the resources of the country; we had killed the hope of our allies. If there was ever a time for inquiry, a time in which it was connected, not with our fame, but with our being, it was the present. The expectation of the country, said the noble lord, is directed towards us.—Sir, I do not speak here in the language or feeling of a party; 'tis to this house; 'tis to us, the eye of every man who thinks for the country, is turned. He implored the house not to suffer

the stain of the ministerial weakness to fix upon their purity, not to lose the confidence of the nation, by a blind confidence in the faith of men who had already deceived the hopes of the empire. He had but one question to propose, Inquiry, or no Inquiry? For that purpose he should move for "a committee of the whole house on Monday next, to take into consideration the policy and conduct of the expedition to Walcheren."

Mr. Windham seconded the motion.

Mr. Croker rose, and said, he had heard with great personal pleasure the splendid oratory of the noble lord, and of the hon. seconder; but good oratory, like good poetry, was better for a little fiction. —The noble lord's assertions had been made with confidence; but he, though he could not boast of the same confidence with the noble lord, yet would affirm most strongly that the noble lord's facts were incorrect, or greatly exaggerated. He would ask whether it would be to deal respectfully by his majesty to vote for this inquiry, when he had assured them that satisfactory documents should be laid before them. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Bathurst objected to the introduction of his majesty's name in the debate, and expressed his intention of voting for inquiry.

Mr. Fuller declared himself of the same opinion with the right hon. gent. who had just sat down: but really gentlemen generally spoke so long, that he was almost tempted to leave the room. However, as there were so many of them in the house, if they would but shorten their speeches, it would afford an opportunity to hear the sentiments of many able gentlemen, who would be prevented by long-winded speeches from addressing the house at all. As to what had been said respecting the language of the king's speech, and the address, that was of little signification, because they all knew, that these were always drawn up in a complimentary form. He was not for any new-fangled doctrines, for altering or reforming the state of the representation in that house; but he thought that parliament should go further than the present inquiry, and appoint a committee to examine into sinecure offices. They ought to take care that no man should hold a place without doing the duties of the office. They should ascertain what every man did for the money he received. It was more particularly necessary now, when the tax-gatherers were at every man's door, threatening to proceed to extremities unless they were paid; and when the orders for such rigour were given by persons holding sinecure offices of ten or twenty thousand a year. He should, therefore, support the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the motion, on the ground that the papers would be laid before the house on Monday, and then would be the time for the members to examine whether any inquiry was necessary. Several other members spoke upon the question; when, the question being loudly called for, strangers were ordered to withdraw, when the motion for adjourning the debate was negatived without a division.

A division then took place on the previous question:

Ayes - - 186
Noes - - 195

Majority against ministers, Nine!

Lord Porchester's motion was then

then carried, without a division, and after some discussion the following Friday was fixed for the appointment of a committee.

An inquiry being now instituted in opposition to the whole force of the administration, it became a matter of serious concern with the friends of the accused, how they should ward off the blow which was intended to be struck by the investigation. The events of the last session, as they related to an open investigation of the charges exhibited against his royal highness the duke of York, had shown that the public were alive to the interests of the country, and unanimous in their abhorrence of the corruptions and abuses that seemed to creep into government: it was now resolved to stifle as much as possible the voice of the people, by preventing them a place in the gallery of the house of commons. Mr. Yorke, accordingly, moved the standing orders for excluding strangers, which was, day after day, and through the whole investigation, regularly enforced. An attempt, as will be seen, was made by Mr. Sheridan to repeal the obnoxious standing order, but his motion was rejected; and the inquiry ended in an approval of the expedition by a small majority of the house: it led, however, to other matters of considerable importance, as the several departments of this volume will show.

On the 31st, Mr. Ward moved the navy estimates, the total of which was 10,897,381*l.* being more than a million less than the estimates of last year. This reduction he accounted for two ways; first, from the new regulation for keeping public accounts, and secondly, from an actual diminution of expense. The motion was agreed to. Mr. Bankes next moved, after an introductory speech, for leave to bring in a bill to make perpetual an act passed last year to prevent the granting offices in reversion. He was supported by persons of all parties; as Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. Ponsonby, sir Samuel Romilly, and others; but the minister, Mr. Perceval, gave it his decided opposition: after a long debate, when the question was put, it was carried by acclamation, scarcely a single voice was heard to join that of the chancellor of the exchequer. After this, Mr. Bankes moved for the appointment of the finance committee, which was carried according to his own wishes, though vehemently opposed by the minister. Three times, indeed, he found himself in a minority; but no ways affected with what formerly was regarded as a proof of imbecility in counsels, he retained his place as if nothing of the kind had occurred.

On the 1st of February, Mr. Horner moved for a variety of accounts and returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium and the bullion trade. He did not believe that the high price of gold and the depreciation of paper were to be ascribed to the issue of country bank-notes: he did not pretend to form an accurate conclusion on the subject, but he conjectured that the high price of gold might be produced partly by a larger circulation of bank of England paper than was necessary, and partly by the circumstances in which the foreign trade of this country was placed; by which a continual demand for bullion was produced for the purpose of carrying on some of the most important branches of our commerce. Such is the purchase of naval stores from the

the Baltic, and the purchase of grain from the country of the enemy. He concluded an able speech with moving for "the returns of the imports and exports of bullion and foreign coin; the amount of bank-notes and dollars, the number of licenses for the issue of country bank-notes, the quantity of bullion and coin seized as about to be illegally exported, &c." The motion was carried, which, with others of a similar nature, led to the appointment of committees, whose report must be referred to our next volume.

When Mr. Sheridan, on the 6th of February, moved for a committee to consider of the propriety of rescinding the standing order, which enables any individual member to exclude strangers from the gallery of the house, he showed the inconsistency of the order, with others then existing on their books, and on that account he said a revision was highly necessary: at the same time he did not mean to say that there never could arise an occasion when strangers ought to be excluded, but he did wish to have the order so modified, that it should not depend upon the caprice or pleasure of any individual member, but should be submitted to the decision of the house.

Mr. Windham did not see that any advantages accrued to the country from the manner in which the debates were given to the public: he did not know what was the value to their constituents of knowing what was passing in that house.

Till within the last twenty or thirty years, it not only was not practised as now, but it was not even permitted to publish the debates of the house. He was one of those who liked the constitution as it was: he did not like it as it is. If this had been tolerated, it was no reason that it should, on all occasions, be continued; and that persons should make a trade of what they obtain from the galleries, among whom were to be found men of all descriptions; bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen. He had heard those proprietors of papers had talked of the injustice of closing doors. This was taking up the subject as if the admission of strangers into the gallery was a privilege; but it was no such thing; and though he might perhaps think it useful, after having so long prevailed, he did not allow it to be a privilege. He did not think accounts in the daily papers were so desirable as many others did. They had lately reviled government so far as to assert, that some of their contemporaries were in the pay of government. What did this prove? Not the value or actual importance of papers; but it clearly showed that if government could have them in their pay, then papers were liable to be let for hire—to be bought and sold—and the press, which has been thought in this country the palladium of its liberty, was always to be purchased by the highest bidder. He did not wish to establish such a power in the press, as to enable it to control parliament. He did not know any of the conductors of the press; but he understood them to be a set of men who would give in to the corrupt misrepresentation of opposite sides: and he was, therefore, determined not to lend his hand to abrogate an order which was made to correct an abuse. He did not like to part with a standing order, which, though it might have run to rust, would not in former times have led to any mischief; and he could see no reason why it should now be laid prostrate at the foot of the

the very worshipful, but he would not say ancient, corporation of London printers. Those gentry had their favourites. His honourable friend was esteemed and hailed by them as a general patron of the London press. He thought the house ought to discard a sort of disgraceful objection to its proceedings, and maintain those rules and orders which have so long prevailed. For these reasons he should certainly give his vote against the motion.

Lord Folkestone agreed with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) in some of his positions. In what he had stated of the venality of the press, he believed that he was partly correct; and he also concurred with him in believing that the constitution had not grown better within the last thirty or forty years; but he did not think that the deterioration which had taken place within that time proceeded at all from the publication of the debates. There were times, indeed, in which he was almost ashamed of the debates being published. No later than yesterday, questions had been argued on both sides of the house, merely on party principles, and as if the only object was the retaining of office by one set of men, and the displacing them by the other party. He believed that, on the present occasion, it was the general wish of the house that the inquiry should be public; and that such a course would be the most likely to secure the confidence of the public.

Mr. Yorke said he must, however, protest, as long as these standing orders continued in force, against the supposition, that there was any necessity for a member who should move the order, to account for the reasons which induced him so to do. He had, however, no objection to state, that he had felt it his indispensable duty to move the order on the present occasion, from a consideration of the many gross misrepresentations and mis-statements, which went forth to the public last year, on a very important inquiry before that house. It had been said, that the house was now to be considered as the grand inquest of the nation, and that they were in the situation of a grand jury. If that were the case, he would ask all those members, who, like him, had often been on grand juries, whether such a right had ever been set up or thought of, as a right of strangers attending at the grand juries for the purpose of publishing their proceedings? In fact, no such persons ever were admitted. Such a practice must produce infinite inconvenience and mischief; and if it were asked, why were not strangers excluded upon the inquiry last year? he must say for himself, that he did feel the deepest shame that he had not upon that occasion moved the standing order. He certainly should have done so, if he had been at all aware of the nature of the case, or suspected how it would have turned out. He thought that, under God, it was to the privileges of that house that the commonwealth owed its safety, and that if ever those privileges should be taken away, the constitution itself would soon be trampled under foot.

Mr. Tierney and Mr. Lyttleton spoke for the motion, as did Mr. Peter Moore, who entered into a vindication of the editors of the London newspapers, as a class of meritorious individuals who did much to enlighten the public mind.

Sir Francis Burdett then rose and said, he must subscribe

to

to many of the doctrines which he had heard, and which he only found fault with as inapplicable to the present situation of the country. If he could see in that house a body of gentlemen fairly and freely selected by the people, as the chosen guardians of their rights; if he could see no placemen or pensioners within these walls, and that no corrupt or undue influence could ever be supposed to operate on the minds of any of the members of that assembly, then, indeed, he should see no particular objection to the inquiry being conducted in secret, and the evidence being given to the public in the manner that was now proposed. Unfortunately, however, the house stood, in the eye of the public, in a very different situation. They stood under circumstances of great suspicion. (*No, No, from some members on the treasury bench.*) It had been considered by some that they were on their last legs. As for his part, he greatly feared that they had not a leg to stand upon.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to order. He stated, that in his opinion it was highly disorderly to assert that the house of commons had not a leg to stand upon.

The speaker said, that it was highly disorderly for any member to say that the house of commons had lost its reputation and character.

Sir Francis Burdett continued. He had not made the assertion positively, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer; but stated it as his apprehension. The house might recollect what passed in May last, relative to a minister negotiating for the purpose of bringing in a member of parliament in the most corrupt manner; and it was impossible for them to shut their eyes against the opinion of the public upon that transaction. He felt it his duty, while a member of parliament, to speak the truth, and the whole truth, in that house; but at the same time he knew he must speak it in a manner agreeable to the order of the house, and conformable to those principles of common decency which gentlemen must observe in every assembly. It appeared to him that the evidence was given in the newspapers with great correctness, and that the debates were also given with considerable exactness and considerable ability. It appeared to him that the reports were much more likely to be correct, when, as in the present way, several different men were taking notes at a time. When he called upon the house to endeavour to stand well in the opinion of the public, it would appear as if he was less impressed now than he had been heretofore of the necessity of reform. He should, however, assure them, that this was not the case. The functions that the house had now to perform were very different from those of a grand jury. A grand jury determined on *ex parte* evidence; whereas the house were now to hear evidence on both sides, and to come to a determination on conflicting testimony. In the present year, eleven or twelve thousand of our countrymen had been sacrificed, and it was fit that the public should be acquainted with every circumstance of these transactions. When the house resolved upon an inquiry, it was understood that it was to be a public one; and if it were now to be a secret one, he conceived it would be an insult offered to the public.

Mr. Sheridan replied; after which the chancellor of the exchequer said a few

a few words, and the house divided,

For Mr. Sheridan's motion 80
Against it - - - - 166
Majority - - - - 86

On the 8th of February, a vote of thanks to lord Gambier was moved, and carried in the house of peers, though not without considerable opposition from a number of lords, who contended that the thanks of the house should be given only on very signal and important victories; but that the services of admiral lord Gambier were of a different description, and called for no such reward. His lordship, as our readers will recollect, had already been brought to trial on charges exhibited against him by lord Cochrane, and acquitted. To institute some further inquiry, lord Cochrane, in his place in parliament, moved for a copy of the *minutes* of the court-martial by which the admiral had been tried: to prevent this, Mr. Perceval proposed as an amendment, that the word *sentence* should be inserted instead of the word *minutes*: this, after a warm debate, was agreed to by a majority of 171 to 19; upon which, the minister taking advantage of the feelings of the house, moved the thanks of the house to lord Gambier, for the zeal, judgement and ability which he evinced in the attack on the French fleet, &c.: this was carried by a majority of 161 to 39.

On the 9th of February, the earl of Liverpool, without much preface, moved for the grant of a pension of 2,000*l.* to lord Wellington, for himself and his two next heirs. This motion, and a subsequent bill founded on it, were passed with scarcely any opposition. The public at large were not so fully convinced of the high merits of the conqueror at Talavera as their lordships, and a petition from the common council of London was presented to the house of commons, praying, that they would not pass the said bill into a law; and upon the second reading of the bill, Mr. Whitbread and others protested against the measure; but upon a division, it was passed by a majority of 106 to 36, and was finally passed triumphantly through its several stages.

In the house of commons, on the day just referred to, sir Samuel Romilly proposed some alterations in the criminal laws of the country. He said, the indiscriminate application of the sentence of death to offences exhibiting very different degrees of turpitude had long been a subject of complaint in this country, but it had still been increasing. He need only refer to those principles so universally and triumphantly established by Dr. Adam Smith, to prove this point. In his (sir S. Romilly's) opinion, nothing could be more erroneous or more mischievous than that particular punishments should be allotted to particular offences, and that the law so laid down should not be acted on. He believed that, at this moment, not one out of six or seven who received sentence suffered the punishment annexed to it. There was not a more sanguinary code than that of England in ancient times.

Fortescue stated, that in the time of Henry VI. more persons were executed for robbery in England in one year, than in France in seven years. In the course of the reign of Henry VIII. there were no less than 2,000 persons executed in this country; which was sufficient to show the sanguinary nature of our laws. In the reign of queen Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, the executions amounted to about 400 a year. There were no returns showing the amount of those respited and executed from that period till the reign of George II.; but it appeared, that about that period they stood in a proportion of three to one. From the year 1749 to the year 1756, there were convicted in London and Middlesex alone 428, of whom 306 were executed, being about three-fourths of the whole. In the following years, of 64 convicted, 49 were executed; of 85 convicted, 63 were executed; of 276 convicted, 139 were executed; being in the proportion of about one-half. More recently, during his present majesty's reign, of 558 convicted, only 67 were executed, being in the proportion of only one-eighth. Of late years, out of 87 convicted, only 3 were executed, being in the proportion of one-twenty-ninth part. Murder was a crime, the perpetration of which was hardly to be excused; but if, for crimes of a more trivial nature, a milder sentence than that of death were allotted, there was every ground for believing, that instead of increasing, it would tend most effectually to the prevention of crime. It was not being too uncharitable to suppose that there was some presumptive evidence of guilt before a man was fully committed for trial; yet the returns showed, that in London and Middlesex alone, during seven years, there were committed, for stealing in the dwelling-house, 1,013, and for stealing privately in shops, 859, making together 1872 persons, of whom only one was executed. Some of these, no doubt, might have been unjustly accused, but the proportion must have been inconsiderable. The great bulk of these must have got off, in consequence of persons declining to prosecute; of the jury not finding bills; and, in some instances, that though the facts might have been established, the juries hesitated on account of the severity of the sentence. To these causes might also be attributed the fact, that, by the returns from other counties throughout the kingdom, the number of persons committed in 1806 was 3,426, of whom only two were executed; that in 1807 the number committed was 3,492, of whom only one was executed; and the number in 1808 was 3,748, of whom not one was executed: so that in two years, out of 7,168 persons committed, the law was executed only on one individual. He asked, if a law so inconsistent, so repugnant to every principle of justice and humanity, that it could not be executed, ought to exist in a country like this? His object was to contribute to the comfort and accommodation of every judge and of every jury in the kingdom, and even to relieve from sensations of regret and uneasiness the king himself. Let the Statute Book show, that there was not any good, that there could not be any good in such a system. Who could for a moment suppose the present system to be adequate to the suppression of crime, when informed, that of 7,000 persons committed for trial, only one had been executed? He should be happy to believe that this individual was the only guilty person accused of an offence deemed capital by our existing laws, but human belief could not carry him that length. Our law, as it now stood, the honourable and learned member contended, instead of operating as a preventative, was a manifest cause of the commission of crimes. This he knew to be the concurrent opinion of the judges and

and others who went the circuit. It was impossible that persons could be led to respect the law by knowing that, as it stood, by violating it they must escape punishment. In his opinion, the mere violating of property should not be esteemed a capital offence, where there was no violence offered to the person, or where there was not some act committed which was in its nature calculated to prove detrimental to commerce. With this view he should move to repeal the acts of king William, making it a capital offence to steal 5*s*. privately in the shop; of queen Anne, making it capital to steal 40*s*. in the dwelling-house; and of George II. making it capital to steal value 40*s*. in a navigable river or wharf. The certainty of punishment following conviction of an offence, was unquestionably the most efficacious mode of preventing the commission of crime. If certainty belonged to all the punishments prosecuted by law, even though such punishments were of the very slightest kind, they would tend greatly to the effectual prevention of offences. No man would commit an offence but from the prospect of some good to be thence derived to himself. If he were therefore certain that punishment would assuredly follow, the slightest punishment would be perfectly sufficient to deter him from offending. There was nothing he disliked so much as leaving every thing to the discretion of judges. It would be better to have no laws at all, than to leave the degrees of punishment to the arbitrary discretion of the judges. So differently were the minds of men constituted from the difference of their habits, nay of their reading, that one man's judge might think the first offence entitled to be regarded with pity; another, to deter from the repetition of it, that it should be severely punished. One might think the novelty, another the frequency of an offence, arguments for a more or less severe punishment. A striking circumstance occurred on the Norfolk circuit. Two men had been guilty of stealing some poultry. One of them was brought to trial; and on account of his good character, and because it was his first offence, he was sentenced only to a few months imprisonment. The other person accused presented himself at the next circuit, where a different judge presiding, he was sentenced to seven years transportation, and, at the very moment he was preparing to undergo this sentence, met his associate, who was then discharged from his confinement, and once more restored to liberty. The honourable and learned gentleman was sorry to advert to living judges: but he could not forbear noticing another case which lately occurred. A gentleman had killed another in a duel, in Ireland: and when tried for the offence, the judge laid it down that the crime did not amount to murder. Another gentleman was then in this country who had fallen into a similar misfortune; and trusting to this decision, he went over to Ireland, and voluntarily surrendered himself to take his trial. A different judge presided on that occasion, who defined the crime to be murder; and, in consequence, the unfortunate gentleman was sentenced to be executed; and ministers thinking that it would have a dangerous tendency to extend mercy to him, the sentence of the law was put in force. The severity of the law, too, had a most mischievous effect, in inducing juries and others to disregard the oaths by which they

they were bound. He submitted that the punishment of death could not be justified by human law, but by the necessity of it. Out of 7,000 persons committed for trial within two years, it had been already shown that only *one* individual was executed. This was not, and could not be, sufficient to deter from the commission of crime, to effect which nothing could be so efficacious as the certainty of punishment. His object was to repeal the three acts before alluded to, and to convert the capital punishments into banishment for life, for a shorter period, or into imprisonment, as the nature of the case might seem to warrant. This discretion, notwithstanding he disliked all discretionary power, he must leave with the judge; but it was less objectionable to confer it by law, than to allow it to be tacitly assumed. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the better prevention of stealing in the shop, in the dwelling-house, and on navigable rivers or wharfs.

Mr. Windham did not intend to oppose the introduction of the proposed measure. He thought it would be a proper thing to revise many of our laws, especially those that almost solely affected the lower classes, which had been passed with a great deal too much facility, and too much latitude of discretion to the magistrates. He lamented that laws were proposed and too easily carried, affecting those with whom gentlemen in the house had not so much sympathy as with others—those whose friend the world was not—nor the world's law. He then contended, that it was utterly impossible, in the nature of things, to avoid placing a discretion somewhere, because it was impossible to enact penalties that should apply to the peculiarities of every case.

The solicitor general would not oppose the introduction of the bills, but protested against many of the principles of his honourable and learned friend. Some of the principles laid down by his honourable and learned friend tended to overturn the whole system of the criminal law of the country. He then argued that it was utterly impossible to avoid giving a discretionary power, and where could it be lodged so properly as in the hands of the judges? Even if capital punishments were to be abolished, (except for murder and treason,) there must be still a discretionary power given in other cases. His honourable and learned friend proposed to substitute transportation in place of the capital punishments, which he proposed to abolish; and yet he said that he intended to bring the subject of transportation to Botany Bay before the house, stating that it was attended with great inconveniences. What would he substitute instead of it? He contended, that though the greater punishment against some classes of offence was seldom enforced, yet that the power to inflict it imposed a salutary terror for the prevention of crimes.

Mr. Wm. Smith spoke in behalf of the measure.

Mr. Perceval could not agree that the English penal law was practically sanguinary, and the practice was part of the code; and this appeared from the fact stated, that the capital punishment was only inflicted in one out of 7,000 cases. On the point of discretion, though different punishments had been inflicted for the same offences by different judges, the shades of difference in the same offences might have authorized this. This applied

to the case of the fowl-stealers, and also to that of the two duellists; the latter being a case which what was called the code of honour itself would have condemned. It was rather hard upon those who had a difficult duty to perform, to bring them forward in this manner.

Sir Samuel Romilly complained of having been misrepresented. He had before carefully disclaimed any intention to find fault with the judges. Nothing but a sense of duty actuated him, and that duty he would perform. To endeavour to amend the law was not the way to procure attorney-generalships and chancellorships. His time might be more profitably employed, but he would not be deterred from doing his duty.

Lord George Grenville supported the motion.

Leave was then given to bring in, 1st, A bill to amend the act of king William as to privately stealing in shops, warehouses, &c. to the value of 5*s.*; 2dly, A bill to amend the act of Anne, as to stealing in a dwelling-house to the value of 40*s.*; 3d, A bill to amend the act of George II. as to stealing on navigable rivers, &c. to the value of 40*s.*

These bills were carried progressively through the several stages till the first of May, when the report was brought up, and the amendments severally agreed to; but upon the question "that the bills be engrossed," a long debate arose.

Mr. Herbert felt himself called upon to resist the passing of the bills in progress through the house. The object of these bills was to render offences, capital hitherto, no longer so. As a friend to the old law, he found himself bound to resist such an alteration. The honourable gentleman proceeded to notice the preambles of the acts of Henry VIII. of Philip and Mary, and of Elizabeth, and contended that he was borne out by these preambles in asserting, that the acts were such as the house was in the habit of passing—such, for instance, as those against white boys, in order to put down any occasional acts of violence. The offences which they had been meant to repress were committed by bodies of banditti, who passed from county to county, often in defiance of the military, and were not to be put down by that which, in later times, was considered a panacea for all purposes, the *posse comitatus*. If the punishments in use were not to be retained, where would the learned and honourable gentleman seek for others to be substituted for them? Would he from Russia introduce the knout, which was, according to the evidence of those who had witnessed its infliction, more horrible than death itself? Would he, with Beccaria, recommend perpetual imprisonment? Would he revive the practice of nailing ears to the pillory? Or would he establish solitary imprisonment—a description of punishment, perhaps, desirable, but which a very large proportion of people in this country were resolved to employ all means to get abolished? Upon the whole, he was not prepared to alter the law of England, under which we had lived so happily, and which preserved the property in this rich and flourishing nation with so small a loss of life. He should therefore oppose these bills in every stage.

Sir John Newport contended that crimes were more effectually prevented by the certainty than the severity of punishment. The system of criminal law in this country, he contended, was most bloody,

and was uniformly so represented in foreign nations. In practice he was ready to admit that the English criminal law was not so bloody: but the practice which thus mitigated its severity was a departure from the principle of the system, and the strongest evidence of the necessity of a reformation. The certainty of a lesser punishment would have more effect in deterring from the commission of crimes, as the honourable member must often have observed in the country to which they both belonged, than the terror of a greater which might probably never be inflicted. If, as the honourable gentleman had said, the laws when too severe were not put in force, because individuals then declined to prosecute, was not that a reason why such laws should be modified in order that they might no longer remain a dead letter? The leaning of juries to the side of mercy was another argument for the alteration, because the mitigation of the excessive severity of the laws was in such cases produced sometimes by what should be deprecated by every legislature —perjury, however it may be sanctified by the motive. The honourable gentleman had asked triumphantly what punishments were to be resorted to? But if he had read the bill, he would have been enabled to answer that question by all that appeared on the face of the bill. He would have seen the discretion to be given to the judges to change transportation for solitary confinement. However solitary confinement might appear worse than death to a person who could be guilty of premeditated crimes, it would have a good effect on the interests of society. The individual would not be lost to the community; he would come forth from confinement a better man than he entered it; and, as in the case of hanging or transportation, the effect of the examples of punishment would not be lost to the public. He should most heartily, therefore, support the motion of his honourable and learned friend, who, he trusted, would not be diverted by any interruptions from the career of humanity he was pursuing.

Mr. D. Giddy spoke on the same side, as did the master of the rolls, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Canning; on the other side:

Mr. Windham conceived the present to be a question, if, where guilt was found, execution of the sentence annexed must follow as the necessary consequence? This it was impossible ever to lay down. Such a doctrine would require certain and precise rules of proceeding, which it would be impossible to lay down as applicable to every particular case. He conceived that laws were originally made, not so much for the punishment as for the prevention of crime. Intimidation, he maintained, was the best method of effecting this. His honourable and learned friend seemed to argue that no sentence ought to be passed which should not be executed. But was it possible to lay down such a rule? It was impossible to judge of any case till it actually occurred; but to apply the argument of his honourable and learned friend, it would be necessary to look to cases known and unknown. It was possible to distinguish things obviously different in themselves, but it was impossible unconditionally to provide for different degrees of the same species of offence. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to allude to a bill, which he understood was once more to come before them, for preventing cruelty

to

to animals, on which no two men could have the same feeling for any considerable period of time, and on which no one man could think alike for half an hour together. He could not help looking with an eye of jealousy on all such visionary schemes, which had humanity and justice for their ostensible causes. What had we witnessed within the last twenty years? Had not the French revolution begun with the abolition of capital punishments in every case? but not till they had sacrificed their sovereign, whom they had thus made the grand finale to this species of punishment. When he looked, however, to the millions who had since fallen in the course of the revolution, he could not but regard all schemes of the kind with an eye of jealousy. He asked, therefore, if such a system as this was, without consideration of any kind, to be put up against that of Mr. Paley?

The attorney and solicitor generals, the chancellor of the exchequer, &c. were also against the motion; which was accordingly negatived by a small majority.

The learned gentleman, though defeated was not to be deterred from proceeding on his plan, and accordingly three days after, moved for a return of the number of persons who had been committed to prison within a certain period, with an accurate account of the nature of the offences for which they had been committed.

It would, he said, be important for the house to be in possession of such information, in order to know how many were committed for murder, forgery, and other crimes, with respect to which no alteration of the law was in contemplation; and also how many for larcenies, &c. and the circumstances of aggravation. It would be observed, from the return already on the table, that by much the largest class consisted of those committed for larcenies, being altogether 2,423 names. With respect to these, he thought it would be necessary to know how many had been committed for privately stealing from the person, in houses, or in shops, as well as what number were tried, what number acquitted, and what number discharged. Information of this description would be most satisfactory before any alteration should be made in the law, because, every such alteration being an experiment, it must be desirable to ascertain as nearly as possible the grounds upon which the experiment rests. The information he alluded to would afford the best answer to arguments founded on presumptions which had been used on a late occasion. The motion he proposed to make was,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before the house a return of the number of persons, male and female, who have been committed for trial at the different assizes, or great sessions, from the year 1805 to the year 1809 inclusive, distinguishing the charges upon which each was committed, the crimes for which indicted, convicted, or acquitted, and also distinguishing under the head of each crime the number of those committed, convicted, acquitted, discharged upon no bills being found, and discharged by proclamation, together with, under each head of offence, the number of those who were executed."

His object was not alone to obtain this information because it was valuable, but with a view to a

measure, the fate of which on a former night he deplored. If he thought the sense of the house was decidedly against the measure, he should not bring it forward again. But when he considered that it had been lost only by a majority of two, and that of those who voted against it, two, at least, seemed to be doubtful as to the bill, and voted against it only as connected with some other measures of which they did not approve; he should have no hesitation to submit it to the decision of the same house that had disposed of it on its own merits; because, where there was doubt, the leaning should be to life. For his own part, so far as related to that bill, he felt himself in the situation of a criminal, not convicted of the crime with which he stood charged, but for some other act done or intended. If the forms of the house would allow it, he should bring in the same bill this session; at all events, it was his intention to bring it forward early in the next session. On a question of that description, totally unconnected with party, he had to lament that any gentleman should have thought it necessary to canvass for votes against it; and yet it was obvious, that all the gentlemen in office then in the house had voted against it. Of this he did not complain, though he must complain of the thin attendance in the house on that occasion. It was impossible that gentlemen could be indifferent on a question which was to decide whether the lives of 800 fellow-creatures should be left liable to be sacrificed. He gave notice, that he should bring in the former bill early in the next session of parliament. He could not conceive, as had been stated, that the keeping of this subject open could have any influence upon those connected with the administration of justice.

The motion was put and agreed to, and also a motion for a like return of commitments for trial at the quarter sessions with similar distinctions.

On the 9th of the same month he moved an address to his majesty, praying him to direct the act of the 19th of his reign, relating to penitentiary houses, to be carried into execution. The motion created a short discussion, after which, sir Samuel Romilly withdrew the motion for the present, in conformity to the wishes of some of his friends. And on the 5th of June he brought forward the subject again. He then stated that his object was to carry into execution a plan for the reformation of the criminal law, which, when first proposed, held out the best prospect that ever was devised, a plan which had been framed by the wisest men, who had devoted their whole time to its formation, a plan which was founded upon the principle of providing for the reform of unfortunate convicts, by separating them in their confinement, by teaching them habits of industry, and furnishing them with religious instruction, whereby they might be restored to society, and enabled to obtain an honest livelihood for themselves. This plan had the approbation of Mr. justice Blackstone, who looked upon it as likely to supersede in time the necessity of severe punishments, by lessening the prevalence of offences. Yet this plan had remained thirty years nearly on the statute book, and no step had been taken to put it into execution. The present mode of confinement in the ordinary prisons, and on board the hulks, had the effect of hardening the prisoners in their guilt, and leading

leading them, by the contagion of example, to the commission of the most atrocious crimes, at which they might shudder on their first imprisonment. This was the case in all the prisons of England, with a few honourable exceptions, and pre-eminently so in that prison in the metropolis which was more immediately under the notice of the public. That prison, situated not far from the monument erected to the benevolent Howard, was a reproach to the country. The honourable gentleman then enumerated the evils resulting from the confinement, promiscuously, of persons of different ages and degrees of guilt, in the prisons and hulks, whereby the less criminal and experienced were tutored into the commission of more heinous crimes, of which they were ignorant. He had never said that transportation should be altogether abolished; but he thought it cruel that any persons but those sentenced for life should be transported. In 1800, forty persons had been transported, who had but one year of their term to expire; and ten who had but nine months were transported to New South Wales, a voyage of nine months. Even last August, two men had been transported having only two years of their term unexpired. It was cruel to send out unhappy convicts under such circumstances without providing the means of their return; it was particularly so with respect to females, and persons of feeble frames, who were unable to work their passage home. He deprecated the idea that transportation was but a summer voyage to a better climate, as it might have a very grievous effect if such an impression were to be felt by magistrates throughout the country, intrusted with the administration of the laws. The system of penitentiaries had been successfully tried in America, and had produced the most beneficial results in England wherever it had been tried. The government of Ireland deserved the highest praise for its encouragement of this system; and if the British government, with the experience of Nottingham, and the example of America and Ireland, should still adhere to the present system, it would merit as much censure as the Irish government merited honour. He should therefore move "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions for carrying into effect so much of the 19th of the king as relates to the erecting penitentiary prisons, and also to carry into execution the act of the 34th of his reign."

Mr. secretary Ryder said, that when he last induced his honourable friend to withdraw this motion, it was under the expectation that he should be able to procure complete information upon the subject. That information he had since not obtained, in consequence of the absence from London of a gentleman who had applied himself laboriously to the consideration of such subjects. He had inquired into the circumstance of the persons transported, as alluded to by his honourable and learned friend; and found that they had conducted themselves in exciting the other convicts to commotion, and assisting in the escape of three that had been recommended for transportation.

Mr. Bathurst said he should propose a middle course, and that was, that the house should give a distinct pledge to take the question into consideration early next session.

Mr. Wilberforce regretted that a suggestion of his on a former occasion for reprinting the report on this subject had not been attended to; because, if that report had been in the hands of gentlemen, it would be impossible for them not to agree to the motion of his honourable friend. He was aware of the arduous duties which his right honourable friend had to perform; but when he recollected how often this admirable plan had been near being carried into execution, he could not reconcile himself to any delay of the motion.

The solicitor-general preferred the middle course.

Mr. Whitbread supported the motion. He said that the opinions of Mr. Howard, with whom he had been intimately connected from his infancy, had been misunderstood. Mr. Howard never thought of solitary imprisonment as a punishment which ought to be continued for more than a very short time.

The question was then put, and the motion was lost by a majority of 69 to 52.

CHAPTER II

Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Fuller's Motion for the abolishing of Sinecures.—Mr. Banks's Bill to prevent the giving away of Places in reversion. Debate on Mr. Whitbread's Motion for the Production of Papers supposed to have been presented to the King by the Earl of Chatham: His Majesty's Answer.—Mr. Grattan on a Petition from some Irish Roman Catholics.—Mr. Fuller's Outrage in the House of Commons:—committed to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; his Apology; and Debate on Mr. Perceval's Motion to discharge him.—The Speaker's Reprimand of Mr. Fuller.

HOUSE of Commons, Feb. 12. Mr. Fuller, in rising to make the motion of which he had given notice, relative to sinecure places, felt it impossible for him to impress the house more strongly with the necessity of adopting it, than by quoting a passage from the works of that great law authority, lord Hale. The honourable member then read an extract from the work to which he referred, and which not only condemned the practice of granting such offices, but enumerated the particular offices so improperly granted. He observed that such offices were either necessary or not necessary. If not necessary, why should they be continued? and if necessary, was it to be supposed that such a man as lord Hale would have so expressly stated his opinion against them? It was his opinion, that not only the practice of granting places in reversion was improper, but that the crown ought to put in force, for the interest of the public, the resumption of all such grants. By such measures neither the crown nor the people

people would lose any thing. Whilst the present system existed, it was vain to expect what had been proclaimed by the great Alfred,—that justice should be carried to the doors of every man. It was not his wish or intention, in bringing forward this motion, to strike against or break down the influence of the crown. On the contrary, he was glad to perceive that the influence of the crown had increased in proportion as the corruption of the morals of the people had been progressive. This accession to the influence of the crown was necessary to the preservation of the balance of the constitution. But this formed no part of the proposition he had to bring forward. His object was to prevent the avaricious part of the aristocracy from providing for the younger branches of their families, by procuring for them sinecure appointments. It appeared from the appendix of the report of the committee of finance, that three hundred and fifty thousand pounds of the public money were enjoyed in that way; and it was obvious that the whole of that sum might be saved to the nation, if such places were to be abolished after the death of the present possessors. He did not wish to take from his sovereign the power or the means of rewarding meritorious services; but he thought it necessary to the interests of a country ornamented and distinguished by the exalted genius of Nelson, and the divine intellect of Mr. Pitt, that its resources should be properly husbanded, and disposed of only in remuneration of national services. He should therefore move for leave to bring in a bill for abolishing sinecure offices.

On the question being put,

Mr. Henry Thornton rose, not to oppose the motion of the honourable gentleman, but to state his opinion, that it would have been better if the honourable gentleman had deferred his motion till the report of the committee should enable the house to come to some decision upon the question. He was of opinion that it would be better for the honourable gentleman to put off his motion till some future day.

Mr. Ward would vote for the measure of the honourable gentleman now, precisely on the ground which the mover had disclaimed: because he thought that the enormous influence of the crown ought, by all fair and constitutional means, to be diminished. Many years ago, a memorable resolution had passed in that house, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." If, at that time, the resolution was correct in point of fact; if it was nearly so; if it was not a complete and palpable falsehood; what was the state of the influence of the crown now? During the last thirty years, it had been rapidly increasing, strengthening with our weakness, until it arrived at its present enormous height—such a height that it pervaded the whole face of the country; that it insinuated itself almost into every family in the nation; and that there was hardly an individual so obscure, or insulated, as not to be subject to it, either directly or through his connexions. But to show to what a height the influence of the crown had grown, nothing more was necessary than the fact, that these were the ministers of the country! for, if it had not grown to such a size as never had been known under the house of Brunswick, such a ministry could not have existed a mo-

ment—nay, no such administration could ever have been formed, as no one could have ventured upon such an experiment. No one could more detest than he did any thing which led to violent and revolutionary changes; he would go further, and say, that if there was any branch to which he would without much apprehension allow rather more than its due share of power, it was the monarchical branch; but for the sake of the people, some stop ought to be put to the enormous growth of the power of the crown, and also for the advantage of the crown itself, lest the time should at last come when it must extinguish the other branches, or be itself extinguished. If he would diminish the power of the crown, it was to widen its basis and increase its security. There was nothing more to be deprecated at present than the abstraction of the mind by minor objects from those of a greater and more extensive importance. Of all the forms which were agitated, there were two which he thought of prominent consequence: first, a reform in the great departments of state, which probably might, to a certain degree, be expected from the labours of the finance committee; and secondly, a reform in the whole mode and principle of conducting the war. The house would recollect, that twice as much had been expended on the late calamitous and most impolitic expeditions, as would have purchased the fee simple of all these sinecures. What was the use of our œconomy, if the fruits of it were to be converted into a fund for the ministers to squander upon such frantic expeditions as that to Walcheren? For his part, he had rather that the money should be thrown away upon the idlest and most useless of mankind, than that it should form, in the hands of ministers, an instrument for the destruction of our soldiers.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the feeling which seemed to be uppermost in the mind of the honourable gentleman was, that whatever may be the subject under consideration, a charge was to be brought against government. Whether the question was one for reform, œconomy, or upon any subject of general policy, the honourable gentleman opposite took occasion to bring complaints against the conduct of the government; and to urge, that if talents, ability, and integrity were necessary, they were to be found on their side of the house. The honourable gentleman opposite well knew, that they and their party possessed a much larger proportion of the offices to which the motion applied, than the gentlemen on his side; and he would ask them, whether it was fair, just, or honest in them, to make the possession of such places the ground of charge against his majesty's present servants? For himself, he should oppose the motion, but upon a different ground from that stated by the honourable gentleman, who had taken such a view of it only as would lead to a change of government, in which he should justly be destined to bear so conspicuous a part. The committee of finance had reported upon the subject of sinecures, that, if they were to be abolished, an equivalent should be provided in some other way. As to the observation of the honourable gentleman respecting the great increase of the influence of the crown, he was ready to deny the fact. Since the period when that house had agreed to the proposition

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of Mr. Dunning, all Mr. Burke's measures of reform had taken place. Besides, in the proportion in which the influence of the crown had increased, in consequence of the augmented revenue and expenditure of the country, the means and wealth of its population had kept constantly progressive, and formed a balance for any accession to the influence of the crown. He looked upon the motion before the house to be premature; but was of opinion, that whether the expeditions alluded to by the honourable member had been successful or unsuccessful, or whatever might have been the expenses attending them, such topics were wholly unconnected with the question before the house.

Mr. Lamb and Mr. Creevy were for the motion. Mr. Saunders spoke against it. Mr. Bankes urged Mr. Fuller to withdraw it for the present; to which he agreed.

We have already noticed the measures taken by Mr. Bankes to prevent places in reversion to be given away by the crown. The bill passed the house of commons without much opposition, but in the upper house it met with a different reception. The second reading of it was appointed for Monday, February 26; when earl Grosvenor observed, though ministers seemed reluctant to give their opinions on the subject, an opposition to the bill had been started by a noble friend, and supported by others; so that it was deemed necessary to adjourn the discussion, on the ground of the necessity of a communication of the royal consent in the first instance, as if the bill involved an attack on the prerogative of the crown. The particular objection had however been given up, and he hoped that this bill would not founder on the rock of prerogative, but be carried safely into its desired haven, notwithstanding the storm which seemed to threaten its progress. The minds of the public at large were made up to the expectation of the present measure being carried, and he trusted their lordships would not disappoint them; or it would be supposed that there was a disposition to resist every species of reform. After it had been sent up to their lordships by the unanimous vote of the house of commons, the representative body, he trusted the house would pass the bill without opposition. It was evident that the other house and the public considered this as an important measure; and if there was a spark of public spirit, if there was an attachment to public principle in the ministers of the country, they would not oppose this bill, in the present situation of the country, more particularly when the calls upon the public were so great and pressing, and when so many calamities had occurred. This was a time that particularly called on their lordships to consider the public sentiment. The noble earl entered into the various steps that had been taken with respect to the bill, which had been sent up twice to their bar, and which they had rejected; and hoped, notwithstanding what had been done hitherto, that it was not intended to substitute for this measure a mere bill for the purpose of suspending the exercise of the prerogative in this respect, which if passed was equally an attack on the royal prerogative. The house of commons had shown itself so persevering and determined in the prosecution of the measure, that they had resorted to an unusual mode; that of inspecting their lordships' journals, to search for precedents for

for the purpose of discovering means of reconciling their lordships to the adoption of the measure. Then they proceeded to the bill of suspension. It would seem like a sort of political obstinacy to refuse now to enter fully into the merits of the question, and even to pass the bill, against the passing of which he had not yet heard a single solid objection. The other house had so far proceeded in the business, that no compromise could possibly be of any utility. If the bill was a fit bill, if it was advantageous to the interests of the community, let it be passed; if not, let it be opposed openly and directly, and let it be rejected. But let there be no idea of a disgraceful compromise. He thought the public must feel that there was something odious in the manner in which the bill had been resisted. This was not an occasion to discuss the merits of sinecure offices; but he would say that rewards should be given only to those who were deserving of them: yet nothing appeared to him so absurd as the practice of granting places in reversion; places which would devolve upon persons of whose fitness it was absolutely impossible to form a judgement, who might, before the reversion fell into their hands, be incapacitated, in respect to their ability, their integrity, or any other qualification or recommendation whatever. He conjured the house to attend to this measure, by the passing of which, they would at least give to the public some idea that they were desirous of redeeming the pledge of œconomy they had made at the opening of the session; by which they would show that they were friendly to practical reform, and for which they would be rewarded by the gratitude of the country. His lordship concluded a very able speech, by moving the second reading of the bill.

Lord viscount Sidmouth professed himself a sincere friend to the object of the bill; but thought the public deluded under the idea of any immediate or material species of œconomy by its adoption. The enactment of it would not, in his lordship's judgement, tend to deprive the crown of any valuable and useful prerogative; but, on the contrary, would confer an additional grace on the favours which the crown might be graciously pleased to bestow, inasmuch as the crown would not confer precarious and uncertain rewards, but direct and immediate benefits. The operation of the system of reversions was sometimes hurtful to the individuals themselves in whose favour they were granted; for it not unfrequently put persons into a situation of hope, which could never be gratified on account of the longer life of the first possessor: but his lordship wished that every becoming attention and decorum should be paid to the rights of the sovereign; and as in cases of the proprietary interest of the crown, the consent of the crown was by the practice of parliament necessary, so he thought it was in cases where the royal prerogative was affected, as it was, in some degree, by this bill. The house might proceed by address to the throne, or they might move for a committee to search for precedents on the subject, or postpone the further consideration of the bill for a few days—a delay that could not be material. It was very desirable that the consent of the crown, as far as its rights were concerned, should be had in as early a stage of their proceedings as possible. He was, therefore, in favour of a postponement, and the appoint-

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ment of a committee to search, in the mean time, for precedents. His lordship moved, as an amendment for that purpose, to postpone the debate on the second reading to Thursday.

The lord chancellor stated the circumstances attending the progress of the various measures on this question. He admitted the right of their lordships to proceed in the bill, but considered the consent of the crown respecting its prerogatives, to be on as good a footing as with respect to its proprietary interests. His lordship intimated his opinion that he could not vote for the present bill, which went to prohibit where it did not appear to be the intention to do so, and *vice versâ*. He was favourable to the postponement.

Lord Grenville considered the objections as relating to a matter of form. He said that the royal consent could be given at any stage before the third reading; and that, therefore, it was not necessary to postpone the second reading. He was also of opinion that the royal consent was necessary, according to the practice of parliament.

A long conversation on the point of form ensued, in which lords Sidmouth, Eldon, Arden, Redesdale, Derby, &c. took part; and which ended in lord Sidmouth's requesting leave to withdraw his amendment; which was accordingly granted.

Lord Ross rose, and objected to the bill as an unnecessary infringement on the long established prerogative of the crown, which his lordship thought could not be interfered in without great detriment. It was necessary to uphold those prerogatives, at the present time especially: besides, in the present case, no benefit was likely to accrue from the proposed alteration.

Lord Redesdale did not consider the measure proposed as an important one, but it was important to oppose it, because it seemed to be a first step to many other things that were denominated reforms. It was no redemption of any pledge given by parliament. It was nothing: the question was simply as to the propriety of taking away the prerogative of the crown in granting reversionary places. Most of those places were merely ministerial. Many years ago the practice had prevailed without any discovery of a grievance. Many wise men had sat in that house before their lordships, who made many useful reforms of abuses, and yet they did not find out this practice to be an abuse. That his lordship considered to be a strong argument on the present question. He had not heard of any great inconvenience that had arisen from the practice, to render such a bill at all necessary. As to the argument about the possibility of the reversionist not being capable of discharging his duties; that would equally apply to the granting a place for one life, as then the holder might live so long, or become so infirm, as to be unable to fulfil all the duties of his situation. The passing of the bill would, in his lordship's opinion, be an unnecessary departure from the course and experience of ages, without any view of public benefit. As to the suspension, that question stood on different grounds, as it might take place with a prospective view to some general measure.

The earl of Darnley strenuously supported the bill, which in various points his lordship conceived to be necessary.

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The lord chancellor deprecated the arguing of this question, upon the popularity or unpopularity that might result from its adoption or rejection. He trusted that their lordships knew too well what was due to themselves to be influenced by such considerations. He would admit that public opinion was not to be slighted; on the contrary, he thought that great deference was due to it; but if ever parliament should sacrifice its own sense of what was right and proper to popularity, from that instant it would fall into public contempt. Should he vote for this bill, he would consider himself as surrendering the dignity of that house, and the consistency of its proceedings. He was not, whatever might be thought, an enemy to the principle of reform; but he liked to see his way, to understand what he was about, and not, by taking a little here and a little there, to find himself at last committed to an extent he never intended. He was persuaded that less inconvenience was produced by granting places in reversion than in possession. In the former, the grantee was generally qualified for the situation before he got it; but, in the latter, it was possible a place might be granted to an infant of five years old. The practice of granting places in reversion was interwoven with the constitution—it had existed for three centuries, and no disadvantage was found to arise from it. It was a practice that was sanctioned by the ablest of his predecessors in the situation he filled; and he was persuaded that those honourable men would never have put the great seal to those grants, if they conceived the practice dangerous to the constitution.

Lord Grosvenor, in reply, maintained, that no arguments had been offered, in the course of the discussion, to induce him to change his opinion respecting the urgency of passing the bill he had the honour to propose.

A division took place on the question that this bill be *now* read: it was negatived by a large majority.

We have already referred to the Walcheren expedition, and to the motion made by lord Porchester upon this subject. The examination of witnesses upon that important subject led to the knowledge of a variety of circumstances little expected either by the ministers or their opponents: among these it was discovered that a paper had been presented to his majesty by the earl of Chatham, in justification of his own conduct as chief commander of the land forces, and, of course, throwing the blame upon the naval part of the armament. This fact, which was discovered by accident, led

Mr. Whitbread to move in the house, on the 23d of February, for whatever papers, memorandums, reports, &c. relating to the Scheldt expedition, might have been presented by lord Chatham to his majesty. Those members who were present at his lordship's examination would recollect the question put to him, and the answers—upon which the address he meant to move was founded. His lordship had been asked as to the narrative presented to his majesty on the 14th of February, and which was now on the table of the house; and he had also been asked, whether he had presented any other narrative, paper, report, or memoranda, to his majesty on this subject. After a good many questions put on this point, and a long delay on the part of his lordship, he at last declined

clined to give any answer at all. This induced a strong suspicion that he had presented more papers on this subject to the king; but as the witness was a peer of the realm, it was impossible to press the matter further, after he had declined answering. His address, therefore, was to request that his majesty would be pleased to lay the other papers presented by lord Chatham on the table, if any such existed. This at least was in the power of the house; and it appeared the only way by which they could get at them. He then gave a short summary of the history of this narrative. On the 27th of January the house had resolved to institute an inquiry into the policy and conductof the expedition to the Scheldt; and it was not till the 16th of February that a gallant officer, a private friend of lord Chatham, proposed that an address should be presented to his majesty, to bring the narrative before the house. In his majesty's speech at the opening of the session, it was said that orders had been given to lay on the table such papers on this subject as would be thought satisfactory. Of this narrative the ministers could then have known nothing. It in fact did not exist as a narrative at the time; and from lord Chatham's evidence it appeared that ministers did not know of it. Now, however, when it was ascertained that a paper had been presented to the king, of which the ministers knew nothing till a few minutes before it was given, their ignorance of the existence of other papers could be no answer to this motion. There could be no dispute now as to the competence of the house to move for papers not presented in an official form. That, indeed, might have been doubted; but the house had decided the question in the case of the narrative, and, therefore, there was no question upon that head. Upon the general principle applying to lord Chatham's conduct, in having taken advantage of his situation as a privy counsellor to deliver in a paper of this nature to the king in an official form, it was unnecessary to dwell. The theory of the government, of which so much was said, did not warrant it; and it was impossible that the practice could go on if such things were to be allowed. What was the tendency of the dispatches and the journal of lord Chatham? In all the dispatches from Walcheren, Batz, and all the places where the chief operations were conducted, no imputation had been cast on the navy, but, on the contrary, its proceedings had been mentioned in terms of the most unqualified approbation. In the journal, too, the delays and disappointments had been ascribed by lord Chatham, or the quarter-master-general, to the weather—to the unfavourable state of the elements. But when the narrative appeared, it was found that, in contradiction to the dispatches and the journal, an imputation was cast upon the naval part of the expedition, which put the two services directly at issue. It had been his wish, and that of his friends around him, he believed, to keep clear of any thing that might occasion an unnecessary disagreement between the two services, and their questions had been shaped with that view. In every case where every thing depended on the cooperation of two services, there might naturally be some differences, from the impatience of one to proceed with a degree of haste utterly incompatible with the situation of the other. Such small disagree-

disagreements, depending entirely upon the want of perfect information in the one service of all the circumstances bearing upon the other, might be properly passed over, and ought to be forgotten. But when lord Chatham, the military commander of the expedition, had presented to his majesty personally a paper containing direct imputations on the conduct of the naval service, it had become utterly impossible that the matter should be permitted to rest where it was. It was important to attend to other circumstances connected with this narrative. What happened after lord Chatham's return to London? While lord Chatham was in London, and the ministers had complete access to all the information which he could or was inclined to furnish, they had replied to an address of the city of London calling for inquiry, that his majesty had not thought it necessary to institute any inquiry into the conduct of the expedition, naval or military. But if this narrative had been before them, or any information of this nature had been given, it must have been impossible for them to have refrained, if they had any regard to their duty, from advising his majesty to institute an inquiry at least into the naval part of the expedition. Mr. Whitbread then said, that he assumed, because it was not denied by lord Chatham, that his lordship had presented other papers to his majesty on this subject. The silence of lord Chatham warranted this assumption; and it was in order to enable the house to do its duty properly, that these papers should be produced. Ministers might certainly have been as ignorant of the existence of any such papers, as he was, till he put the question to lord Chatham; a thing far from improbable, considering the discordant materials of which their cabinet was composed; and his lordship might, to any questions of theirs upon that point, have said, as he did last night, that he declined giving any answer. But could they deny that other papers had been presented to his majesty, besides the narrative? If they could make such a denial, that was one way of deciding the matter; but if not, then it became the duty of the house to insist upon the production of the other papers, if any such existed. "Now," continued Mr. Whitbread, "observe how the matter would have stood, if there had been no inquiry. All would have appeared fair and open between the two services, on the face of the public documents; but still there would have remained, lurking behind in the king's closet, a direct accusation by the military commander against the naval part of the expedition;—accusations, of the existence of which those concerned could have had no idea, and which, therefore, they could never have had an opportunity of repelling. This was the system of favouritism—a system, which was not only abhorrent to the nature of the constitution, but one which a limited monarchy could not endure: and it had always been the complaint of those who wished that the democratical part should retain its due energy, that the royal person was frequently surrounded by minions, by whom his majesty's best subjects were misrepresented and calumniated, without the possibility of bringing the truth to the ear of the sovereign." He had a right to presume that there were other papers, and he had a right, under the circumstances, to presume further, that these papers contained direct

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charges against the navy; for the narrative, which was not willingly produced, contained every thing short of direct charges. How far such charges might be well founded, would be a matter for future consideration. It had been said, that the narrative was drawn up as early as October—that it had been kept close till the other day, and had not been shown to ministers till now. They had no opportunity of giving their opinions upon it—but a cabinet minister, the military commander of the expedition, communicated directly with his majesty upon a great public question, without having thought it at all necessary to consult his colleagues. He had then a right to presume that papers had been presented to his majesty by lord Chatham, containing stronger accusations than those that were to be found in the narrative. In justice then to the gallant officer, sir Richard Strachan—in justice to the officers serving under him, and to the navy in general, he called upon the house to address his majesty for the production of these papers. Let the ministers find them wherever they were—that was their business, and not that of the house. They would not, he hoped, be permitted to cast upon the king the imputation of refusing papers, the production of which was essential to enable the gallant officers concerned to meet the accusations brought against them, as well as necessary to satisfy the public mind. The king could do no wrong—the ministers were responsible. The task of finding the papers rested with them; he was sure it was the proper task and duty of the house to agree to the address which he would now move. He concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to order that there be laid on the table of the house, copies of all papers, reports, memoranda, &c. &c. delivered by lord Chatham relative to the expedition to the Scheldt."

Mr. Ryder observed, that in rising to oppose the motion of the honourable gentleman, he admitted that the house had the right to accede to it, or to any motion of the same nature. But then he hoped that, in the exercise of this right, the house would never lose sight of a due discretion. It appeared to him, that one of the closing sentences of the honourable gentleman's speech was an answer to all the rest: for he himself seemed to be conscious, that the ministers did not know at what office to apply for these papers. He (Mr. Ryder) said, that there never was in any office any paper or narrative of this kind, and that no communication of any such had been made to the ministers. He wished to be heard, and again stated that no such paper existed at any office, and that no communication had been made to them of the narrative on the table till the fourteenth of this month. He believed, that, as far as precedent went, addresses had been for the production of official papers, or to ascertain who had been the adviser of any particular act. But still he admitted, that the house had the right of calling for these papers. He could not, however, conceive what return could be made to this address, supposing it should be agreed to. Could they search the private escrutoire of the king for these papers? He knew not that such a thing had been ever done. While he admitted the right of the house

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to call for the papers, yet he put the matter as a question of discretion, as to the exercise of the right; and upon the ground of discretion he would oppose the motion.

Mr. Ponsonby remarked, that if he had only heard the right honourable secretary's speech, without hearing that sentence where he said he would oppose the motion, he should have thought that he meant to support it, for all his argument was in favour of the address. The right honourable gentleman had admitted the right of the house to call for these papers, but said that he did not know how to get at them without searching his majesty's private escrutoire. Was this doctrine to be endured? Was it to be endured from a British secretary of state to a British house of commons? Was he to be permitted for a moment to maintain, as a legitimate objection, that he did not know where to look for a public paper, without searching the private escrutoire of his sovereign? Did he imagine that these communications were to be considered as private and confidential? If he did, he must maintain that a privy counsellor had the right to make private and confidential communications to his sovereign, upon a subject of great public importance, without any consultation with his colleagues. If this doctrine was to be maintained and acted upon, then there was an end of all responsibility. The right honourable gentleman said, he did not know where to find the papers —but where did he find the narrative? It appeared the ministers heard, for the first time, of this narrative at the levee, at which it was presented—and yet they found that paper, and it was now on the table!! Was it to be supposed that his majesty would refuse to communicate to his servants whatever information he possessed on this subject? This was a most abominable doctrine; for here the sovereign's character was traduced, in order to screen his ministers, and to save them from the necessity of producing these papers. The sovereign would never allow the character of a brave officer to be assailed, without affording him every means of defending himself.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the motion: he denied that the narrative was a paper at all of a similar description to that which the right honourable gentleman opposite now supposed to exist. When the honourable general (Loftus) who moved for the production of that narrative, communicated to him his intention of making such a motion, he (Mr. Perceval) was apprised of the existence of that document; he knew it was an official paper, and in official custody; and therefore it was that he had no objection in assenting to its production. If compared with the paper now supposed, the two cases were directly the reverse. The first was one which, when called for by the vote of that house, he knew to be in existence, in one of the offices of his majesty's confidential servants; the other paper now sought, has been absolutely denied to have any existence in any of the departments of the state. Under such circumstances, it was impossible that ministers could give any answer to the address of that house, without a personal application to the crown. And it was a question for the house to consider, would it vote for an address to the crown to produce a paper, merely for the purpose of ascertaining whether such a paper was

was in existence or not? a paper, if in existence, of whose contents and quality those who called for it knew nothing, and of which he must say, that, whatever were its contents and quality, it could never be considered as an official document, for the reception of which there needed any advice, it being merely a communication upon certain facts. It was upon such grounds that he felt himself disposed to oppose the motion for an address.

Sir Home Popham.—"I feel, sir, that unless the proposed address is supported by the decision of this house, and that the papers alluded to are produced for its consideration and that of the country, much wrong will accrue where gratitude is owed,—I mean to sir Richard Strachan. I may be asked, why it is I assume that such a paper is in existence? My answer is, that its existence has not been denied, and therefore my assumption is correct. Let any one of his majesty's confidential advisers deny that such a paper has been delivered by the noble lord, and the moment I am so informed I shall cease to press the necessity of this address. But in the absence of that information, I call upon this house to sympathize in the feelings of my gallant friend, wounded as those feelings have been by the production of the former paper. If then from that paper, so lately presented to the house, the character of sir Richard Strachan has suffered, how much more probable it is, that in the papers kept out of view, he has been subjected to greater suffering, and to a more aggravated reflection upon his character! Let the house review the facts. In the month of July an expedition was sent to the coast of Holland. From some causes it did not succeed to the extent in which public expectation was warranted to indulge. An inquiry was instituted by the house of commons; numerous papers were moved for, and others voluntarily laid upon its table. For fourteen days had the house proceeded in its investigation, when we are surprised by a motion of an honourable general, (Loftus,) the friend of lord Chatham, calling for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to order a narrative of that noble lord, delivered but the day before, to be laid before that house. Would it not, I ask, be at least more liberal, when the noble lord had determined upon such a course of proceeding, to have, at all events, presented it previous to the inquiry? Is that the extremity of suffering to which my gallant friend, the naval commander of the late expedition, is subjected? Have we not reason to think that other documents, prejudicial to his high character, have also been presented in the same secret way? But we are told this is an assumption not tenable upon good grounds. To this I unequivocally reply, If no other papers were presented to his sovereign by the noble lord, when the question was candidly put to him, how easy was it for him, if no such documents were delivered, to have answered in the negative! The right honourable gentleman the chancellor of the exchequer has stated, that he can by no means see in the narrative of the noble lord any reflection cast upon the character of sir Richard Strachan, or on that part of the naval force employed in the expedition to the Scheldt. I venture to say, that such paper has thrown upon both a great and grievous reflection. So feels the gallant and distinguished officer himself; and after what has been

elicited from the examination of the noble lord (Chatham) last night, sir Richard Strachan also feels the aggravated situation in which he is placed; for, as he himself says, 'How do I know, even if I repel all the charges conveyed against me in this narrative, that after all, a second and third document, similarly communicated, in fact edition following edition, will not be forthcoming?' Is this a proper state in which to leave a man who has deserved so well of his country? Is this the reward which this house would bestow, for a life devoted to the nation's service? Deeply affected as are the feelings of my gallant friend, he suffers not alone: there is not an officer of his profession but sympathizes with him. Through all ranks of that profession it is the same, equally with those who have not interest to be employed, as with those whom other causes have lately kept out of the actual exercise of professional duties. This question, standing upon its own merits, cannot be benefited, and ought not to be injured, by party feeling. It is a question of justice—of justice to a gallant officer, the idol of the service, covered with the honours bestowed by a grateful country, remunerated by the liberality of parliament, and invested by his sovereign with a red ribbon, as a mark of his royal favour. It is for such a man, now labouring under such charges as this narrative so communicated conveys, that I appeal to the house of commons."

A long and animated debate ensued; after which Mr. Whitbread replied, and his motion was carried by a majority of seven.

On the 26th the chancellor of the exchequer appeared at the bar, and read from thence the answer of his majesty to the address of the house, voted on Friday last, for copies of all the narratives, memoranda, &c. delivered into his majesty's hands by the earl of Chatham, relative to the expedition to the Scheldt, which was as follows:

"His majesty has been waited upon with the address of this house, of Friday last, the 23d of this month, to which he has been graciously pleased to direct the following answer to be given:

"The earl of Chatham having requested his majesty to permit him to present his report to his majesty, and having also requested that his majesty would not communicate it for the present, his majesty received it on the 15th of January last, and kept it till the 10th of this month; when, in consequence of a wish having been expressed by the earl of Chatham, on the 7th of this month, to make some alterations in it, his majesty returned it to the earl of Chatham. The report, as altered, was again tendered to his majesty by the earl of Chatham on the 14th of this month, when his majesty directed it to be delivered to his secretary of state, and his majesty has not kept any copy or minute of this report, as delivered at either of these times, nor has he had, at any time, any other report, memorandum, narrative, or paper, submitted to him by the earl of Chatham relating to the late expedition to the Scheldt."

Feb. 27. Mr. Grattan rose to present a petition from divers Roman catholics in Ireland, praying for constitutional privileges. Upon some future day he would take occasion to call the solemn deliberation of the house, to sit in judgement upon the great question of giving all the defenders of the empire

empire the same dear interests in its security, of consolidating our means as a people, by making us an united people, cementing our strength by a more universal diffusion of the privileges that made us strong, and extending the defence of our rights by extending their participation. On that day he should rest his arguments upon two great claims which he would put in on the part of the constitution:—First, no religious disability:—Next, no foreign nomination. Upon the common ground of those two principles he would take his stand; for the present he should say no more. He deprecated in the present stage any conversation that could not embrace the question fully, and that might go too far upon detached points; and upon the future discussion he trusted that there would not be betrayed, upon either the one side or the other, any heat or violence. This was a question upon which transient effusions of ungoverned warmth might inflict permanent wounds. Passion and prejudice should keep equally aloof from its discussion. The soothing progress of time had imperceptibly done much to heal, and change, and reconcile—reciprocal good-will had been gaining upon reciprocal recrimination. The question was a sort of protracted marriage. Both parties were growing wearied of asperity—they were learning to bear with one another's failings, to take the worse for the sake of the better, and would soon have a common sympathy in their sufferings and enjoyments. The right honourable gentleman then concluded with moving, that the petition do lie on the table; which, after a conversation between several members, was agreed to.

During one of the examinations of lord Chatham before the committee of the house, to which we have lately referred,

Mr. Fuller (member for Sussex) put several questions, which were not attended to, either by his lordship or the house. When his lordship withdrew, Mr. Fuller rose and said, that his questions had as much right to be attended to, as those of the chancellor of the exchequer. "G-d d—n me, sir," said he, "I have as much right to be heard as any man who is paid for filling the place he holds."

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That the words of the honourable member should be taken down;" which was agreed to.

The house resumed, and sir John Anstruther, the chairman, reported the expressions of Mr. Fuller.

The speaker then informed the house, that it had come to his knowledge that a member had used unparliamentary language, which was a breach of the privileges of that honourable house. He felt sorry that it would become his duty to name him.

Mr. Fuller.—"You need not be diffident—It's I, *Jack Fuller.*"

The speaker ordered the honourable member to withdraw; but he declined, until several of his friends interfered.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That he should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms;" which was agreed to, without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Fuller, who was in the lobby, on the vote of the house being communicated to him rushed into the body of the house, and, in a loud voice, said, the speaker had not the power or authority to order him into custody; he was only the servant of the members, and, by

their submitting to him, they had made him their master. He meant "the insignificant little fellow in the wig." The speaker directed the serjeant-at-arms should collect the persons under his command, to remove Mr. Fuller by force from the house. It was with difficulty that the serjeant and four messengers, after a severe struggle, were able to take him into custody.

March 1. Mr. Perceval rose and stated, that he had been authorized by Mr. Fuller, now in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, to express the deepest regret for the outrage of which he had been guilty, and to request, in Mr. Fuller's name, that he might be discharged. As Mr. Fuller had thus expressed his regret for his conduct, therefore, and had thus apologized, he trusted the house would think that it expressed its sense of the impropriety of such conduct in a manner sufficiently strong, and that enough had been done to support their dignity and authority. He concluded by moving, "That Mr. Fuller be now discharged out of custody."

Lord Temple was sure that the house must be aware how unpleasant it was to rise to speak in opposition to the most lenient proposal upon a personal question. But he could not, consistently with his sense of what was due to the house and to the speaker, suffer such outrageous conduct to pass with so slight a mark of the resentment of the house.

Mr. Charles Wynne felt exactly as his noble friend (Temple) had described, in rising to speak on a personal question of this nature. But he was convinced that the house would not discharge its duty to itself, if it agreed to the motion now proposed. It was said that this was the first offence; but the house would recollect, that it was not one offence only. The house had, in the first place, been insulted by the most improper and unparliamentary language: and when it expressed its sense of such conduct, Mr. Fuller had burst out of the custody of the serjeant-at-arms; had rushed into the body of the house, and committed the most violent outrage. After such conduct as this, it was proposed to discharge the offender at the first sitting of the house. There was no precedent of any case similar to this; but even where members had been committed for improper language, the house had directed that they should be reprimanded. But if this motion was carried, the entry on the journals would be, that, after this unprecedented outrage, Mr. Fuller was discharged at the next sitting of the house.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had sat for twenty years in the house, and never witnessed such a gross outrage as had been committed the other night. He was present; he saw it all; he heard all; but would not quote the language used. Those who were present would recollect that it was only by an accidental circumstance that the outrage had been prevented from proceeding to the utmost excess of violence. After this Mr. Fuller sent the house a sort of an apology directed to the chancellor of the exchequer.

[Mr. Perceval here interrupted Mr. Whitbread, and said, that he understood the apology to be directed to the house, though it had been inclosed in a letter to him.]

Mr. Whitbread, in continuation, insisted that it was directed to the chancellor of the exchequer, and taking up a paper from the table, read, "I beg you will inform the house that I am sorry for what I have

have done, and beg leave to apologize for my conduct." This was directed to the chancellor of the exchequer. The paper itself showed that such was the fact, and it was impossible they could deny it. Of the letter inclosing this apology the house knew nothing, as it was not on the table; but after all, the apology was far from being couched in very strong terms. Gentlemen had talked a great deal lately about their privileges. One man for a violation of them had lately been reprimanded at their bar, [see next chapter,] and another had been sent to Newgate; and was the house to suffer an outrage within its walls, the greatest outrage that had been ever committed, to pass with this slight mark of its sense of such conduct? When an honourable baronet, who was present at the time, thought that he who committed this outrage ought to be sent to the Tower, it would not perhaps be considered as harsh, that he (Mr. Whitbread) expected a much more ample apology; and even supposing an ample apology to be made, he could not have thought it possible that the offending person should be dismissed without a reprimand from the chair. When gentlemen who saw the outrage doubted, if it would be consistent with the dignity of the house to allow the man who had so insultingly violated its privileges and rules ever to sit there again, it was proposed to dismiss the matter with this meagre apology and slight confinement. Many gentlemen present had seen the outrage; all of them had heard of it; the whole public rang with it. He affirmed, that not the house alone, but the speaker had been insulted; he had heard the language used. He would not quote it, unless he was challenged to do so. But if he should be challenged to quote the words, he thought they were such as would leave no doubt of the correctness of his conclusion. He must therefore oppose the motion.

Sir R. Williams thought he might move, as an amendment, "that Mr. Fuller be brought to the bar to apologize to the house; and that if the apology should be deemed sufficient, he might be discharged."

Mr. secretary Ryder did not rise with a view to diminish the sense which the house appeared to entertain of the insult offered to it. With a view to example, however, he would propose an amendment to the motion of his right honourable friend, viz. "that Mr. Fuller be called to the bar to be reprimanded by the speaker, and then discharged."

The speaker said, that he thought it right to state to the house, in justice to the individual whose conduct was now under discussion, that he had received a letter from Mr. Fuller, with an apology for expressions which he had not heard; and if he had heard them, the house would give him credit, when he said—that they would not have operated in the least on his mind, except as connected with the dignity and authority of the house.

The question was then put, and the amendment carried; when the speaker ordered the serjeant-at-arms to bring Mr. Fuller to the bar. Mr. Fuller was accordingly brought in the course of a few minutes, when the speaker addressed him in substance as follows:

"Mr. Fuller, You stand at that bar, in the presence of the commons of the united kingdom in parliament assembled, to receive the declaration of their high displea-

sure. During the progress of the business of a committee of the whole house, engaged in a most important and solemn inquiry, your offensive language and disorderly conduct required an immediate appeal to the house. When called upon by the house to apologize for your error, you aggravated your offence by insulting its dignity; you disregarded the custody to which you were bound, by every consideration of propriety and duty, to have submitted, and broke into the body of the house with clamour and outrage unparalleled. This is the head and front of your offending. As for myself, I feel no sentiment towards you, except that of regret, that any member of this house should stand where you now stand, under such circumstances. But we hope from the apology you have made, from the early contrition you evinced, on the very night in which the outrage was committed, that you have a proper sense of your error. The moderation with which the house has acted in your case deserves your best acknowledgment. But let not that moderation mislead you, as to the motives by which it has been actuated: for if in future you should fall into the same or any similar offence, there will remain for the house only one measure to rescue its authority from disgrace; one which must render it impossible for you ever to renew so presumptuous a contest. I am directed by the house to order you to be now discharged, and you are discharged accordingly, paying your fees."

Mr. Fuller was then taken from the bar, and discharged.

CHAPTER III.

Sir Francis Burdett's Notice of a Motion respecting Captain Lake—Debate on the Embezzlement Bill—Debate in the House of Lords on His Majesty's Message respecting Portugal—Mr. Yorke's Motion with respect to Gale Jones—Examination and Commitment of John Dean—Examination and Commitment of Gale Jones—Dean admonished and discharged—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion to discharge Gale Jones from Newgate—Mr. Brougham's Motion on the Slave Trade—Debate on the Marine Pay-Office Bill—Debate on the Ordnance Estimates.

FEB. 15. Sir Francis Burdett in the house of commons rose to call the attention of the house to a subject which he thought demanded their serious consideration. He had no other authority relative to the fact than the statement he had seen in the public newspapers, in which it was alleged, that a sea captain, in the British service, had been lately brought to trial by a court-martial, for a most inhuman act

act of wanton and deliberate barbarity towards a British seaman on board his own vessel. It was stated, that he had put this seaman ashore upon a barren rock in the Western Ocean without provisions, and exposed him to perish by famine; a circumstance which accidentally reached the knowledge of government through the American newspapers. This officer was brought to trial by court-martial; and on being proved guilty of the fact, he was merely sentenced to be dismissed the service. What the honourable baronet wished to know was, whether the government of the country meant to stop here with such a fact in proof before them, and brought to light by the merest accident? or, whether they meant to take any further steps upon a subject so disgraceful to the service, so materially interesting to the life and security of every seaman in his majesty's fleet; a circumstance which, if so slightly passed over, might have the most serious effects in the naval service. As no further steps were taken, nor seemed to be intended, by government, he felt it his duty, in his place as a member of parliament, to call the attention of the house to this subject. He hoped, however, that government would not allow it to pass over without taking some further steps; for, if such wanton and tyrannical occurrences were once suffered to obtain with impunity, there would be an end of all order and good government in our fleets.

Mr. Ward said, he knew nothing more of the transaction than that the captain, to whom he supposed the honourable baronet had alluded, was brought to a court-martial for the fact stated, had been found guilty, and sentenced by the court-martial to dismissal from the service. That sentence had been carried into effect, and the admiralty had no power to do more.

Sir Francis Burdett thought, that a mere dismissal from the service was not a punishment that could give satisfaction to the country for an act so atrocious. The honourable baronet was proceeding; but

The speaker rose to remind him, that unless he had some specific motion to offer, it was contrary to the established order of proceeding for members to enter into discussions, when no question was before the house.

Sir Francis Burdett bowed to the authority of the chair, but said, he did hope that on a matter so extraordinary, of so much importance to the liberty of the subject, the spirit of the constitution, and the well-being of the navy, he might be indulged in a few observations, without being restricted under the usual order of the house. (Here there was a call of *Chair, chair, chair!*)

The speaker again rose, and said, he felt it his imperative duty to remind the honourable baronet of the established order of proceeding in that house; and he must now call upon the house for their support and assistance. (*Chair, chair, chair!* on every side.)

Sir Francis Burdett begged leave just to remark, that he merely had risen to mention the matter for the notice of his majesty's ministers, in hopes they would take it up, and found on it some proceeding. It was hard to throw the onus upon his shoulders, as it was no duty that belonged peculiarly to him. However, he thought the subject so extraordinary, and

of so much importance, that he should be prepared to give notice of a motion on it in a day or two.

And on the 16th, sir Francis Burdett rose to move, "that there be laid before the house the minutes of the court-martial upon the honourable Warwick Lake, late captain of his majesty's ship Ulysses." He did not know whether any objection would be made to the motion; but if there should, he should turn his motion into a notice for Monday next.

After a short conversation between Mr. Ward, Mr. Charles Adams, sir Francis Burdett, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the motion was agreed to, on its being understood that the paper was called for by sir Francis Burdett, with a view to make it the foundation of some ulterior proceeding in that house. See Chap. IV.

Owing to some serious defalcations among persons of high consequence in certain public offices, noticed in other parts of this volume, a bill was brought in, entitled The Embezzlement Bill, to prevent the recurrence of such evils. It went through several of its stages, and on the 15th of February,

Sir John Newport moved that it be recommitted. The house having resolved itself into the committee, Mr. Lushington in the chair, the committee was proceeding with the bill, when

Mr. Rose thought that some case should have been laid before the house by the honourable baronet, as the ground upon which he had thought it right to bring forward this measure. He did not feel it necessary to augment the list of felonies, without cause; and he was apprehensive, that if the bill were to pass in its present form, it would be productive of great inconvenience and embarrassment to the public service. Gentlemen of respectability would not feel desirous of engaging in the public service in places of great trust in the collection of the revenue, with the penalty of transportation hanging over them, as would be the case if this bill were to pass, and upon a charge so difficult to be defined, and so easy to be misrepresented and misconceived, as embezzlement.

Sir John Newport expressed some surprise at this delicate sensibility on the subject of penalties when they approached a public office, where the son or the brother of a great man might be affected. He had stated the circumstance of a collector, who had absconded with 27,000*l.* of the public money in his hands, and had afterwards been taken with seven thousand pounds of it in his possession, as the ground of this bill. In that case, if the clerk of that collector had been guilty, he would have suffered death; but as the law at present stands, no adequate punishment could be inflicted upon the principal, and therefore the law officers had not thought it advisable to proceed against him. It was to remedy this glaring defect in the law that he had brought forward this bill. When he considered that the right honourable gentleman must have been a party to the passing of a bill imposing the penalty of death on the clerk or cashier of a bank for embezzlement; and also to the act rendering it a transportable offence to shoot, ensnare, or kill, deer in a close, park, or paddock; he could not help admiring his tender sensibility on the present occasion. But whatever might be the tender sensibility of gentlemen, he would contend, that it was the

duty

duty of that house to 'mete out equal justice to all—to have but one and the same law for the rich and the poor. Could they forget the cases of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Hunt, as well as others which had recently occurred? or could any one, who reflected upon the consequences of such cases remaining unpunished, think the punishment of transportation was too severe for the crime of fraudulently embezzling or making use of public money? It would be for a jury to determine what was embezzlement. Convinced of the justice and necessity of the measure, he had brought it forward.

Mr. Rose, with some animation, disclaimed any wish to protect public delinquents, and declared himself as ready as the honourable baronet to punish any offender of that description.

The attorney general thought there was a very essential difference between the embezzlement of bank, South-sea company, and merchants' clerks, from the situation of receivers of public money. These receivers mixed the public money with their own, and had frequently a certain time allowed them to keep it in their hands, so that it would be impossible to say when they fraudulently made use of it; whereas, clerks of merchants, of the bank, or South-sea company, had no right to mix their masters' money with their own; and if they did, and made use of it, so as not to be able to pay when called on, it was clearly a fraudulent embezzlement. He thought the doctrine urged by the honourable baronet, that the house made severe laws for the poor and not for the rich, was as improper as any that had been used in that house.

Mr. H. Thornton objected to the term "fraudently *made use of*," and proposed, that instead of "*use of*," should be substituted, "away with," so that the words would then be "fraudulently *made away with*."

Sir John Newport acceded to this amendment, and it was agreed to.

The solicitor general rose, and spoke at great length against making any new felonies without the most urgent necessity.

This bill, with modifications, was afterwards passed.

Feb. 16. The chancellor of the exchequer brought up from the bar a message from his majesty, in nearly the following words:—

"G. R.—His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that his majesty has authorized the issue of some pecuniary advances to the Portuguese government, in support of its military exertions against the common enemy in that country. His majesty being desirous of continuing that support, has directed that an arrangement shall be made for the maintenance of a body of Portuguese troops not exceeding 30,000 men; and his majesty trusts that his faithful commons will enable him to fulfil that engagement."

The same message was sent to the house of lords; which being taken into consideration on the 26th of February,

The marquis of Wellesley rose to submit a humble address to his majesty, in answer to his majesty's most gracious communication of his having made arrangements for taking into the pay of Great Britain 30,000 Portuguese troops, and stating the readiness of the house to concur with his majesty, and to provide for the means of carrying the arrangement into effect. The noble

noble marquis contended, that the principles on which this measure proceeded were perfectly just and politic, and were in conformity to the system on which this country had for a long time so beneficially acted. He then took a short review of the state of our connexions with Portugal. His lordship quoted the authority of a person of the greatest abilities (Mr. secretary Fox), who had offered aid from this country to Portugal, for her assistance, if she should call forth her resources *bonâ fide*, and to the full amount of her means in resisting the invader. But if she was in great danger from the enemy's force, was she to be told to become the victim of terror, and to fly? No; but to do her utmost for her own interests, and for her alliance in the common cause. The first principle our government had entertained respecting Portugal was to defend Portugal itself against her enemy; and the second was, if that could not be accomplished, to take care of her colonies. We had found the latter course, at last, advisable; and we therefore assisted the removal of the Portuguese government to South America, and at the same time saved the ships of war in the Tagus from the gripe of the enemy. At that period, those events were passing in Spain which led at length to the present extraordinary state of things in that country. The question which his lordship might now put was this: What reason could they have to regret the policy that had been pursued? Was it now a point to question the principles of our alliance? By the effect of those principles, Portugal had, in fact, for a considerable time been saved from French domination: the benefits of which to us, and to the common cause, he need not point out to their lordships. The occupation of Portugal was most desirable, in a military point of view, to our assistance of the cause of Spain. With respect to the modes of giving that assistance, we were to consider, not what was theoretically the best, but what was the best practical mode of doing so, accommodating ourselves as much as possible to the habits, the feelings, and the prejudices, of the Spanish nation. He relied upon it in that day's discussion, that the possession of Portugal was essential to the British troops acting in the Peninsula. What, he would repeat—what should induce us to depart from that ancient policy of encouraging, assisting, and subsidizing Portugal, while she was yet able and willing to resist? He heard a few nights back a friendly voice, (lord Grenville) and a voice, he hoped, that would ever be friendly to him, intimating something that seemed to suppose that now the state of Portugal had become hopeless. But he saw no circumstances which had as yet occurred to induce us to withdraw our military assistance from thence, or to incite her to a relaxation of her efforts. What good could be expected to arise from giving to our measures and to our hopes the slightest complexion or hue of despair? That would not be advisable policy, after all the blood that had been shed; after the blood shed by those loyal and resolute nations—after all that the invader had also shed. The cause of the present state of affairs, and of the entrance of the French force into the heart of the country, was to be found in the vile and wretched government of Spain. He could give it plainly as his decided opinion, that the breach

breach by which the French entered, was produced by the low and wretched condition of the government, which delivered over the troops and fortresses of Spain to the enemy; and as much might be made of that declaration as persons pleased to make of it. Any sudden withdrawing of our army would only be throwing a damp upon both Spain and Portugal. His lordship concluded by moving the address to his majesty, to the purport already stated.

Lord Grenville felt it an ungrateful task to recall their lordships' attention to predictions formerly made to them, but then despised and rejected; though now, unfortunately, all of them fulfilled. He entered minutely into the whole conduct of the war in the Peninsula: he examined the papers on the table, and showed in what particulars ministers were ignorant, and in what culpable. He said, the noble secretary had engaged in the discussion under their lordships' consideration, as if they were to be called upon that night to abandon the cause of Spain altogether, to withdraw the British troops from Portugal, and to leave both nations to themselves. It was not his intention to make any such proposition, the declaration of which would be as premature as the voting the address proposed by his noble friend. What he had to say upon that subject was, that it would be criminal in them to conceal what they had a knowledge of, that his majesty's ministers had gone on too long in the practice of deceiving the public, by expectations which rested upon no solid foundation—by hopes which there was no prospect of being realized—by reports and rumours, which, so far from resting upon any just ground, were proved by subsequent information to have been wholly unsupported in truth or fact. Their lordships were, by the determination of this question, to decide whether, in the present arduous and difficult situation of affairs, they were to place confidence in such men. They were, by the result of that night's discussion, to show whether the management of public affairs was to be intrusted to the discretion of men who had so conducted themselves, and so systematically deceived the public. They were then fully aware of the determination that would be formed by his majesty's ministers upon any great question of national policy or interest. If the subject of their consideration should happen to be of a military description, their lordships might be sure that they would consult military authorities; but they might also be convinced, that though every such authority should lean against their projected measure, ministers would still persevere. It would be unavailing for military men to say that an operation was impracticable: his majesty's ministers would reply, "You may think it impracticable; but don't mind, go and try." It would be criminal in their lordships, therefore, so far as they may have the means, to leave the administration of affairs in such incapable hands. For his own part, he did not so much object to the question as connected with political interests, or as a mere question of expenditure, but as it was likely to lead to the sacrifice, the useless and unprofitable sacrifice, of the lives of thousands of his fellow-subjects. He had mentioned this point upon a former night, and so strong was his feeling upon it, that he did not think he could too often repeat it.

It

It was for their lordships to consider whether, under all the circumstances, they would be disposed to commit the British army again in Spain and Portugal. The campaigns in these countries had already cost this nation the lives of twelve thousand of its brave soldiers; and it was then to be considered whether any further sacrifice was to be incurred in the hopeless contest. His noble friend had besought their lordships to bear in mind the blood that had already been shed, and the treasure expended, in order to induce them to agree to his proposition for making further sacrifices for the same object. He, too, would conjure their lordships, but for a different object, to call to mind the losses that had been sustained; not that they should go on in the fruitless profusion of lives and treasure, but that they should, whilst there was yet time, arrest the progress of national calamity and disgrace. He should conjure their lordships not to lend themselves to such a system, in order that new millions should be squandered, that fresh thousands should be sacrificed; but that no time should be suffered to elapse, before they obliged the government to pursue such measures as would be calculated to promote the national interest, by enhancing the national character and honour. He particularly called upon their lordships not to suffer the remnant of our brave army to be exposed to the fate which had befallen the armies already sacrificed. He trusted that their lordships would come to that determination which all who felt for the hardships of our brave army, who valued the lives of our valiant soldiers, who were anxious for the honour and true interests of their country, must approve Besides, he was not afraid to assert, that against a power possessing the whole means of Spain, and which he must suppose the French to do at this moment, Portugal, so far from being the most defensible, was the least defensible of any country in Europe. It had the longest line of frontier, compared with its actual extent, of any other nation; and from its narrowness, its line of defence would be more likely to be turned; and an invading enemy would derive great advantages from its local circumstances. As to the means of practical defence afforded by its mountains, he should only ask, whether the experience of the last seventeen years had taught the world nothing? whether its instructive lessons were wholly thrown away? Could it be supposed that a country so circumstanced, with a population without spirit, and a foreign general exercising little short of arbitrary power, was capable of any effectual defence? He should desire their lordships not to look at the experience of the last 17 years, but of the last month; and would then ask them, whether the defence of a mountainous barrier could afford any security? whether the barrier, which had not protected Seville, would be effectual for Portugal? The value of such defences no longer existed, and he was inclined to attribute that alteration to an actual change in the art of war. The Alps, the Pyrenees, the mountains of Germany, and the Sierra Morena in Spain, of which they had heard so much, had been successfully carried, without presenting much difficulty, by the improved operations of modern warfare. It was not to such defences, therefore, nor indeed to any defence, that they should look for the security

security of Portugal, unless the great mass of its population felt an interest in its preservation, and were determined to perish or defend it. He was ready to allow that there might be occasions when it would be proper to make large pecuniary sacrifices, not alone for the support of an ally, but to prove to Europe that we were ready to afford aid to any nation that was disposed to assert its independence. He would allow that, pressed as this nation was on all sides, it would be desirable to afford Portugal, if the question were only as to pecuniary sacrifices, every assistance, provided it could be shown that there was any prospect of success. He would not only assist Portugal, but any particular bodies which may have been formed in Portugal, as far as could reasonably be done. But here the question was, whether they should agree to the continuance of the British army in Portugal? Disguise it as his majesty's ministers may, the question really was, whether the army at that moment in Portugal was to be sacrificed as the army had been in the former instance? In the spring of the year, a force of sixteen thousand men was wanted; and yet his majesty's ministers, notwithstanding their measure for breaking up the militia, were unable to make out that number. He would ask their lordships, then, what would be the state of the British army if the army under lord Wellington were to be exposed to the same fate as that of sir John Moore or of lord Chatham, and that, too, in the prosecution of an object, in which, he would venture to say, no man could expect success? His object was not to propose any resolution to their lordships against the defence of Portugal. The amendment with which he meant to conclude was the result of his own observation, and founded upon the reasons which he had stated to their lordships. If the past conduct of his majesty's present ministers had been such as to justify their lordships in continuing to them a blind confidence; if they were disposed to approve of the manner in which the military operations in Spain and Walcheren had been planned, then they would vote for the address proposed by his noble friend; but if they were influenced by a just sense of their country's interests, and an honest feeling for its character and honour, their lordships would, in duty to themselves, to our brave troops, and to the public, exercise their constitutional privilege of carrying up advice to their sovereign, and endeavour to arrest the imprudent and impolitic measures of his majesty's present government. Upon these grounds, he should move, to leave out all the words of the original address after the word "That," for the purpose of inserting an amendment to the following effect:—"This house return to his majesty their thanks for his most gracious message, and for the communications which his majesty has been graciously pleased to direct to be made to them; and beg to assure his majesty that they will without delay enter upon the consideration of these most important subjects in the present difficult and alarming state of these realms."

Lord Liverpool, in a speech of considerable length and much ability, justified the conduct of ministers, and concluded by saying, that their lordships were bound by every sentiment of honour and good faith to support a people, who have given proofs of honour, of good

good faith, and of bravery, that have not been exceeded by any nation that has ever existed.

The earl of Moira said, that if the question between the adoption of the address and the amendment were such as the noble secretary of state had assumed—if no other alternative was left than the abandonment of Portugal, or the rejection of the amendment, he had no hesitation in stating, that he would be among the first to reject it. But the nature of the amendment was quite misunderstood by the noble secretary. It appeared to him to call merely for inquiry, and the arrangement of a different system of policy for the conduct of the war. But when Bonaparte had proceeded to attack Austria, there were two lines of policy marked out for our ministers, neither of which, though obvious, did they think proper to follow. They ought to have promptly aided Austria, or availed themselves of the Austrian war to have expelled the French force from Spain. But they attempted nothing that wisdom could sanction or the country approve. Every thing indeed which they did attempt was marked by imprudence and mismanagement; their whole career betrayed, as the universal opinion of the public pronounced, a total want of judgement, foresight, and vigour; and, as the climax of error, they now seemed resolved to defend Portugal, according to a plan of defence, too, which was perfectly impracticable. Yet the present ministers still called for confidence; and amidst all the calamities accumulated under their auspices, they had still the hardihood to speak of gaining for the country. "But I would ask," said the noble lord, "what have they gained?" The noble secretary of state boasts that our country has obtained a higher character than it ever possessed before in Europe; which, by the way, I deny. But I would ask him, has he gained his object? Has he reduced the power of the enemy? If I were to ask a chess-player whether he had won his game, and he were to answer me that he had got a rook, or that he had got a bishop, what should I think of his answer? Precisely as I do that of ministers to this house; who, when asked whether they have won their game with the enemy, reply, that they have gained honour, laurels, and fame; that still they are beaten—they have lost their game—for the last two years they have gained nothing. Their administration has, in fact, been marked by the defalcation of every foreign hope, and the reduction of every domestic resource—they who vaunted of their resolution to protect and liberate the continent, have only succeeded in bringing danger close to our own shores—and why? because they sacrificed their duty, and the interests of their country, to their personal ambition and personal cupidity. While they covered the country with tax-gatherers and supervisors, who were almost as great nuisances as the plagues of Egypt, they aggravated the insults and injuries they inflicted upon the people, by most wantonly squandering the produce of their exactions. He was certain that he was speaking the language of ninety-nine out of a hundred of the whole population of the country, when he asserted that such ministers deserved reprobation and punishment.

Lord Sidmouth disapproved of the conduct of ministers, but yet he could not agree to the amendment;

ment; because it appeared to him to involve a proposition for the abandonment of Portugal, to which the utmost possible support was due from this country.

The marquis of Lansdowne, lord Erskine, lord Holland, and the earl of Darnley, supported the amendment: and the earl of Buckinghamshire and lord Harrowby spoke in favour of the address, which was carried by a majority of 30.

Feb. 19. House of commons. —Mr. Yorke rose to call the attention of the house to what he thought a gross violation of their privileges. Either those privileges existed, or they did not. If they did exist, it was the bounden duty of that house to defend them from those gross and wanton attacks, that went in a great degree to question whether they had such privileges or not. The attack of which he now complained was not a mere newspaper paragraph, it was a placard stuck upon the walls of the metropolis, challenging the eye of the passenger, and openly defying all consequences. A grosser breach of privilege than the matter contained in that placard he could not readily imagine; but before he would read to the house the contents of that paper, which he then held in his hand, he could not help making one observation. If that house had privileges to maintain, he thought in his heart that it was now high time to assert them. He, though they did him the honour of mentioning his name, was not influenced by personal considerations; and he felt confident that the house would do him the justice to believe, that he was influenced in the present instance solely by a sense of public duty. For the liberty that had been taken with his name by those persons, he felt nothing but the most profound contempt—the placard to which he alluded was headed with the names of a right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Windham) and of himself. He (Mr. Yorke) must be at all times proud to have his name coupled with that of the right honourable gentleman, and so far he must acknowledge himself indebted to the authors of the paper in question:—as to the objectionable matter contained in that paper, he should merely read it to the house, and leave it to them without any comment. This same placard, which announced itself as the journal of a sort of speaking club called "THE BRITISH FORUM," stated to the public, that "Last Monday, after an interesting discussion, it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing orders, by shutting out strangers from the gallery of the house of commons, ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." Here they had their most valued privileges attacked at once, their standing orders were censured, and they themselves were menaced; for the question upon the propriety of enforcing those orders had been recently before the house, and the propriety of that proceeding was confirmed by a very considerable majority. He had been bred up in those habits of veneration for the constitution, that he must of necessity revere the liberty of the press as one of the most efficient guardians of that constitution. But he thought that the liberty of the press had no more formidable enemy than the licentiousness of the press; and as a sincere and zealous advocate

advocate for the former, he trusted he should never be wanting in his efforts to punish and restrain the latter. His first proposition would be, to deliver in the paper at the table;—next, that it should be read by the clerk, and that the clause in the bill of rights relative to the privilege of debate should be also read;—and lastly, he should move that the printer should be required to attend at the bar of the house the next day. Mr. Yorke then delivered in the paper, which was read by the clerk, and was in substance as follows:

WINDHAM AND YORKE.

British Forum, 33, *Bedford-street, Covent-Garden. Monday, Feb.* 19, 1810.

Question:—"Which was a greater outrage upon the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the house of commons, or Mr. Windham's recent attack upon the liberty of the press?"

"Last Monday" (for the rest of this clause see Mr. Yorke's speech.)

"The great anxiety manifested by the public at this critical period to become acquainted with the proceedings of the house of commons, and to ascertain who were the authors and promoters of the late calamitous expedition of the Scheldt, together with the violent attacks made by Mr. Windham on the newspaper reporters, (whom he represents as "bankrupts, lottery office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen,") have stirred up the public feeling, and excited universal attention. The present question is therefore brought forward as a comparative inquiry, and may be justly expected to furnish a contested and interesting debate."

"Printed by J. Dean, 57, Wardour-street."

Mr. Yorke next moved, that that clause of the bill of rights affecting privilege of speech in that house be now read. It was read accordingly, stating, in substance, that the speeches or debates of members in that house ought not to be impeached or questioned by any authority out of that house.

Mr. Yorke then moved, That J. Dean, printer, 57, Wardour-street, do attend at the bar of that house to-morrow.—Ordered.

Feb. 20. Mr. Yorke moved the order of the day for the attendance of Dean, the printer, at the bar.

The serjeant then brought him to the bar.

Mr. Speaker interrogated him.

Is your name Dean?—It is.

What is your christian name?—John.

Mr. Speaker.—John Dean, a complaint having been made to this house, that you had printed a paper reflecting upon its proceedings, and upon the conduct of some of its members, what have you to say for yourself respecting the offence you have committed?

John Dean.—It was I that printed that paper. I was employed to print it by John Gale Jones. I have been employed by him in printing such papers for three or four years. I did not know that in printing that paper I was committing an offence against this honourable house. That paper was printed without my knowledge of its contents, as I did not see the press copy of it until after the whole impression was thrown off. I humbly beg pardon of this honourable house for my offence, and am ready to give up the manuscript, and to prove that it is the hand-writing of John Gale Jones.

Mr. Speaker.—You may withdraw.

draw.—Sergeant, take care that he does not depart.

On the printer having withdrawn,

Mr. Yorke expressed his satisfaction that the person at the bar appeared sensible of his offence; and not only expressed contrition, but offered to make the only atonement in his power by giving up the author of this gross libel. Every gentleman must allow that it was a breach of the privileges of that house. He thought that printers should be made to feel that they could not print such libels with impunity. In this case the individual could not but have known, that in printing such a paper he was doing wrong. In consideration, however, of his submission, he did not mean to press for any severity towards the printer. But, whatever it might be the pleasure of the house to do with the printer, he should feel it his duty to take measures to have John Gale Jones brought to the bar.

After a suggestion from the speaker, as to the usual mode of proceeding in such cases, it was moved by Mr. Yorke, and voted, *nemine contradicente*, "That John Dean, in printing a paper reflecting upon the proceedings of that house and the conduct of some of its members, was guilty of a high breach of privilege of that house."

Mr. Yorke expressed a wish to hear the opinions of other gentlemen as to the course that should be followed. He supposed the next step should be to move that he be ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.

Mr. speaker thought it his duty to state to the house what had been its practice on similar occasions. The last case of this description which occurred, was that of Wilkie and in that instance the offender had been ordered into custody. The house, having voted that the person at the bar had been guilty of a high breach of its privileges, could not pass over the offence without some degree of imprisonment, in order to show printers that they could not commit such offences with impunity.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after what had been stated from the chair, felt inclined to concur with his right honourable friend, that the person should be ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. As the person at the bar, however, had offered to give up the actual author of the libel, he wished the house to be as lenient to him as possible.

After a long conversation, it was agreed that he should be committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, to give evidence, if necessary, against John Gale Jones, who was ordered to be brought to the bar the next day.

Feb. 21. Mr. Yorke moved the order of the day for bringing Mr. John Gale Jones to the bar.

Mr. Jones being brought accordingly, the speaker addressed him as follows:—"John Gale Jones, a complaint having been made to this house of the publication of a scandalous and libellous hand-bill, reflecting on the proceedings of this honourable house, and the conduct of certain of its members; and the printer of the said hand-bill having been called to the bar of this house, to answer for the said publication, alleged that you are the author thereof. What have you to say in your behalf?"

Mr. Jones answered: "I acknowledge, sir, that I was the author of that paper, and I am extremely sorry the printer has expe-

rienced any inconvenience on my account."

Mr. speaker.—" Repeat what you have said."

Mr. Jones complied.

Mr. speaker.—" Have you any thing more to say in your behalf?"

Mr. Jones.—" I sincerely lament that I should have incurred the displeasure of this honourable house; and I trust they will not consider that, in what I have done, I was actuated by any sense of disrespect to its privileges, or the persons of any of its members individually; or that I had any other motive, in mentioning the names of the two honourable members alluded to, save that they happened to be connected with a subject of public discussion. I have always considered it the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures, and the conduct of public men; but in looking over the paper in question again, I find that I have erred; I beg to express my contrition: and I throw myself on the mercy of this honourable house; this house of commons, which, as an important branch of the constitution, has always had my unfeigned respect."

The speaker then addressed the house, and put the question, " that John Gale Jones, having now acknowledged himself to be author of the paper in question, was guilty of a gross violation of the privileges of that house."

This question was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Yorke then rose and said, that after the vote just passed, he thought it impossible the house should not follow it up by some further resolution, which should mark its own sense of the indignity offered to its high authority by the person now, at the bar; and, by making a proper example, warn such persons from taking upon them to comment in such a way upon the proceedings of that house, and the parliamentary conduct of its members. As to himself, he could appeal to the opinions of those who knew him best, whether, during the twenty years he had been a member of that house, he had ever evinced a disposition for personal severity. If an honourable baronet, who made some observations on this subject last night, were now in his place, he should say something in answer; but as he was absent, he should refrain. For the present, he should only say, that from the frequency of those comments, insulting to the dignity of that house and the persons of its members, which had of late prevailed, he thought it high time some measures were adopted effectually to check such proceedings; and, therefore, the house should mark its sense of its own dignity on the present occasion, by inflicting some exemplary punishment on the person at the bar. He therefore moved, that John Gale Jones, for his offence, be committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate.

The question was then put and carried *nem. con.*

Ordered, that the speaker do issue his warrant accordingly.

Mr. Yorke then adverted to the case of Mr. John Dean, the printer, who attended at the bar yesterday, and was now in the custody of the sergeant at-arms, and said, that from the manner in which Mr. Dean had conducted himself, the readiness with which he gave up the name of the author of the libel in question, the contrition he had shown for his offence, and the consideration that he was an honest

and

and industrious man, with a family, and not in affluent circumstances, he should now move that he be discharged without paying fees.

The speaker said, he understood the prisoner was prepared to comply with the usual forms of the house, by presenting a petition praying for his release.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Yorke appeared prepared to offer Mr. Dean's petition, and presented it to the house.

The petition having been read,

Mr. Dean was then called to the bar; and the speaker, having recapitulated to him the nature and circumstances of his offence, told him, that in consideration of his demeanour yesterday, and the peculiar circumstances of his case, it was the pleasure of the house that he should be discharged without fees; and he was discharged accordingly.

March 12. Sir F. Burdett rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to call the attention of the house to a measure which had been adopted by them, involving the liberty of the subject; he meant the resolution of the house, by which John Gale Jones was committed to Newgate, for a breach of the privileges of the house. He lamented exceedingly, that he had not been present at the time that resolution was past, because he was aware, that he stood in a worse situation after the award of the house, than he should have done before it was adopted. He knew it was at all times easier to prevent the adoption of a measure, than to induce the house to retract a resolution after they had come to it. When he considered, however, the vast importance of the question, and how highly the public interest was involved in it, he was satisfied he should not discharge his duty, did he not still endeavour to induce the house to retract a step, which, according to his view of the case, they were not authorized to take. With regard to the privileges of the house, he knew there were persons who carried them to a very extraordinary length. But if there were privileges such as that which the house had exercised, they must be such as could only be discovered by men of much more stable minds than he could lay claim to. He professed only a plain mind and understanding; and when he wished to discover what were the privileges of the house, he could only go, where he felt inclined in the present instance to go, to the law of the land, to ascertain whether such privileges did or did not exist. If he, at any time, found what was claimed as a privilege to be above the law of the land, he must feel himself reduced to the necessity of saying, that no such privilege existed. The law of the land he must always consider to be the standard by which the privileges of every individual, and of every body in this country, were to be measured. It would be necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the right of imprisoning individuals, not members of the house, was one of their privileges, to look to the origin of those privileges; this being always kept in view, that the house was not the parliament of the country, but only one of the branches of that parliament: that in fact, to his mind, the house of commons was the inferior branch of the legislature. (*Order! order!*)

The speaker informed the honourable baronet, that it was not orderly to state so to that house.

Sir F. Burdett continued. This,

at least, he might be allowed to say, that that house and parliament were different; and he contended, that there was a difference in the extent of the privileges which they might, separately or jointly, be supposed to possess. On this ground he maintained, that the imprisonment of John Gale Jones was an infringement of the law of the land, and a subversion of the principles of the constitution. He hoped that gentlemen would throw out of their minds that this was a question regarding their own privileges, and that they would come with calmness and dispassionate feeling to decide on their own case. If they were to take the question only as connected with the law of the land, he should endeavour to persuade them, and he hoped successfully, that nothing could be more consistent, either with the law of the land, or with common sense, than that they should retract the resolution they had come to. The question was, if the house of commons had a right to imprison a person not a member of that house? As to those privileges which should enable the house to carry on its own proceedings uncontrolled, and without interruption or impediment, that was a question which he was not called on to argue. He begged to call the attention of gentlemen to this circumstance, that there were involved in this question two distinct qualities, privilege and power. The one, or that of privilege, the house possessed for its own protection; the other was a right which would fall to be exercised over others. Privilege they were to exercise to prevent the crown from molesting them in their proceedings. They were to use it as a shield for themselves, but they were not to allow it to change its character, to be converted into power, and to use it for the destruction of others. The real nature of this privilege was to be seen from the very earliest periods of our history. It was recorded in Spelman, so early as the time of Canute, that the persons of members, in their way to and from parliament, should have protection. This was the ground-work of all the privileges of that house. Nothing seemed to him so absurd as the notion of an undefined privilege; it was a solecism in language; and he had the highest authority for saying, that such a privilege was not known. The next account of any privilege in that house was to be found in the time of Edward the Second, where it is laid down, that members of that house are not to be compelled to appear in other courts; and the reason was plain, that they might not be interrupted in their attendance on that house, by suits being taken out against them. Then there was a privilege granted to the members of the house as to their lands, and as to their servants and attendants. As to the extent of their privileges altogether, he could not state them better than as they appeared in a resolution, of the house itself, while lord Coke was a member of it; a resolution, too, supposed to have been drawn up by that great constitutional lawyer. They are shortly, freedom from arrestment for their persons, goods, and attendants, and freedom of speech. These were all in the nature of defences for the members; had reference to nothing but their own proceedings, and could not apply to others; surely, at all events, not to sanction what was contrary to the law of the land. The honourable baronet proceeded to mention the

the case of a servant of the speaker in the reign of Henry the Sixth, where, though the judges were of opinion in favour of the privilege, it was determined otherwise, after a debate in full parliament; because, if sustained, there would have been a failure of justice, and no remedy could have been had; which was always considered an evil not to be borne. There was another case, that of Mr. Cheddar, member for Somersetshire, on whom a grievous assault had been committed, but in whose case the house acted with such moderation as to order application to be made to the law of the land: and a new law, not an *ex post facto* one, was passed for punishing assaults against members in future. Every thing else was done in the regular course of law; and in this way did things proceed up to the time of the long parliament; nor was any thing like this, to which he had now to call the attention of the house, once dreamt of. Never till the period of the civil wars was it pretended that parliament had any right of the kind. Then, indeed, the house of commons, assuming all the powers of government, after the sovereign was led to the block, scrupled not to act according to its own will and pleasure. That, however, he presumed, was not a time from which any argument was to be deduced, nor would any precedent be drawn from the mischievous principles then acted on, though probably they might then be somewhat necessary to check the usurpations which were then destroying the liberties of the land. These were powers, however, with which the house of commons, like an individual, had shown a strong reluctance to part, having once acquired them. From that time the house of commons was found laying claim to what they never before had, nor could now legally or constitutionally exercise. Both houses, indeed, had from that period alternately endeavoured to arrogate that right to themselves, which neither would concede to the other. The honourable baronet produced here a variety of cases, on which he argued with great eloquence and force: and he said if such a proceeding came from the crown, or from any other authority, be what it might, it was the duty of every Englishman to stand up against it. Every page of lord Coke's book showed that this could not be done without lawful authority. If a committal went further, it was ill done, and contrary to the great charter. He asked, could John Gale Jones be liberated by lawful, or any other authority? Surely, he could not. Was not his imprisonment then against law, against the bill of rights, and subversive of every privilege of the subject? The offence attributed to Mr. Jones was that of ridiculing the proceedings of the house, and the charge was brought forward and determined by themselves. The first question, where crime was imputed to any man by the law of this country, was, if it was a crime or not; and the second, was the person accused guilty? It was necessary, first, that a grand jury should find a bill, and then, that the party should be put on his trial; but of these privileges the house deprived Mr. Jones. It took away the grand jury, and then, on his confession as to the fact, passed sentence upon him; thereby taking on themselves to determine the law as well as the fact; being complainants, judge, jury, and executive authority all in one. No tribunal could take two steps at

one time: but the house was to subvert all orders; they were to observe no form, they were to jump at once to the final decision, and that, too, in a cause in which they ought least of all to judge; in one in which they themselves were the party. And for what?—For their privilege. Then let gentlemen who said this was the privilege of the house, point out where it was so laid down. To his mind such a doctrine was untenable, and contrary to the law of the land, which declared that no man can be condemned without trial. Lord Coke laid it down, that no man could be sent to prison without trial and judgement. The privilege talked of was like the bye-laws of a corporation, sufficient to bind themselves, but which could not overturn the law of the land, as laid down by the father of it. This was to show the house as great as king, lords, and commons. It was besides an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, whose privilege it was to see that no unlawful restraint was laid on the liberty of the subject. He might be told this was a privilege of parliament. He answered No. It was only a privilege assumed by one branch of the legislature; and he contended that the house was not entitled to take that arbitrary rule to themselves. If gentlemen showed resolutions favourable to the exercise of this right as a privilege of the house, he could be at no loss to show others of a contrary principle. Sir Fletcher Norton has said, that he would pay no more attention to a resolution of the house of commons than to that of a set of drunken coblers at an ale-house. The observation was coarse, but it was just. If gentlemen, therefore, were of opinion, that a resolution of that house was equal to that of all the branches of the constitution, they would agree in rejecting his proposition. But if with him they thought that they could not overturn the law of the land, and the acts of parliament solemnly passed, by any assumed power exercised by that house alone, they would agree that John Gale Jones must be discharged. The honourable baronet concluded by moving, that John Gale Jones be discharged.

A most animated, important and interesting debate succeeded, which we are truly concerned the limits of this work do not allow us to give even in an abridged form; but on the division there were

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After this decision, Mr. Brougham rose to make his promised motion for copies of the correspondence between the foreign secretary and the ministers of foreign powers, resident in London, upon the subject of the slave trade. He proceeded to advert to the resolution of 1800, and lamented that, as a general measure, it should have proved so inefficacious; more especially with respect to foreign powers. Sweden had carried on the slave-trade in the island of St. Barthòlomew; that island, from its proximity to those of the West India islands belonging to us, afforded ample means for supporting an illicit trade in slaves with many of our colonies in that quarter. The slave trade with respect to Sweden was merely a nominal trade, not exceeding six or seven slaves a year for that island. He trusted, however, that such facilities of intercourse existed between the courts of Stockholm and London,

London, as that any evils resulting from the illicit trade at St. Bartholomew might be remedied. Next, with respect to Portugal and Spain, their flags could not certainly be used to any extent in protecting the illicit trade. When he was at Lisbon in his majesty's service, he was astonished and concerned to find, that from one district of Africa there were annually exported to the Portuguese settlements in America not less than from fifteen to sixteen hundred slaves, and this he was then told amounted to but one half of the whole trade for Portugal. He trusted that our representations upon this head would be found to have weight in the councils of Portugal; we might justly be supposed to have some influence in a country in the defence of which we had voted money for the support of 30,000 troops. With respect to Spain—Spain he had no doubt traded in slaves to nearly the two-thirds of the slave-trade of Portugal; the principal part of this trade, as carried on by Spain, was carried on between Cuba and the Havannah; and it was but too justly apprehended that, in the intercourse between both, the illicit trade was supported by landing the slaves upon the British isles. With respect to America—the Americans had abolished the slave-trade, yet much of the illicit trade was carried on under the flag of Sweden; this was a topic peculiarly interesting to the Americans, and the house had seen that in the American correspondence respecting Mr. Erskine, they show their willingness to open a negotiation upon this subject: they had said that they could not make any concession affecting their right of sovereignty, yet that such of their ships as had been detected by our cruizers in that illicit trade, the owners of those ships would not make any representation to their government, in the violation of whose laws they had so suffered. He apologized to the house for the few observations he had taken the liberty to throw out, and concluded with moving, That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order, that there be laid before the house copies of all communications made by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs to the ministers of foreign powers resident in London, with their answers thereunto. This was agreed to.

March 13. Mr. Ward moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the marine pay-office regulation bill, which was in many respects similar to the embezzlement bill already noticed.

Mr. Creevey observed, that he understood this bill was brought in as a consequence of the defalcation discovered in the accounts of Mr. Villiers. He therefore thought the bill ought not to proceed further, nor the house be called on to legislate upon this subject, without the advantage of having before them the report of the finance committee.

Mr. Ward answered, that if the office required a bill of regulation, he could not see how any delay was rendered necessary by the want of any information respecting the default of Mr. Villiers, with which this bill had nothing whatever to do.

Mr. Creevey replied, he wished to know how it was that Mr. Villiers's defalcation of 285,000*l.* occurred, or how it could possibly have happened, without being much sooner discovered; and he thought the house ought not to be called on to legislate for the regulation of the

office in which such a matter had occurred, without the benefit of a report from the committee who had investigated the subject, to enable them to shape the bill for the better prevention of similar occurrences in future.

Mr. Bankes said, that in respect to the accounts of Mr. Villiers and his office, the subject had been for a considerable time under the consideration of the finance committee, who, he trusted, would ere long be enabled to make some specific report upon that subject; and as to the manner in which this defalcation had occurred, the committee had traced it, like many others, to the very defective manner in which accounts were passed by those whose duty it was to audit them; and more especially in the navy department. The subject was found extremely complex: and the committee therefore chose rather to forgo the commendation of an expeditious report, in order to a more deliberate and correct investigation; and although no exertion was omitted on their parts to expedite the business, still he could not flatter the house with hopes of a full report upon this subject very speedily. The leading cause of this and a similar defalcation not having been sooner found out and checked, was, that those whose duty it was to pass the accounts, contented themselves merely with comparing vouchers with the sums charged as expenditure, without looking at all to the receipts in the hands of the officer, and the interest thereon. The committee, he said, would be ready to afford the house every information which reached their knowledge, to aid its proceedings upon any point where such information should become necessary; and for this purpose he had come down to the house, prepared with some extracts from the minutes of the committee, for the information of the honourable gentleman, understanding that his bill was to proceed that day. He thought, however, that it would be expedient to postpone the further proceeding on the bill for some days, as it was not unlikely that the committee might ultimately feel it their duty to recommend the abolition of the office of paymaster of marines altogether, as unnecessary, because he was only an intermediate person between the treasurer of the navy, who acted as its banker, and the deputy paymaster of marines, who issued the pay. Although the saving upon the individual office would not be very considerable, yet, as part of a system of employments which appeared unnecessary, it seemed to the committee, in their present view of the subject, that it ought to be abolished. For the reasons he had already stated in the mode of passing accounts, without adverting to the receipts in the hands of public officers, as well as their disbursements, the state of balances was of course falsely stated; and to rectify this was a principal object. The deficit in the account of Mr. Villiers reached its amount so long since as 1804. But there were many documents since then necessary to the information of the committee, which they had not as yet been able to obtain, and without which they could not come to any accurate conclusion. Such, however, had been the mode of passing accounts, strange as it might seem; and such was the cause of the deficits so long undiscovered.

The chancellor of the exchequer had no objection to postpone the committee on the bill, or any discussion

cussion that might be necessary, to a more distant day; but he hoped there would be no objection now to the second reading. He was sure it must be satisfactory to all parts of the house to see a termination to such practices in public departments, than which nothing could be more disgusting or more disgraceful. The bill was finally passed.

March 14. Mr. Ashley Cooper, without any prefatory observations, stated to the committee (the house having gone into the committee of supply), that the total saving on the ordnance estimates for this year amounted to 1,238,000*l.*;—under the head of ordinaries, there would be found to be an excess for this year, amounting to 7,000*l.*; but, under the head of extraordinaries, there would be found to be a diminution of charge, amounting to 1,140,000*l.*; and, under the head of unprovided, there would appear a diminution of 352,209*l.*:—so that the total saving under these two heads of extraordinaries and unprovided, was a diminution of expense amounting to 1,492,209*l.*:—and the total sum he meant now to call upon the committee to vote for the ordnance services of the current year, for the united kingdom, amounted to 3,819,466*l.* The saving under the head of extraordinaries arose from various causes. There was a deduction from the annual charge of the foreign service, of no less a sum than 200,000*l.* There was also a saving in works and repairs of 260,000*l.* There was a further saving of 60,000*l.* by the reduction of draught horses; and by the diminution of the number of depôts, there was an additional saving of 100,000*l.* With respect to the estimates for the ordnance in Ireland, there would be found generally to be a saving of 123,000*l.* and under the head of new works, would be found a further saving of 17,000*l.* He felt it unnecessary to trouble the house with any further detail, but would be ready to give gentlemen every satisfactory explanation that it was within his power to give on any points upon which it might be deemed necessary. The honourable gentleman then concluded with moving, That it is the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding 3,819,466*l.* be granted to his majesty towards defraying the ordnance estimates for the current year.

Mr. Calcraft said, he was not surprised that the honourable gentleman had been so brief upon the subject: but he (Mr. Calcraft) must request the patience of the house, while he deviated from the example which had been given, and went a little more into detail. He found, in looking over the papers which he held in his hand, a reduction of 100,000*l.* from the last year's expense, and so far as such a reduction could be proved to be real, he was willing to allow the honourable gentleman due praise. This reduction had been in saltpetre, and those charges which were termed unprovided, a phrase equivalent to extraordinaries in the common accounts of the army; but when he looked into those parts of the statement where extravagance was most unjustifiable and unserviceable, he found the old spirit still alive, and as vigorous as ever: he found charged in 1809, 4,586*l.* for a house for the secretary in Pall-mall; he next found for building, for a similar purpose, 8,406*l.* which, with a nondescript charge which he could not distinctly trace at that time, amounted to 11,000*l.* The

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expenditure in the ordance office itself was intolerable; summed up, it was not less than 45,000*l.* It might be alleged that part of this expense had been sanctioned by himself (Mr. Calcraft) and his colleagues, while in office; but the contract for the house in Pall-mall had been made before they could have any influence over it. As it was, they tried to get rid of it, to throw it off the hands of the nation, to exchange, to sell it; and, in the failure of all, were forced to perform the contract; but improvements and embellishments were going on, which would make the cost of that onerous fabric at least 50,000*l.* But the expense of the establishment did not halt here; a miserable house in Pall-mall was bought up at the sporting price of 7,163*l.* for an engineer officer; another for the inspector-general was purchased at a splendid price in that same most expensive part of the town. He must now advert to an expenditure which it might seem invidious to touch upon; he meant the pay of the superannuated men, and the pensions of widows and officers; but under this title, interesting as it must be to the feelings of the house, a large system of peculation was easily concealed; it contained all the private pensions of the ordnance, and even in the last year had increased by 6,595*l.* He found a charge for the Cinque Ports; he requested to know if the fortifications at Dover were completed. He found in the estimates the Chatham head diminished, but still the extravagance there had been enormous. He had but to instance the artillery barracks: those buildings contained about 1,000 men, with a few horses, and some sheds for carriages; yet the expense of the work had been 150,000*l.* So much for the *Head* of Chatham—(*A laugh.*) He spoke from memory, but the work was altogether on the most wasteful plan. He saw in those barracks windows as showy and handsome as any in London, and many of them plate glass; and what was still more preposterous, this handsome showy lofty building was in the very lines; the sills of the doors were above the crown of the walls; and in case of an attack from the enemy (which God forbid he should ever see!) the first hope of the soldiers would be to see it in ruins, unless they were satisfied to be crushed by the heaps of the structure that would be flying about them. He found a sum of 19,000*l.* in the account, towards the building of an artillery hospital; no estimate was made of the probable expense, which might be extended to any sum before this tedious work was completed. There was next 5,000*l.* for a powder magazine at Dorchester, but without any purpose or designation stated for it. He wished to be informed, whether it was to treasure up the military stores of the town, or to receive the spare powder of the entire district? He hoped that, whether or not, it would be kept at a safe distance from the town; but 5,000*l.* was a sum undeniably too large for so idle a purpose. He next found under one sweeping head, for building and taking land at Woolwich, 134,000*l.* (*Hear!*) This charge first met the eye in the modest form of 78,639*l.*, and was gradually inflated up to the aggregate which he stated. The minor abuses there, were of the same rank with those which had been noticed at Chatham. Officers were known to make almost a property of the horses provided for the service; and, while they

they had them in actual employ drawing their coaches and curricles, refused to pay the tax demanded by the commissioners,—on the plea that they were the king's horses. The commissioners, however, resisted the plea, and would allow no more than a single horse, On a late inquiry, it was found that an officer had in his service no less than eight or ten soldiers, as the regular attendants of his house, cooks, butlers, &c. and four horses. He adduced many other abuses of the same kind accusing the government of most culpable extravagance.

Mr. Wardle rose, not for the purpose of canvassing each individual estimate, but of remarking on the entire mass as it stood before him. He confessed he had some hope that a retrenchment would have taken place, from the declaration of an honourable member opposite, last session, that there would be a saving this year of a million and a half. He went through a variety of particulars in proof of the great extravagance allowed in the ordnance office, calling for explanations. At Waltham Abbey, he said, the sum of 104,053*l.* was estimated for powder-mills for four years. Now he could by no means see the necessity of any such expense. The French and Germans, it was well known, used barns or any other temporary building for the manufacture of powder, and every body knew what an effectual use was made of it. He admitted, indeed, that he had heard the foreign powder was not so good as ours. (*Hear! hear!*) In those estimates it was the custom to vote large sums under the head of different buildings; and yet a sweeping charge was made for these afterwards, as for the "defence of the country." (*Hear! hear!*) Various charges were included under this head, which had been made before under the head of depôts, fortifications, &c. &c. For four years indeed, commencing at 1807, 4,193,000*l.* had been voted for buildings, repairs, &c. ("Ammunition included," *from the ministerial bench.*) No, said Mr. Wardle, for buildings and depôts; next year, it would be no doubt in the same proportion. As to the minuteness of the estimates, it signified very little whether they were minute or not, as any mistake might easily be obviated, so long as the head of "unprovided for" was allowed to continue. He hoped these were the last estimates in which such a head would be allowed to be brought before the house; and he hoped also, that an account of the expenditure of every sum voted at the estimates would hereafter be produced. He was sure there could be no difficulty in the computation, as it would be much easier to give an account of how the money had been expended, than to make out an abstruse estimate in the beginning.

Mr. A. Cooper said, that the house were not to understand by the term "unprovided for," that there was to be no account given. When the honourable gentleman complained of the expense of the powder-mills at Waltham Abbey, he should have recollected the period of the American war, when government powder was proverbially bad. Bad as it was, we were then entirely dependent for a supply upon the merchants. Even at the time of lord Nelson's celebrated victory, the stock of gunpowder was so small, that the ordnance could have hardly issued enough for another battle of the same sort, and

and were absolutely obliged for a time to suspend their issues, in the expectation of a scarcity. This was a fact, which it would have been dangerous to the public service to have been stated at that time; but the evil was now, in a great measure, corrected. The honourable gentleman had spoken of the practice of the French to make the powder in barns. If he would take the trouble to examine the works at Waltham-Abbey, he would find that we also use, for that purpose, many buildings that resemble barns. Under the general head of "the defence of the country," was included the expense of building batteries and Martello towers along the coast. And as to the sum voted for building and repairing depôts, it had lately been judged necessary to have a large quantity of artillery and ammunition in depôt, to guard against invasion or unforeseen contingency.

Several other gentlemen spoke for and against the motion, which was afterwards carried without a division.

CHAPTER IV.

Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Whitbread's Resolutions to criminate the Earl of Chatham.—Lord King's Motion, in the House of Lords, respecting Foreign Troops in British Pay.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion, in the House of Commons, respecting a By-law passed by the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn.

MARCH 2. Mr. Whitbread, in pursuance of previous notice, rose, and spoke to the following effect: "Mr. speaker, but seven days have elapsed since I felt it to be my duty to submit to the consideration of this house a certain proposition, founded upon a strong and justifiable suspicion, that a conduct most unconstitutional and improper had been pursued by a noble lord, at this moment a member of the king's cabinet, and the late commander-in-chief of the expedition to the Scheldt. I then contended, that it was not alone the right, but that it became the incumbent duty, of this house to call for all documents and papers touching the inquiry in which it was engaged, which it had reason to believe were in the possession of the crown, and most particularly if they had been communicated in a way most likely to excite its constitutional vigilance and jealousy. I had the proud satisfaction to find, that upon that occasion my efforts were successful. For to the immortal honour of this house let it be spoken, that to the address which it then agreed to have conveyed to the crown, an answer has been since returned, fully justifying the course it then found it necessary to adopt, and too strongly illustrating the suspicion it then entertained. I say that my efforts were successful in the fullest extent of the expression; for most sincerely do I con-

consider the decision of that night, as forming a proud political æra in the history of this empire—an æra at which, in distant times, posterity will look back, as a great constitutional precedent. Have I not also reason to think those efforts successful in an uncircumscribed measure, when I recollect that such decision was obtained in despite of all the power and persuasions of the ministry, whose conduct upon this occasion I beg this house particularly to retrace and consider? When the noble lord (Chatham) upon whose conduct I felt it my duty to animadvert, was at the bar of this house, and when it was endeavoured to extract from him a plain answer to certain direct questions, it was asserted by them, that, in consideration of the rank and privileges of that nobleman, we had no right to press him. In answer, it was contended by us, that in this house there existed a right to extract from any individual the fullest evidence upon public transactions; that right we considered indisputable, at the same time admitting that the cases for its extreme exercise were rare. What course did ministers propose? What line of proceeding did they, in an affected candour, recommend? They told us that there was an easy way to extricate ourselves from the difficulty. That way, they stated, was by an address to the crown, calling for such documents as we supposed to have been delivered; and, in order to engage us more cheerfully to pursue their recommendation, they assured us of an answer most propitious to our wishes. Such was their recommendation: now mark the contrast which their subsequent conduct exhibits. When this very address was proposed, which they themselves first recommended, do they act upon it? No. They pursue a conduct quite inconsistent with their professions; they endeavour to defeat it by every exertion within the grasp of their ineffectual power. Why do I mention this fact? I mention it, that this house should recollect it amongst the long enumeration of similar measures of this administration. To return to the immediate object of my present motion. We now know, from evidence unquestionable, that John, earl of Chatham, in a most unconstitutional and clandestine manner, as a minion and a favourite, has abused the royal confidence, at the same time, and by the same act, that he has violated the most sacred principles of the constitution. This knowledge, I say, we are possessed of from undeniable evidence, and it only becomes this house to take the earliest opportunity of deciding upon that evidence, and of expressing, by its recorded resolutions, its high reprobation and indignation at such proceedings. Had it indeed been an ordinary member who had been thus guilty; had it been an individual unprotected by the privileges of elevated rank, there would in such circumstances be no necessity for the present motion. The case would have been long ago decided; the indignation of this house would have been before this time vented upon the offending individual. Am I stating any thing which the examination of the noble lord does not fully warrant me? I am confident that I am not. Compare the examination of lord Chatham on the 22d of February with his examination on the 27th of the same month; first with one another, and then with the answer which his majesty had been pleased to give to your address; and shall not this house act upon that paramount

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principle, that equal justice ought to be administered, and that the higher the situation of the offender the greater should be its indignation and its censure? But the individual in this instance is a peer, invested with all the privileges of that exalted rank: still it is the right and the duty of every member of this house to observe upon his conduct; that duty I feel myself imperiously called upon to perform. I find then, that John earl of Chatham, the late commander-in-chief of the expedition to the Scheldt, did, without any consultation with his colleagues in the cabinet, as I most truly believe—without intimating his intention to his brother officer who commanded the naval force upon that expedition, and wholly unknown, save to the royal personage whose confidence he has abused, did communicate to that personage a narrative of his proceedings on that expedition, so far back as the 15th of January last. I find that it lay in the possession of that personage, wrapped up in the most impenetrable secrecy—a secrecy desired by him who presented it,—until the 14th of February last. At least, it remained wholly undisturbed until the 7th of that month, when, for reasons as yet only known to the earl of Chatham, it was requested of the king to return it to him for correction. I say, reasons as yet only known to that noble lord; for I am sure there is no man who can deny that the reasons since stated by him are so inconsistent and contradictory, that it is impossible to assume that we are acquainted with his real motives. On that day the noble lord applied to have the document returned to him, for the purpose of alteration. His request was acquiesced in; and what was the alteration which he himself has told you took place? He told you that it consisted in the omission of a paragraph, containing an opinion—an opinion, observe—yet when solicited to state the nature of that opinion, he declares his inability to communicate the most necessary information. His examination proceeds; and the noble lord is asked, when this narrative so altered was again presented to his majesty? Mark his answer. He states, that it was tendered by him to his sovereign upon the 14th of February. Struck with the peculiarity of the term *tendered*, I myself immediately asked the noble lord, what he meant by the expression he had thus used, and whether the narrative upon that day had actually passed into his majesty's hands? To this his reply was—that it had not. Here then was a paper presented upon the 14th of January last, conveying at least twelve direct charges against the gallant naval officer who commanded, with an opinion of the noble lord's affixed. An opinion! And am I not bound to presume, that such opinion so communicated, now not recollected, by the noble lord, went to inculpate the naval officer against whom this very narrative now revised, contains, as I before stated, twelve direct charges of misconduct? The house will recollect, that this narrative in the shape originally presented, with an opinion affixed, was for twenty-five days in the hands of his majesty—that there did not since occur any conference, any retractation—that even in its amended, or rather its altered form, it was not read to the king? that it was not admitted to that royal personage, to say to the noble lord, I find your lordship has changed your narrative, have you also changed your opinion? Is not

this

this an offence of the most aggravated nature against the first principles of our constitution? Is it not an offence that, if suffered to escape without the recorded animadversion of this house, is pregnant with the most incalculable evils? Look at the period when the house of commons is called to exercise its duty upon such transactions. We are now approaching the close of a long reign—the reign of a monarch, who above all others has lived in the hearts and affections of his people. But as a monarch has his peculiar virtues, so has every reign its characteristic features. Most truly can we say of the revered sovereign of these realms, that his virtues are his own, and that whatever evils have occurred, they are to be attributed to the servants who have been in the enjoyment of his confidence. What then has been the characteristic feature of this reign? Have we not been told by authorities the most entitled to veracity and confidence, that from its commencement there has existed a secret, mysterious, and unconstitutional influence, which has set at nought that responsibility which the constitution demands from the advisers of the crown? Has not such a communication been made within the walls of this house, by him who had carried the reputation of this country to the zenith of its glory—by him who, by his unsullied and exalted patriotism, had acquired that title superior to what united kings could bestow, namely, that of the first commoner of England? I mean him, afterwards created William earl of Chatham. In power, and out of power, in favour, and in disgrace, that ever-to-be-venerated statesman felt the malignant influence of the secret and monstrous conspiracy, which, as he declared, existed behind the throne, and was greater than the throne itself. Has he not published it in those speeches, which we have authority to consider as his own? and yet we live in times when, for the very same declaration, men are actually suffering in your gaols. But, if its existence was heretofore problematical, we have it now before us unmasked and unravelled. Strange fatality! that in the son of that very man who first made the bold and awful annunciation, we find one of the agents of that occult influence which the father so long deprecated and so long resisted. Long has that fatal influence been successful in the accomplishment of its mischief! Vain have been the past efforts to resist or to expose it. Though certain in the realization of its views, it disappeared before it was detected. Whoever were the ostensible servants of the crown; however great and salutary the principles of their policy, or the objects of their administration, their labours were counteracted; their just expectations disappointed. However incessant the toil to weave the web, in one night, one hour, this invisible power was able to unravel it. It, like

——"the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream-bowl duly set,
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
His shadowy flail had thresh'd the corn
That ten day-labourers could not end:
And stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
Basks at the fire his hairy strength,
And cropful out of doors he flings,
Ere the first cock his matin rings."

That his majesty is not in any degree to blame I am ready to admit, and that his sacred feelings are not violated by the course which I propose, is what I also contend. If his honour and his interests have been too long sacrificed to such an uncon-

unconstitutional influence, it is right that his eyes should be now opened; opened at the moment when this power is detected in its criminal influence. It is right that parliament should declare, that the constitution of this country never will admit of any other advisers but those who are the avowed, ostensible, and responsible servants of the crown. The house of commons, now that it has exposed to its view the exercise of this influence, should take care, by the manifestation of its indignation, to warn others from a similar course in future. But, in the present instance, is the danger of such an offence limited to a mere abstract violation of the constitution? Is it a simple sin, not aggravated by the consequences of any actual evil? See what the noble lord has done, and extend your thoughts to what might have probably been the consequence of such conduct. Could he have devised any thing more likely to produce dissensions between the military and naval service, and all that frightful train of evils to which such a calamity would lead? It has been the glory of latter times, that between the two descriptions of our public force, upon all occasions where the interests of the empire called for their combined exertion, the most zealous co-operation has been manifested. During this long disastrous war, disastrous, I may say, when applied to the attainment of our original objects, this country has enjoyed the happiness of finding upon no one occasion, the least recognition of those complaints which did exist at other periods of its history, and which, if they had now existed, would have been felt in the loss of thousands of our gallant defenders: but, on the contrary, we have uniformly witnessed the same zeal, energy, and heroic devotion, animating both descriptions of our defence, each adding to the glory of the other by the reciprocal assistance afforded when their conjoint operations were demanded. I will not directly charge the noble lord with that intention, but I beg leave to call this house to the contradiction which exists between his own statements, together with their variance with the truth, which his majesty's answer has unfolded. First, let it be recollected, that the noble lord determined upon his unconstitutional course at a time when no inquiry into the expedition to the Scheldt was intended; when, in place of such a measure being intended, his colleagues in the cabinet had declared a contrary intention; when he must have known that they would exert all their power and influence to resist or to evade it; when he could not contemplate that the public spirit of this house, in unison with the public voice of the country, would wring it from a reluctant but discomfited ministry. It was at such a moment, and under such a state of things, that the noble lord seized the opportunity of darkly and secretly stabbing the constitution of his country, or, if not the constitution, of stabbing the naval reputation of sir Richard Strachan. But he tells you, that on the fourteenth of February he first presented this narrative to the king. Why that particular time? Because it was a levee day. When questioned further for his reasons for delivering it at all, he states that he understood it was the intention of sir Richard Strachan to present a narrative of his proceedings. He is further interrogated, and his answer is, that he was anxious that both

both narratives should be presented on the same day, as he was unwilling to deliver his before that of sir Richard Strachan. Let the house remember, that the 14th of February was fixed upon by the noble lord, at a time when this house was ignorant, as were his colleagues, of any previous presentation. What were your reasons, the noble lord is asked, for selecting that day for this simultaneous operation between you and the naval commander?—He had none. Had you any previous communication with that officer?—No. Were you called upon to produce such a statement?—No. Was sir Richard Strachan?—I believe not. But you did deliver one on the 14th of February?—I did. Did sir Richard Strachan?—I believe not. Compare these statements with what we now know to have passed before, and there is, I contend, no necessity for comment. Compare his examination on the 22d with his examination on the 27th, and there is no necessity for comment. Yet, after all these statements, shall it be contended that, though twelve direct accusations are conveyed against the navy, there existed no wish or intention on the part of the noble lord to impute blame to that quarter? What! is the noble lord, then, to throw firebrands in his sport? Indeed, if it could be supposed that in the military service minds could be found liable to be imposed upon and deluded by such a proceeding, then it were almost impossible to calculate upon the consequent evils. But I confess, as circumstances have now unfolded themselves, I am not at all apprehensive of such consequences; now that the dark and clandestine intrigue is exposed in open daylight, no difference between the two branches of the public service can exist. But both will, I trust, continue to proceed, evincing the same zeal, cordiality, and valour as have heretofore characterized their combined operations. That I may not waste the time of this house, or prevent abler men from addressing more persuasive arguments to its consideration, I now beg leave to conclude, not without some emotions of anxiety, not an anxiety proceeding from any doubts or fears that I entertain as to the propriety of the conduct which I have felt it my duty to pursue, but an anxiety created by the apprehension that I have not done full justice to my country, an anxiety I feel for the decision of this night. I still, however, cannot anticipate any one hostile to the resolutions I shall propose, when I remember what your recent conduct has been, when you addressed the crown even upon the suspicion of an unconstitutional proceeding. When, therefore, you find that the deed which you suspected has been done; when the undeniable proofs are before you; not to pass a vote of censure upon him who has offended, would be not only inconsistent with your former vote, but would be as highly derogatory to your character as it would be subversive of your most imperative duties. On the contrary, should the vote of this night crown the labours of your former struggle against all the influence of power and favouritism, you will give the best answer to whatever has been stated to your prejudice, exemplifying an integrity of principle and a spirit of patriotism, which could not be exceeded in any reformation which others or I myself would wish to see effected in the constitution of this house." Mr. Whitbread concluded with moving, "That John earl of Chatham having requested permission of his majesty

to present to him a narrative of his proceedings, did, on the 15th of January, privately submit to the king a paper bearing date the 15th of October, purporting to be a narrative of the proceedings of his majesty's land forces under his command, of which he withheld all knowledge from his majesty's ministers, and from the admiral commanding the naval part of the expedition, whose conduct he had implicated in no fewer than twelve parts of his narrative; and that on the 10th of February it had been returned, in consequence of a request from him to that effect, and that the same was again tendered on the 14th of February to his majesty, having been altered by the omission of a paragraph, containing an opinion, the substance of which, from the examination of lord Chatham they had not been able to ascertain.—Secondly, That it is the opinion of this house, that John earl of Chatham, having thus acted, had been guilty of an unconstitutional abuse of the privilege he enjoyed of having access to the throne, which could not but tend to be highly injurious to the public service."

Mr. Perceval said, the honourable member had accused him of recommending a course of proceeding, and then of voting against it. He had not recommended the measure as one which he would support, but as the proper and constitutional mode of proceeding, after which the question whether it should be complied with or not would be a fair subject of discussion.

He said he was not the defender of the noble lord. He was prepared to say that his conduct had not been such as he could commend; he thought it was not such as any man could approve. But the question was, With what degree of guilt was it to be marked with regard to the circumstances of the case? He must try, before he could judge on this point, from circumstances and dates to collect if there was any malignant purpose in the conduct of the noble earl. If he had meant to undermine any other officer, would he have delayed the presenting of his narrative from the 15th October to the 15th January? and if such had been his motive, having delayed it so long, would he then have thought of presenting it? He confessed, further, that he could not help thinking that the situation in which the noble earl had been placed was one for which he (Mr. Perceval) and others were answerable; and it was one in which he should never consent, so far as he might be concerned, that any other person should be placed—that he should be a cabinet minister and commander-in-chief of an expedition at the same time! He did agree, it had been found that inconveniences resulted from that mixed character. He would not admit that it was unconstitutional; but if he were again to be called on to give his sanction to such an appointment, he should not advise that the two characters ought to be blended. He thought that for the time any person so situated exercised the duties of a commander, the other functions should be suspended. The noble earl, from the mixture of these two characters, had done what, he admitted, was not right. He had, in his capacity of commander of the expedition, made a report to his majesty, but without any idea at the time that he was giving private advice to his majesty, independently of his colleagues. There was not the slightest evidence from which to impute improper conduct to the noble lord in the command of the expedition.

In

In the current of the popular opinion, however, a prejudice had been created against the noble lord, and from a desire to do this away he had presented the narrative in question to his majesty. Though in this there was error and mistake, it did not appear to him (Mr. Perceval) to be of that character, and to deserve those epithets with which it had been loaded by the honourable gentleman. He wished the question to be adjourned, not with a view of doing it away, but of giving previous consideration to the evidence distributed this day, and that the discussion should proceed on Monday. This, after a long conversation, was agreed to by Mr. Whitbread, and the debate was adjourned till Monday; when general Crawford spoke in defence of the earl of Chatham, and hoped the house would upon mature deliberation fully acquit the noble earl of those motives ascribed to him by other gentlemen.

Mr. C. Wynne felt himself bound to vote for the resolutions.

Mr. Stephen, the constant and able advocate of the measures of ministers, said, that though he was not satisfied with the conduct of lord Chatham, if called upon to give a definitive vote he must meet the resolutions with a negative. He considered lord Chatham as hardly dealt by, and much injured, and expressed sorrow for having participated in the unfavourable impression of his conduct produced by the calumnies with which his character had been assailed, not the smallest part of which was borne out by the evidence taken at the bar. Lord Chatham appeared to him to have done all that, under the circumstances, could have been done. Lord Wellington, and that was no light praise to any general, could not have done more. He could not, therefore, admit of presumptions against lord Chatham, who had certainly some hereditary claims to the attention of that house. He contended, that to vote the resolutions would be to punish lord Chatham, whilst the merits of the expedition would be afterwards to be inquired into. The honourable and learned gentleman then adverted to the merits and services of the father and brother of lord Chatham, and called upon the house to do justice to the son of Chatham and the brother of Pitt. He besought gentlemen, not by any invidious contrasts to pluck stones from the monument of the father to bruise the head of the son. The honourable and learned gentleman next contended that the narrative contained no reflection upon the admiral or the navy, and concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Brougham made a most eloquent speech in support of the resolutions, and concluded by saying: "If you wish to render the responsibility of ministers effective, or rather, if you are not willing to put an end to that responsibility altogether, it is impossible that you can refuse your assent to the proposition of my honourable friend. If you wish to act fairly towards ministers themselves, I call upon you to discountenance a system which exposes them to invidiousness and treachery, which may render them responsible for the advice of others over whom they have no control—If you wish to maintain that responsibility which is essential to the existence of the constitution, by making ministers accountable for the conduct of the government—If you wish to preserve that which forms the barrier of the king's inviolability, I adjure you to adopt

this motion. I plead, alike, indeed, for the ministers, the constitution, and the sovereign, when I exhort you to mark the unconstitutional conduct of lord Chatham by an appropriate expression of your disapprobation and censure." The debate was continued to a late hour, and almost all the principal speakers took a part in it.

Mr. Canning said, He could wish that a precise degree of guilt should be fixed, and he would have the punishment somewhat moderated. Without something done by the house, after what had been shown, their proceedings would appear very extraordinary. The second resolution he could wish to see modified. He had drawn up a few lines, not with any intention of moving them himself, but for the purpose of submitting them to the consideration of the house, for any honourable member to adopt who might approve them. He then read his modification, to the following purport:

"That the house saw with regret, that any such communication as the narrative of lord Chatham should have been made to his majesty, without any knowledge of the other ministers: that such conduct is highly reprehensible, and deserves the censure of this house."

Mr. Whitbread made an animated reply. Much, he said, had been said of the purity of lord Chatham's intentions. With that the house had nothing to do; they were to form their decisions only from the facts before them. He had been condemned for the contrast he endeavoured to draw between the conduct of the late earl of Chatham and the present. He was asked, Will you be so inhuman as to tear the stones from the monument of the father to bruise the head of the son? He could appeal to those who had opportunities of judging of his habits and feelings, whether in private life he was capable of violating any of those social affections that bound man to man. But there he was not his own master; he would discharge his duty as an honest and independent servant of the people, and hold up the proud, noble, and constitutional conduct of William earl of Chatham, in glaring contrast with the suspicious and unconstitutional conduct of John earl of Chatham. He would maintain that the right honourable gentleman had not answered one of his arguments; and it was to him an auspicious omen that he should carry the question. He could assure the house that he did not act in a spirit of vengeance, but in the spirit of a representative of the people. Advocates of lord Chatham, there were none; but he stood there the advocate of millions of the people of England, who insisted on the principle of responsibility, and who wished to make ministers or others answerable for whatever advice they should give the sovereign. He must again repeat, that he trusted the house would not suffer the right honourable gentleman to take refuge under the shabby shelter of the previous question, and give the country an opportunity of saying that parliament dare not do its duty. Should the first resolution be carried, it would then be time for the house to consider whether they would adopt the amendment of the right honourable gentleman.

After several explanations from Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Canning, Mr. Bankes, and others, the house became clamorous for the question. Strangers were ordered to withdraw

draw, and a division took place on the previous question:

For it - - - -	188
Against it - - -	221
Majority - -	33

Mr. Whitbread's first resolution was carried, and he waived the second.

Lord Chatham shortly after resigned his offices under government; but it appeared from the following conversation that on the 16th of April he had not given up the salary attached to them.

Mr. Whitbread wished to ask the chancellor of the exchequer one question. The matter of his question was so strange and doubtful to himself, that he almost asked now only to have it denied. Lord Chatham, as the nation had been given to understand, had resigned his place about two months ago; but it was whispered that the resignation was a feint; that he still held the office of master-general of the ordnance; that he still possessed the patronage; and moreover, that he still condescended to receive the salary. Was this monstrous story true? Could it be true? He (Mr. Whitbread) was anxious, absolutely anxious, for the credit of the ministry, to have it answered in the negative.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated that lord Chatham still held his place. Till his patent was revoked, it was his duty to retain it; and the patent was not to be revoked in places so circumstanced, until the appointment of a successor. The weighty business which occupied government might account for that successor's not having been appointed; but lord Chatham did not assist at the cabinet.

Mr. Whitbread was astonished at this discovery. What! was this great delusion to be practised on the people of England? A man resigned his place to the king (this was the statement of ministers); he thus withdrew from the publicity of the situation; but how was this accomplished? By a vile delusion. For when the ministers gave the country to understand that lord Chatham had retired, the contrary was the truth. The minister had not been without opportunities of clearing up this point; for on being asked if the place was filled up, his constant answer was, that government intended to fill it up as soon as possible, thereby plainly intimating that it was vacant. Was this to be sheltered under the pretext of a patent place? The question had not been, whether lord Chatham was a cabinet minister, but whether he was master-general of the ordnance. If his removal had not been perfectly understood, an address would have been moved to displace him. There was one more question only that he required, to have his full appetite for wonders satisfied. Did lord Chatham continue to receive his salary?

The chancellor of the exchequer professed that he could not be certain on the point, as it was not within his office. Mr. A. Cooper admitted that he had received his salary up to last quarter.

House of lords, March 16.—Lord King rose to move for the production of various papers connected with the important subject of foreign troops now in this country, or in British pay. This subject was one which his lordship considered to be of great constitutional importance. It had always been so considered by the people of this country, though very recently too little notice had been taken of it. If, however, the same views of the constitution existed, it must still be viewed in a serious light by every

thinking person. Within a few years past the number of such troops had much increased; and it appeared by the army papers laid before the house, that the expense of them amounted to a million sterling, a sum surely sufficient to require some consideration. His lordship meant to say nothing by way of reflection on the conduct and character of these foreign troops; but yet, however well they might have behaved, he thought that nobody would attempt to say they were equal to our own native British soldiers. Yet it could not escape the recollection of noble lords, that these persons were, almost all of them, not only foreigners, but the natural born subjects of countries now under the dominion of our enemy. He could not think that a military force of such a composition, with the temptations that might naturally be thrown in their way, were fit to be intrusted with the defence of this country, or of any of our most important military stations at home or abroad. He should refrain at present from pushing his observations further on that particular point. He could not better show the opinions held in former periods in this country, on this unconstitutional subject, than by reminding their lordships of what they would all recollect to have been the language of a speaker of the house of commons, in addressing the throne on the introduction and keeping up of foreign troops in England. His lordship then alluded to the well-known case of the Dutch guards, in the reign of William III. and other cases of later occurrence. The foreign soldiers who had been within some years past brought into this kingdom, were understood at first to consist of emigrants and and others, who were only stationed here, as on their passage, or for other immediately pressing reasons, but by no means as a species of permanent establishment incorporated into, and making a part of, the regular military forces of Great Britain. Their number had, notwithstanding, been very greatly augmented from Hanover, and from other parts of Germany; and certainly called for some notice and examination on the part of their lordships. He also had found that they possessed certain advantages not enjoyed by the British soldier, such as a limitation of their services to particular parts of the world, the true state of which it was one object of his motion to ascertain. The footing on which they were placed with respect to pay was another object, as he should desire to know why they should receive much superior pay than they had been used to, and why they were placed on a footing with our military establishment (the most costly in Europe) if they were bound to perform less service than our own army. His lordship concluded by moving for several papers containing accounts of the number of foreign troops in British pay, of the number of them employed in this country, of the nature and of the extent of the services for which they were engaged, of the particulars of their pay and establishment, &c. &c.

The earl of Liverpool rose and said, that he should not trouble the house with any remarks on what had fallen from the noble lord, as he had no sort of objection to the production of any of the papers required by the noble lord's motions. The production of the papers was then agreed to *nem. con.*

House of commons, March 23.

—Mr.

—Mr. Sheridan rose to address the house upon a subject which he felt to be of essential importance to the community. He had deferred it until he had been enabled to come forward with materials so strong that ——

Mr. Windham interrupted the honourable gentleman. There was an order of that house, which could not be enforced at any time with more propriety than the present. The motion of the honourable member had, he understood, for its objects some considerations connected with persons present, though not in the *lower* part of that house. He probably intended to compliment them; but as it was not the custom to drink the chairman's health until he had withdrawn *(a laugh)*, he would recommend that a similar movement should take place among those gentlemen.

Mr. Sheridan was surprised at the total opposition of the honourable member's (Mr. Windham) conduct, to even his own ideas of order. Nothing could be more disorderly than to enter into an argument, heavy and dull as it was, to prove the value of the standing order, at the moment when he professed that no argument was necessary.

The speaker was of opinion that there should be no interruption of the honourable gentleman who commenced the debate, unless there was a fair proof of disorder, on a motion to be made.

Mr. Windham—Sir, I have a motion to make.

Mr. Sheridan—Sir, I have also a motion to make, and the honourable gentleman's motion will probably come with more advantage after mine has been disposed of. *(A laugh.)* I am in possession of the chair; I have interrupted no order of the house; it is the interruption that is disorderly.

Mr. speaker—I apprehend that no interruption can be allowed, except on occasion of a breach of order, or to move one of the standing orders of the house. On that to which the allusion has been made there can be no debate; it is of too much importance to the house to allow of its being made a matter of discussion on either side; if arguments were brought for it, arguments may be brought against it.

Mr. Windham then moved that strangers should be excluded; and the gallery was cleared. But the following is understood to be a sketch of the debate which took place on Mr. Sheridan's motion, for referring to the standing committee of judicature the petition of Mr. Farquharson, complaining of an injudicious by law lately passed by the benchers of the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn.

Mr. Sheridan said, of all the people in that house he least expected the enforcement of the standing order, for the exclusion of the public, from the right honourable gentleman who had come forward on this occasion. He expected he would have eagerly seized this opportunity to recant the false doctrines which he had formerly so unguardedly uttered, and become a convert to the true faith of the freedom of the press. He expected this candid and conciliatory proceeding, particularly as the right honourable gentleman had been so very zealous in the correction of his speeches, so very anxious as to the stress of his emphasis, and the modulation of his voice, and so studiously inquisitive as to the happiest attitudes for giving his sentiments a pantomimic effect. He was led, indeed, still more strongly

into this expectation, which had been so fatally disappointed, from the information that he had made amicable advances to Mr. Cobbett, and entered into a fair treaty of conciliation. These hints he merely threw out for the consideration of the right hon. gentleman. Mr. Sheridan then professed his intention of not troubling the house at any length, which, indeed, could hardly be necessary, after the observations he had made respecting the subject of his present motion on a former night. He could assure his right honourable friend, (Mr. Windham,) that he should not indulge himself, as that gentleman had feared, in any declamatory invectives against the honourable benchers of Lincoln's Inn, or any glowing panegyrics on the gentleman who had just left the gallery. The case that he wished to bring before the house was one which seemed to him well to deserve the interposition of parliament; yet he should have been better pleased to have obtained his object, as he expected to have done, by the voluntary act of the honourable benchers, of whose by-law he complained. He understood that the law was made unadvisedly, on a sudden application to them after dinner, when but a few benchers were present, and he believed that even those who made it were well disposed to repeal it, on further consideration of the subject. He knew that out of term they could not, in the regular course of their proceedings, meet for the purpose; but the matter in his opinion was weighty and urgent enough to call for an extraordinary meeting. At all events, he could not reconcile himself to any further delay in submitting it to the consideration of the house. The by-law, which had been placarded by the order of the benchers in the common hall of the society, where the court of chancery sits, proscribed a whole class of men, and fixed a stigma upon them, by declaring them to be unworthy of being admitted into an honourable profession. It was declared, that no man who had ever written in a newspaper for hire, should be allowed to perform his preparatory exercises, in order to his admission to the bar. If such a rule had formerly prevailed, it would have excluded from the bar many men who had been ornaments to their profession, and distinguished members of that house. He had a long list of such characters in his hand, but would not read it, lest it should seem indelicate or invidious; since the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, it seems, thought the cause disreputable, though in his own eyes it was the reverse. He might, however, without any danger of exciting any contemptuous feelings in the mind of his right honourable friend, Mr. Windham, mention a man whom he rather more than idolized, Dr. Johnson, as one who had written for periodical publications for hire, and had even written parliamentary debates, though without coming into the gallery to hear them. Here Mr. Sheridan related a well-known anecdote of Dr. Johnson, which had occurred at the literary club. Two speeches of the late lord Chatham, or, to avoid the turn of a certain waggery that had been used, he would say, the great lord Chatham, had been compared to the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes; but the question was, which of them resembled the Greek, and which the Roman orator; and this was referred to Dr. Johnson. The answer was, I do not know; but

but this I well remember, that I wrote them both. He might also, without offence, mention another departed character, lately high in the esteem of the house, and of his right honourable friend in particular, the late Dr. Lawrence, who also would have fallen within the present proscription, if it had formerly existed. He did not know whether the authors of this by-law confined their dislike to daily newspapers. Did it extend to weekly ones also? If so, why not to monthly magazines and quarterly reviews? If it reached so far as annual registers, their principle would stigmatize even Mr. Burke, who had written for a periodical publication of that kind, and been remunerated for his trouble. Of about twenty-three gentlemen who were now employed in reporting parliamentary debates for the newspapers, no less than eighteen were men regularly educated at the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, Edinburgh or Dublin, most of them graduates at those universities, and several of them had gained prizes and other distinctions there by their literary attainments. He again repeated, that he could mention a long list of public and professional characters of great respectability, to whom this illiberal proscription would strictly apply, but that he abstained from it for the reasons already assigned. After several other forcible remarks, Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving, that The petition of Mr. Farquharson should be referred to the standing committee of courts of judicature.

The attorney-general opposed the motion, not on the merits of the case, from the consideration of which he professedly abstained, but because there was a legal remedy by application to the twelve judges; to prove which he read a case from Douglas's Reports, and therefore the interposition of parliament would, in his judgement, be premature and improper.

Mr. Windham rose to use the short monosyllable "No!" to every assertion made about him, except as to the correction of his speeches. Above all, he never had descended to any advance or the slightest conciliation with Mr. Cobbett. He would now leave the subject to those who came for the purpose of discussing it.

Mr. Stephen said, that his connexion with the society of Lincoln's Inn, of which he had had the honour of being a member for thirty-five years, might alone have led him to take a part in the debate; but a particular consideration, known to many gentlemen around him, and of which he should probably put the house in possession before he sat down, called on him more strongly to express his sentiments on this occasion. He hoped nothing that might fall from him would be construed into any disrespect towards the benchers of Lincoln's Inn; he felt for them collectively, and, as far as their characters were known to him, individually too, the most unfeigned respect. Among them he could reckon some of his earliest and most intimate professional friends; and he believed that men of more liberality of sentiment could not easily be found. But he must nevertheless freely avow his concurrence in the views of the right honourable gentleman who made this motion, and declare, that he thought the regulation in question highly illiberal and unjust. He doubted not it must have proceeded from some hasty feelings, and would on due con-

consideration be revoked. To fix a stigma upon a whole class of men, by shutting against them indiscriminately the door of a liberal and honourable profession, open to all the rest of their fellow subjects, was in his judgement quite unjustifiable, unless there were something in the common description which belonged to them, that implied of necessity an universal unfitness for that profession; or unless their exclusion by any other and fairer criterion could not be attained. Now it could not be alleged, in the case of admission to the bar by the law societies, that there was no power of ascertaining the qualifications of students applying to be called, and inquiring if it were thought fit into their past character and conduct. Already the standing regulations required that every gentleman, before he could perform his exercises, or, if he remembered right, before he even entered into commons, must produce a certificate from a practising barrister of the society, that he was qualified in point of character for the profession of the bar: and prior to his being actually called, he must have a like testimonial from one of the benchers themselves. If these precautions were not sufficient, further and stricter ones might be framed, so as to scrutinize effectually into the moral and intellectual character of every individual candidate for admission, without branding the class of fellow subjects to which he had belonged. There was not, in this case, therefore, such an apology, as necessity or strong reasons of public convenience might afford, for a general rule of exclusion. Was it then the principle of this regulation, that persons who had at any time written for a periodical press, and not written gratuitously, were, as such, universally unworthy of admission into an honourable profession? A reproach in which Johnson and Hawkesworth, Steele and Addison, would have been included, was surely more likely to reflect disgrace on its authors than its objects. He was at a loss for the distinct views on which such a prejudice against persons writing for newspapers could be founded. Was it supposed that persons of that description were always destitute of education and liberal sentiments, or were, in point of origin and connexions in life, if those were material circumstances, unfit for the society of gentlemen? Without admitting that writing for the periodical press, though a man's original occupation, and however long persevered in, would constitute any disparagement, cases might be put, in which, from accidental circumstances, a gentleman originally destined to the profession of the law might have been driven to engage in such an employment as a resource for his immediate subsistence, and continued in it, perhaps, but for a brief period, without much interruption of his professional studies; and yet by this harsh rule, his return to his professional path would be for ever cut off. I will, for instance, said Mr. Stephen, suppose a young man by family and education a gentleman, and from his earliest years designed for the legal profession, to be a member of Lincoln's Inn, regularly prosecuting his studies as a lawyer, and to have arrived at within a year and a half of the proper standing to entitle him to be called to the bar, when, by the death of his parents, and previous family misfortunes, he finds himself totally deprived of all present means of support. The resource which he might have found

found in the aid of near relations is pre-occupied by fellow orphans, who from their sex and tender years are more helpless than himself, or perhaps he finds his heart too delicate or too proud for dependency. He has confidence enough in himself to think that when the time comes that he can put on the gown, he shall find in it an ample resource. But what expedient can he possibly explore in the mean time for his subsistence? In this emergency, a literary friend, a man of character and honour, connected with one of the periodical prints, proposes to our young law student that he should undertake, as a temporary expedient, to conduct, for a liberal remuneration, one of the departments of his newspaper in which there happens to be a vacancy. He proposes, for instance, that of reporting the debates of this house: Can it be doubted, sir, that if the rule now in question had not existed, such an offer would be joyfully accepted? Let us suppose it, then, to be so. During one session, our young student reports the debates of this house, and performs what he finds an arduous duty, with satisfaction to his own heart, recording honestly and impartially the deliberations of parliament, for the information of his country. At the end of a single year he finds himself enabled by the death of a relation, and its consequences, to resign this employment, and resume his professional path, and he is grateful to Heaven for an intermediate occupation, which had not only rescued him from dependence and want, but improved his qualifications for future success at the bar. But when he petitions the bench of this society to be called, how sad would be his disappointment, how cruel would be his humiliation and distress, to find that this inexorable rule of the society has given a death-blow to his newborn hopes! How would his mind be stung when told that the expedient which he had regarded with self-complacency as his honest refuge from dependency and distress, had covered him with indelible disgrace, and for ever barred against him the door of an honourable profession! Sir, (said Mr. Stephen,) I can conceive better than I can express what would be the anguish, and what the indignant feelings of such a man as I have described, on such an occasion. But I may be thought, perhaps, to have stated an imaginary and highly improbable case. No, sir, it is not so. The case that I have described, is not imaginary; it really did exist; all but the rejection, which did not take place, because no such rule as that in question had then been made. In other respects the case is real. Thirty years ago, it was the case of the individual who has now the honour to address you. When the cheers of the house had subsided, Mr. Stephen proceeded to say, "I feel, sir, not at all abashed at this avowal. It is an incident of my life, which I am much more disposed to be proud of, or let me rather say, to be grateful for to a kind disposing Providence, than to blush for. I should indeed blush to be supposed to be ashamed of it. I do not believe that any gentleman in this house, or in my profession, will think meanly of me on this account; but should there be such a man, I hope I shall never hear of it, for I should be tempted to hold him in more contempt, than it is allowable for us frail beings to feel for any of our fellow mortals." Mr. Stephen went

went on to state, that his own case was by no means too favourable a specimen of the class of persons who were his contemporaries in the same employment. He could recollect about eight or nine of them, and of these he did not know one, whose subsequent conduct in life reflected any discredit on his former occupation. Several other persons took part in the debate; when, it being understood that the benchers in Lincoln's Inn would revoke their law, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Lethbridge's Notice of a Motion respecting Sir Francis Burdett—Debate on Privilege—Debate on Mr. Brand's Motion for Adjournment—Debate on Sir Francis Burdett's Motion respecting Captain Lake—Debate on Sir Francis Burdett's Letter—Division on the Resolutions and Commitments of Sir Francis to the Tower—Letter from Sir Francis Burdett to the Speaker—Examination of the Sergeant-at-Arms—Opinions of the Attorney-General. Debate on Sir Francis Burdett's Letter resumed—Lord Ossulston's Question respecting the Verdict of Wilful Murder against a Life-Guardsman.

MARCH 26th. Mr. Lethbridge.—"Sir, I wish to ask an honourable baronet, now in his place, whether he acknowledges a certain paper, signed by his name, which, with certain arguments upon the same subject, have appeared in a work pretty well known, I mean Mr. Cobbett's Register?"

Sir Francis Burdett.—"The paper alluded to was signed with my name; it is almost needless, therefore, for me to say, it was printed with my authority, and that the arguments which were affixed were drawn up by me."

Mr. Lethbridge.—"I thank the honourable baronet for the frankness with which he has answered my question; and I have now only to give notice that, considering that publication as a high insult upon this house, and a gross violation of its privileges, it is my intention to submit a motion upon it to-morrow.

A member wished him to defer it until the discussion upon the Scheldt expedition was over. The paper upon which the complaint originated, he could lay before the house the next day.

Mr. Lethbridge stated, that he would the next day lay the paper of which he complained before the house, and then appoint the day for the discussion of his proposed motion.

Lord Folkestone contended, that as it was a question of privilege it superseded all other motions, and ought to be discussed immediately.

Lord Temple considered it the usual practice for the house to receive the complaint in the first instance, and then to fix the period for the discussion.

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The speaker observed, that the usage in such cases was, first, if the member against whom it was intended to prefer a motion of complaint was absent, to move for his attendance upon an appointed day. If he was present, then it was optional with the honourable member intending to prefer such complaint, either to state it now, or at such future day as he deemed most compatible with the general disposition of the business before the house.

Mr. Lethbridge said, that not knowing whether the honourable baronet would be in his place or not, he had that day come down to the house with a determination of moving for his attendance. However, when he saw the honourable baronet in his place, he felt himself bound in common courtesy to state to him his intention of bringing the subject before the house.

Sir Francis Burdett denied that the honourable member had acquainted him with the subject of his motion. As he had unequivocally answered his question, it could not be considered intrusive on him (sir Francis) to ask the honourable member to state the nature of his intended motion.

Lord Folkestone considered it contrary to every precedent of parliament to delay, even for an hour, the discussion upon this grave and serious charge. Had, indeed, the honourable member kept his impression of the honourable baronet's conduct in his own breast, then there might be some reason for the postponement. But it was impossible, in his opinion, to agree to such suspension, after the house had been told that it was highly insulted, and that its privileges were grossly violated.

General Gascoigne called the noble lord to order, upon the ground that no discussion was allowed upon the mere giving of a notice.

The speaker answered, that the noble lord, upon a question of privilege, was strictly in order. The house tolerated upon such occasions a discussion, which, as it led to no decision, might more properly be termed a consulting upon the course which it would be most expedient for the house to pursue.

The chancellor of the exchequer remarked, that when the matter of complaint was before them, the house would then be best able to decide upon its own impression. It was possible that as the honourable member (Mr. Lethbridge) had no reason to know that the honourable baronet would be in his place, he did not perhaps come down so prepared with his intended motion as he otherwise would be disposed to do. The course he had pursued was highly proper; first, in giving notice to the honourable baronet, where it was so highly due; and next, when so serious a complaint, to the house at large.

Mr. Charles Wynne thought that there would be less interruption to the business in which the house was about to engage, in bringing the complaint forward now, before the discussion was commenced, rather than on the next day, when the house would probably be in the very middle of the debate.

Mr. Lethbridge persevered in his notice for the next day, and the conversation dropped.

March 27. Mr. Lethbridge rose, pursuant to the notice which he had given when he last addressed the house. In rising to address them again on his subject, he felt great pain and reluctance, more than he had ever felt on any public occasion. He was now to prefer a com-

complaint against a member of the commons of the united kingdom, for a violation, a gross and novel violation, of the privileges of that honourable house. He should not now go further, than by laying on the table the ground of the charge as admitted and authenticated by the author; he had marked certain parts of the document on which he founded the complaint which he had then the honour to prefer.

The speaker wished to know whether the honourable member desired that the whole of the publication, or only the distinct parts, should be read.

Mr. Lethbridge regretted the necessity of taking up the time of the house, when other business of more, or at least of equal, importance was before them; but the manner of reading was indifferent to him; he had marked the passages, but had no objection to the reading of the whole.

Mr. H. Sumner thought that the reading of the whole was unnecessary; the convenience would naturally be best consulted by the paper being read only as connected with the charge. It rested with the honourable mover to select the parts with which the house was concerned.

Mr. Speaker. — The form of parliamentary usage must be that which the parliament shall adopt; that form is, in instances like the present, that the whole complaint be heard, and then the answers which the accused has ready for his exculpation. The accused then withdraws, and the mover of the charge brings forward his proposition, founded on the matters which may have been submitted to the house.

The "Address and argument of sir Francis Burdett on the power of imprisonment in the house of commons," published in Mr. Cobbett's Register of the 24th March, was read by the clerk of the house.

After the reading, lord Folkestone rose to order. The honourable mover (Mr. Lethbridge), on his calling the attention of the house to the paper which had been just read, had offered nothing of which they could fairly take notice. That paper, after an hour and a half occupied in reading it, supplied no peculiar charge; it must be for the honourable mover to make out the charge, for nothing could be more informal or absurd than to call on his honourable friend (sir Francis Burdett) for an answer, till he had heard something more definite than the general contents of that voluminous publication.

Mr. Lethbridge, in reply to what had fallen from the noble lord (Folkestone), would only remind the house that he had professed himself ready to point out the passages on which the complaint was raised. He had stated that he marked those passages, but he had not thought it proper to press his opinion on the house, lest it might be said that his complaint was supported by garbled documents. He intended, from the beginning, to adopt any line which the house thought proper to choose for him, because he had brought forward the matter only as affecting the house; he had no motive of personal hostility; he stood forward there out of respect to the country, and as the representative of as independent a body of men as any in Old England, He would now proceed to state those passages which he had marked. The first of these was one in the preamble of the address, containing the following extraordinary language:—

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"The house of commons having passed a vote, which amounts to a declaration that an order of theirs is to be of more importance than Magna Charta and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose character as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depend in a great degree upon the decision of this question; a question of no less importance than this: Whether our liberties be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or be to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe."

The next passage to which he would call their attention was that one in which the address talked of the place of imprisonment:

"If they have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoners to York jail, as well as to a jail in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts? They have not gone those lengths yet; but what is to restrain them, if they are to be the sole judge of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers without any control, and without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish any mode of appeal, any means of redress?"

"That I deny," says Mr. Lethbridge.—

The next was from the conclusion of the address, which terminated in these words:—

"In doing this, I shall do all that now remains in my power towards the correction of this, as I deem it, most enormous abuse of power, and most dangerous of all encroachments upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen."

The next passage was from that part of the publication which was entitled the Argument.

"Had not I been prevented, by indisposition, from being present when the house of commons passed by vote a sentence of imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones, I should have endeavoured to show, that, under the false notion of privilege, they were exercising a power, and committing an act of oppression, ill suited to the character of guardians of public liberty, and destructive of the first and most important object of the constitution, viz. the personal security of the subject."

The next passage was that commencing in the following words:

"Founded on such a basis, fortified by such authorities as I shall have occasion to appeal to in the progress of this inquiry, I have little doubt of being able to convince every impartial mind, that the house of commons, by proceeding to judgement—passing a sentence of imprisonment—issuing a warrant of commitment—has gone beyond its prescribed limits, acted in a manner inconsistent with the ends of the institution, and violated the fundamental principles of the law and constitution of the land."

The next passage was:

"By proceeding thus they have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them, a jurisdiction beyond the limits of king, lords, and commons, while Magna Charta remains unrepealed; and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of a house of commons."

The next obnoxious passage was that subsequent to the speaker's warrant:

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"Let this instrument, this thing, *sui generis*, be contrasted with the description of the properties of a legal warrant. Does it not evidently appear, that this piece of unsealed paper, signed by the speaker, by which an untried subject has been outlawed, bears no feature of legality; and that, from the commencement of this proceeding, in its progress, and to its conclusion, there is not one step that has not been marked in a peculiar manner with disrespect for the laws; a disrespect in which all the parts have been wonderfully consistent throughout, in constituting the most unlawful act the mind of man can possibly conceive?"

Mr. Lethbridge now called the attention of the house to a passage, which he thought would of itself substantiate all complaint;—it was this:

"But no wonder, when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution, as was offered to be proved by Mr. Maddocks, and acknowledged by themselves in the never-to-be-forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when from being the lower or inferior (for it is the same sense, one being an English, the other a Latin word) branch of the legislature, they have become the proprietors, by burgage tenure, of the whole representation, and in that capacity, inflated with their high-flown fanciful ideas of majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of royalty, think privilege and protection beneath their dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and lord it equally over the king and the people."

These were the specific passages on which the complaint was founded: on these he stood, calling upon that honourable house to vindicate itself from a series of unjust and unjustifiable aspersions, and punish the violation of their privileges in what manner might, to their wisdom, appear most fitting.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that the honourable member (Mr. Lethbridge) must point out the nature of the charge. There was to his (sir Francis's) mind no charge in the extracts which had been read from his address to his constituents. That address contained all of argument that he knew on the subject, and he could now add nothing to those arguments. The address was his. The arguments which it contained were his; he was ready to see them subjected to the most rigorous inquiry; but till he should hear from the honourable member something in refutation of his principles, he could not undertake their defence. Was it to be supposed that the simple act of arguing on the powers of the commons was a crime? Would not the house endure even an abstract doubt of their powers? This doubt was the whole of the charge hitherto adduced; if a stronger one lay behind, it must be brought forward before he could be expected to meet it by an answer. He was willing to abide by the fact and argument of that paper; he would stand the issue; but if it were even the pleasure of the house that he should now withdraw, he was ready to withdraw.

Mr. Speaker—"This is the form of proceeding; an honourable member states his complaint to the house; the honourable member who is the object of the complaint is then heard in reply; he admits, or repels, or denies the statement. It is the custom that he should then withdraw, and it becomes the part of the honourable mover to submit a motion, founded

founded on the subject of offence, to the house. It then becomes a matter of debate, as any other motion may, and may be carried, or amended, or annulled, at the discretion of the house. It ceases to be interfered with by the honourable member whose conduct has furnished the complaint. This is the form of parliamentary proceeding; the old, unchanged, and, I hope, unchangeable form."

Sir Francis Burdett then withdrew.

The speaker informed the honourable mover (Mr. Lethbridge) that the time was now come for him to prepare his motion, as the honourable baronet had withdrawn.

Mr. Lethbridge then rose to state the grounds of his charge, and declared that in doing so he should be very short. Many reasons, he observed, induced him to be brief on this occasion. The principal one was, the little habit he was in of addressing that house. The task he had undertaken was painful and difficult; but however painful or difficult it was, he felt himself called upon to bring forward the question. The letter of the document was, however, so clear, the real question lay within such a small compass, that it would require but little abilities to put it in a form for the decision of the house. Really, from what had fallen from the noble lord opposite, one would have supposed that he (Mr. Lethbridge) had written a long speech on the subject, the copy of which he had dropped from his pocket, and was found by the noble lord, who thought to embarrass him by calling for a speech no longer in his power to make. He had, however, no object but to state briefly the two resolutions which he meant to propose. These, he trusted, would be adopted by the house. They must, if that house wished to save its own character, and that of Old England. He spoke from the bottom of his heart. He wished the honourable baronet to hear him. He should repeat his wish that the honourable baronet had not been precluded by the forms of the house from hearing what he had to say. He felt no hostility to that honourable baronet; he had much higher motives for his conduct on this occasion. He was convinced that if the house had any regard for its character, it would put a stop to such proceedings as they had witnessed of late. He had heard things stated in that house, which had made the hair of his head stand on end. He could assure the house that the feelings of horror with which he heard it stated, that, "in the opinion of the public, the reputation of that house had not a leg to stand upon," had produced that effect upon him. He trusted that such proceedings would be effectually put a stop to, and with that view he should propose the following resolutions for the adoption of the house.

1st. "Resolved, That the letter signed 'Francis Burdett,' and the further 'Argument,' which was published in the paper called Cobbett's Weekly Register, on the 24th of this instant, is a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of this house."

2d. "Resolved, That sir Francis Burdett, who suffered the above articles to be printed with his name, and by his authority, has been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this house."

The motion being seconded by

Mr. Blachford, Mr. Ponsonby moved to adjourn the discussion for seven days, but Mr. Perceval moved that it should be resumed the next day; which was agreed to.

March 28. Mr. Sheridan rose, and said that he had risen to say a few words upon one of the most important matters upon which that house had ever deliberated: he meant the resumption of the adjourned debate on the complaint of a breach and violation of the privileges of the house, alleged to have been committed by one of their own members (sir Francis Burdett). He should, therefore, in the first place, move that the debate on that subject be now resumed by the house.

The speaker then stated to the house what was the question before them for discussion, which was a resolution proposed as follows: "That the letter signed 'Francis Burdett,' and the further Argument which was published in the paper called Cobbett's Weekly Register, on the 24th of this instant, is a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of this house."

Mr. Sheridan then rose again; and after a few prefatory observations said, that it was his own wish, and he was almost certain that it must be the sincere wish of every gentleman who considered the subject, that whether the present question were one, as many must believe it to be, of the highest importance; or, as some others might perhaps consider it, one of inferior moment; yet, in neither case should the discussion of it interfere with and interrupt the examination of another question of so great importance, and of such magnitude, as that which the house had already under their consideration. He should hope that such were the opinions and feelings of gentlemen on both sides of the house. But this much he would venture to say, that if the house proceeded with haste and precipitancy to the discussion and decision of this question of breach of privilege, they would find that they acted with manifest injustice to the individual who was the subject of the complaint, and to the honour and to the character of the house of commons itself. If a member came forward with a short charge, upon some point concerning the forms of the house, any matter of inferior importance, or which was at once clear and undoubted, the entering immediately into the consideration of it might be the better mode of proceeding; but the present charge was of a very peculiar and important description, and concerned no less a question than the right of the house of commons to imprison the subject for a breach of their privileges. If the matter of charge contained nothing but what had been before spoken in the house, it involved various considerations; for it could not, perhaps, be supposed that words would be allowed in that house, by the speaker, who always presided there with impartiality and dignity, if they were words to that effect to which it was alleged the printed words went, without the speaker's interruption and reprobation. He confessed that he could not learn where to find the doctrine that seemed to be held, that the house was to go hastily into the consideration of every question on matters of breach of privilege. There was, in his opinion, nothing of emergency in the present case to call for it. But there was a mode of proceeding on such subjects which appeared to him

him to be the fittest, and to which he begged leave to call the attention of the house. At the commencement of every session, it must be well known to gentlemen, that a standing order was passed on this point, and he should read the last standing order of the kind, by which the committee of privileges was appointed, who were to meet on Monday se'nnight, at seven o'clock, every Wednesday, and Friday, and Monday at the speaker's chambers, which committee every member, who chose to do so, had the right of attending, and had the right of voting in. It had the power to examine and consider all matters concerning the privileges of the house, and was to report thereon to the house, and for that purpose it was empowered to call for such papers, records, &c. as might be wanted: and further it stated, that in case of complaint made, the member complained of having been heard, after the statement or the complaint, was then to withdraw.

He therefore intended to move, that that committee be ordered to sit on that day se'nnight, and that the subject of the present complaint be referred to them, and that they be desired to report to the house thereon.

The speaker observed, that the motion of the right honourable gentleman must come as an amendment to the motion already before the house.

Mr. Sheridan then stated, that the object of his amendment was to leave out all the words of the original motion after the word "That," and to insert in their place the amendment he had already moved, which he repeated.

The speaker re-stated the question before the house, and then stated the amendment, which commenced after the first word "That." He then desired the clerk to write down the amendment.

Mr. Brand rose to move the adjournment of this debate. He had run over that morning very hastily a work of that great lawyer, Mr. Hargrave. He wanted time to examine him and my lord Hale, and other great constitutional lawyers on this, and opportunity to mature his opinions. My lord Hale had said, that such questions ought not to be adjudged by the house as are remediable in the courts of law. Was not a libel so? Could there be any thing more apposite? Was not that the proceeding in the case of Reeves? Was he brought to judgement by the house? Was not the attorney-general ordered to prosecute? He did not wish to pretend to a show of learning; there were many points to consider; one, he thought, might amount to a breach, but the others required much examination. He was unable to decide whether a member might say or not to his constituents whatever he had delivered in that house. This and many other points were not clear, though included in the general description. Many of them had been stated by sir Francis Burdett in the house, and had been enlarged upon and defended by others. How far he was right, having been here unreprimanded by the speaker, he could not tell.

He wished to be sincere; but he found not a word that was not in sir F. Burdett's speech, delivered in parliament at a time when he had not himself the good fortune to be present, and give his opinion on the question of parliamentary reform. It was delivered in the freedom of speech in parliament,

and why might it not be published? He desired to have constitutional learning on that head. He would avoid the merits, but he desired a proper, calm, sedate consideration of so grave and important a business. As he hoped he might call the honourable mover his friend, he would say to him, "Grant time." Was there a man in the country who would not think that consideration was demanded? He did think the right honourable gentleman opposite was glad to catch at the opportunity which this business afforded, for diverting the attention of an attentive house, and the feelings of an indignant people, from the serious discussions that were going forward, and in which the honour, character, and interests of the house and the country were so deeply concerned. He was convinced that his honourable friend (Mr. Lethbridge) would, in his cooler moments, regret that he had, upon this occasion, allowed himself to be made the instrument for such a purpose; and that he should have been persuaded to throw out this *sop* to the indignant feelings of the house upon that other great question! He was willing to believe that he would be the first to rise and second the amendment with which he was about to conclude. The honourable member then moved, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow se'nnight.

Mr. Lethbridge again rose and said, that as the mover of the resolutions before the house he could not consent to the proposition for adjourning the debate. He had most certainly, at the time when he brought forward the resolutions, been sensible that he was entering upon a grave and serious subject, and it had never been in his contemplation to proceed in it with precipitancy.

The honourable gentleman had stated, previously to his making his motion, that he (Mr. Lethbridge) had lent himself as an instrument in this business to his majesty's ministers. If he had so lent himself, he should never cease to regret it as long as he lived. He had not lent himself to any man, or to any set of men. The motion he brought forward had originated in his own mind, and he had been induced to engage in the proceeding upon considerations of his own.

After a very long debate, the adjournment was carried without a division. During the interval, *viz.* on the 3d of April.

Sir Francis Burdett rose, and said he had to submit to the house a motion which he felt of the most serious importance. His object was not to make any motion implying a direct opinion of the guilt of captain Lake, but he was anxious that there should be justice done, and that it should be done by that house. He should, therefore, confine himself to moving for papers relative to the trial of captain Lake. The class of his majesty's subjects who were immediately interested in the motion, were men entitled to all the feeling of the country. The seamen who had fought and bled in the cause of the country must not be left to the mercy of every petty tyrant—must not be delivered up to the caprice of a man who will be capricious because he has the power to be so. The blood of a fellow subject, and a fellow man, must not be wasted away at the pleasure of a remorseless and unpitying authority; or, if that great crime of

"shed-

"shedding the innocent blood" be committed, there must be a power to which that blood may cry—a superior power, that will not feel it a degradation of its greatness to bend its ear for a moment, and listen to that lowly and feeble cry for justice, that solemn cry, "that cometh out of the ground." But he would not detail to the house the feelings which pressed upon his mind at the plain recital of the facts of this most atrocious, cruel, cowardly murder, for he must call it murder; yet as he had mentally bound himself to abstain from any attempt to heighten the case, he would not dare to give it any colouring of language; he could not give it any colouring; it was a naked crime—an act of cool, determinate, deliberate wickedness, on whose glaring and uncovered guilt no eye could look without horror. He felt a kind of national shame on thinking that such a crime could have so long passed almost unnoticed; and that when it was noticed, it was with the sang-froid of any other daily occurrence. He had first met it in a newspaper, where it was set down as if it had been nothing more than the account of a stage-coach overturning in Piccadilly, and a history of the fractures of the passengers. And what was this trifle of the day's novelties? Nothing more than that a human being had been seized for an unproved crime; had been sent on shore on a desolate island, without food or water, under the burning sun of the West Indies, left to perish without help on the face of the earth: and that he perished! Yet this was a tale which passed like other things of the day. The perpetrator of the act was thought to deserve nothing more than an admonition, and was even put into a higher command. If any thing in the feeling of the public was still alive, it ought to be called on to investigate this act; and it now rested with the house to say, whether the occasion was such as to call for their interference in the cause—that most righteous cause of injured justice and insulted humanity. There were many strange circumstances connected with the trial. In the first place, the accusers and witnesses were all of them accomplices. Nothing could come nearer to certainty than that the man had perished, and it was his (sir Francis Burdett's) first intention to have moved an address to his majesty, to order an inquiry into the murder; but it had been suggested, that, as the evidence was not sufficient to determine a grand jury, the address might be opposed.

But the facts were so singular and so pointed, that no doubt rested on his (sir Francis's) mind, of the crime having been committed in its fullest extent. It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Spenser, an officer of the sloop, that Jeffery, the unfortunate victim, had been charged with stealing, if that could be stealing, a little spruce beer; but from the same evidence it appeared, that there was a wish to get rid of him previously to the offence—an actual conspiracy against this unhappy man; he was seized and sent away without his clothes or money; there was no use in those to him, for he was sent away to die. In two months after he was sent for, and his trowsers were found. The man was supposed by the seamen to have been devoured by the birds of prey that flock round the

island; yet this act, with all its horrid feeling about it, was thought by the admiral in the West Indies and his court martial to be a trivial occurrence; and a report of a report, taken from the report of an American paper, was to acquit captain Lake of the deepest crime of which the laws can take notice. [Here sir Francis read a minute of the evidence, in which it was mentioned that the officer and party sent on shore to look for Jeffery, took fowling-pieces to shoot the birds on the island.] What! sir, said he, were those to be their occupations in that most melancholy visit? They were sent to ascertain the life or death of a human creature; to find him dying, or to find his bones, and yet this they converted into a shooting-excursion. Even then but a few men were sent on shore; but their object was not to find his remains; they were not to find the corpse that was to give a dreadful testimony against its murderer. Why was not every man that could be spared from the ship sent? and why were only a single boat's crew, and those expressly prepared so with means of amusement as to draw off their attention from any diligence of search? In the evidence it came out that the nearest land to Sombrero, the place of this atrocious crime, was Anguilla, and that was at a distance of seven or eight leagues; which yet in admiral Cochrane's statement had been said to be just beside it. It also came out in evidence that the ship was in sight of Sombrero next morning. Thus captain Lake had time for thought; but it was only for double guilt; the sun went down upon his wrath, the sun rose upon it, and neither time nor thought could awaken him to a sense of the misery of the man who was at that moment sinking under his revenge: at that moment on a shore where no human footstep trod, sinking under the suffering of body and agony of mind, that last terrible visitation of misery, when the mind sinks under its weight, and the man has lost at once the power of resistance and the hope of restoration; it was to a death like this that he was consigned; a lingering detail of all the suffering that can be laid upon our nature, where the pains of the body, burning under a tropical sun, were wound up by the bitter depression of a mind that was never to hear the sound of a human voice again, never to feel the consolation of a human presence, but sink from hour to hour, helpless, hopeless, deserted, and in despair—This, said sir Francis, this was the fate reserved for a man. What was the guilt of this atrocious criminal? Had he deserved to be cut off from the communion of his fellow-creatures, by some act which put him out from the limits of human feelings? He had stolen some spruce beer! Yet were this mighty crime proved, where was the sanctity or even the soberness of justice calling up all her powers to fix the crime upon the offender, and vindicate herself from cruelty in the horrible punishment which she had devised for him? The crime was not proved, nor attempted to be proved: there was the ipse dixit of a captain of a sloop of war, and the formal and dignified justice of the men who had resolved to get rid of their victim. Get rid of him! why not throw him into the sea? It would have been mercy, to the death which they reserved for him. It had been said, that the

the island was supposed to be inhabited; but all authority was against that idea. (Here sir Francis read an account of the Sombrero Islands, from Brookes's and other popular gazetteers, which all concurred in representing those islands as totally barren and uninhabited.) It had been said, that the first suggestion that the island was uninhabited reached captain Lake when he was at Barbadoes, and that he declared he would not for twenty thousand pounds have put the man on shore if he had known it. But why did he not even then inquire about Jeffery? Why not send to America, which he might have done for the 100dth part of the money, and discover whether he were living? The very seamen who were sent in the boat with Jeffery, declared that he must be starved to death. It had been asked on the trial, whether captain Lake was perfectly sane; or whether he was, at the moment of the crime, quite sober? It had been said in evidence that he was quite sane: but even if he had not been sober he had time to repent! The ship lay in sight of the island next day, and he might then have attempted to undo his offence, but he was still steady to his revenge. On his trial, captain Lake said, he stood under disadvantages; he had been hurried, and forced to lose the help of witnesses absent on service: but this was absurd; the admiralty would have stayed the trial till his witnesses came, but he had his time chosen by himself; his witnesses were chosen out of those who were implicated in his offence; and it appeared, that even in the progress of the trial every thing had been studiously excluded which could press upon his case. He (sir Francis) felt himself now painfully situated; for he must, by the course of the charge, be drawn in to censure some of those whose high stations should have placed them above a neglect of justice. From the admiralty he had to look to the court-martial, and to reprobate the unscrupulous zeal with which they appeared to shut out from the case every thing that might press upon captain Lake. (Here sir Francis read in a low tone of voice, a great quantity of the evidence given by the different officers of the ship on the trial, and made slight comments in explanation as he went along.) Every thing, said he, in this evidence oppresses the mind. It is dreadful to think that such acts can result from putting authority into unfit hands; yet this man was raised to a higher rank. I must suppose, for the honour of human nature, that his offence was not fully known. What must have been the thought of that wretched man, much more wretched than the being whom he had crushed, while he knew that he was languishing without food or water, without clothing or shelter, in a climate fatal to life! No; this crime must not pass away; this was no question of political interests; nothing on which wise or good men might disagree; it was the cause of the seaman and the soldier; it was his cause; it was theirs; it was the cause of all; the cause of justice; the cause of nature, that sacred and holy sensibility, whose movings cannot be checked without a crime. It now remained with the house to consider whether the offence, of which a mere outline had been detailed, was not one which ought

to be prosecuted by the law officers of the crown. The honourable baronet concluded a speech of great eloquence and power, by moving, "That a committee should be appointed to take into consideration the papers relative to captain Lake's trial, and report upon the same."

This motion excited a long discussion, during which, no one seemed to attempt to justify captain Lake. His conduct was universally condemned. At length Mr. Whitbread said, if his honourable friend would agree to withdraw his motion, he would move, "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, that he be graciously pleased to give immediate directions that a minute and accurate search be made forthwith on the island of Sombrero, for the purpose of ascertaining if any traces can be found of Robert Jeffery, a seaman of his majesty's ship Recruit, left on the said island by the hon. Warwick Lake, late commander of the said ship, contrary to every principle of duty, and in violation of every dictate of humanity; and that two commissioners be appointed to go to the said island, and make the said search." This was passed *nem. con.*

Mr. Whitbread then moved a second address to his majesty, "That he will please to give directions that a search be made in all his majesty's settlements abroad, and in his majesty's fleets, and also in all his foreign countries where his majesty has influence, to ascertain whether the said Robert Jeffery be still alive;" which was agreed to.

April 5. Mr. Lethbridge moved the order of the day for resuming the debate on sir F. Burdett's letter.

Lord Ossulston rose, and proceeded to vindicate the doctrine laid down by the honourable baronet respecting the right of commitment, as claimed to be exercised by that house. He cited, from the authority of chief justice Holt, that neither house of parliament could infringe upon the liberty of the subject. He further quoted, from the same authority, that the privileges of parliament were well known, and founded upon the laws of the land, and could not be in contradiction to those laws. He stated moreover the argument laid down by chief justice De Grey, that though the law of parliament was, in a great measure, only known to parliament-men, and that by experience, still that that experience could not warrant any principle at open variance with the known laws of the land. The noble lord then adverted to those personal considerations that must show that sir Francis Burdett could not have been influenced by any anti-constitutional motives in his public conduct. He derived those well-grounded presumptions from the honourable baronet's amiable private character, his great stake in the country, and his ancient family.

Sir John Anstruther differed materially from the noble lord who had just sat down, in many points, and in none more than as to his sense of the importance of any attempt, from whatever quarter, to wean the feelings of the people of England from the support of that house. The house stood in that peculiar situation, that it behoved it to guard itself equally from the innovations of the influence of the crown on the one side, and the advancements of popular encroachments upon the other; and the best way to do that effectually was uniformly

formly to support its own rights and privileges. They had never been exercised but for the good of the country at large, and it could not be for the benefit of that country to shrink from the discussion, and the support of them. The learned baronet went very fully into the merits of the case; examined all the arguments that had been used by preceding speakers; and then, taking up the publication in question, he said the pamphlet appeared to him to be an awkward compilation of very bad arguments in very bad language; and he must again repeat his wish, that such a work had been left to its own fate. He could not extol the wisdom or the prudence of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Lethbridge), in visiting it with a character of importance so foreign to its own merits. He would advise that honourable gentleman, the next time he felt his zeal prompting him so hastily, to pause a little to consider the ulterior consequences a first step in such matters may lead to. He would advise that gentleman, before he took a similar proceeding in future, to consult with others whose experience might be found to equal his own, and whose counsel might prove no unworthy accession to the native resources of his own practical wisdom.

Lord Folkestone was desirous of addressing the house, as, notwithstanding so grave an authority as that of the right honourable gentleman, he must differ from him, both with respect to the paper itself, and the question of the right of the house, on which the paper complained of treated. The noble lord thought he had a right to complain of the honourable gentleman who moved this question, not having stated his views as to his further proceedings. At first he was contented with the mere reading of the publication; and then he appeared much alarmed; so much so, that he said his hair stood on end when he read it; but what crime it contained he had not stated. Every gentleman on that side had taken a different view of the matter; one confessed that the paper did not involve the rights of the house, one thought it did; others entertained different opinions. Some charged it with falsehood; and the right honourable gentleman arraigned it of bad taste and bad authorship. It was called scandalous and libellous; but no proofs of this were given; and while its bad taste was censured, it was admitted that it could do no harm. Let gentlemen fairly consider the nature of the whole paper. It was written by an honourable member to his constituents, explaining more fully to them the nature and extent of his arguments than he had done in his place, or than they could have been reported to his constituents. He did not know to what extent members were to be permitted to publish their sentiments. The standing order forbad the publication of their debates; nevertheless that practice had been long connived at. In former times it could not be considered such a grievance, since Andrew Marvel wrote a full account of their proceedings to his constituents every week. This ought, therefore, to be taken into view. He should be sorry to pass sentence for a libel, merely on what he recollected to have fallen from a person in the hurry of debate: but might not a person, in publishing sentiments delivered in the house, supply what was a little defective, and strengthen what was too weak? He must dissent

dissent from a decision, till he knew what was the meaning of their authority and privileges. He found, privileges derived from *privatum est*, a private law, an exemption from the power of others; and this must be most accurately defined in its nature and its extent. What was to be found of privileges as anciently claimed? Freedom of speech, and freedom from arrest for members, and for their servants, when coming to or returning from parliament, excepting in cases of treason, felony, and breaches of the peace. Privilege was only exemption, but not power; its object clearly was only to prevent obstruction. If pushed beyond this, it became dangerous: but what was now claimed was different, and contrary to the definition of the word. It had been stated, that it was as necessary to protect the members from libel, as from hissing and hooting them; but hissing and hooting were actual and undeniable interruptions and obstructions. The honourable baronet had not denied the right of removing all obstructions. The learned master of the rolls had maintained the doctrine in favour of the necessity of the power of the house, but not as a privilege. His lordship wanted to know why it was necessary. Lord chief justice De Grey, too, maintained the necessity, in order to enable the house to perform its functions; but nobody denied the power claimed of removing obstructions; and the house had gone on very well without claiming more upon former occasions; as was the case in the instance of Stockdale and of Reeves, where no step of this sort was taken. It was said that there was inconsistency in sir Francis Burdett's voting for the committal of Mr. Huatley Sandon and general Clavering; but in their cases there was an evident contempt and obstruction. The house was then a court of inquiry, and punished them for their prevarication; which was essential to the prosecution of that inquiry. He would say, that their being able to inflict that very punishment, furnished an argument in support of his conclusion, that their power existed only against obstructions. Punishment for a specific time was a power long since given up by that house, and now the confinement ceased at an adjournment; a proof that the power was not for the execution of punishment. They had abandoned all claims to punish for a year, or a week, or a day. A man might at the commencement of a parliament be imprisoned, and remain there, parliament sitting, for some years, if he made no submission; if at the end of a session, his confinement might be but for a day; however great his offence or contempt might be. This showed that the house had no power to confine and punish, except in cases of obstructions. If submission were made, the party was generally released; but it was very odd, if the power extended to punishment for a libel, &c. that its duration should be so uncertain and ill-proportioned to the offence. "The house assume," said the noble lord, "this power, and we dispute it: and we make our stand on the law of the land, on Magna Charta. The latter expressly stated that *No man shall be taken or imprisoned*, or disseised of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by *the legal judgement of his peers*, or by *the law of the land*." He had, therefore, a good right to say to gentlemen—

"Show

"Show me the law, and the foundation on which this assumed power stands." It lies with those gentlemen to make that clear. He had other authorities and recognitions, besides those he had quoted. He had resolutions of all the branches of the legislature, the authority of lord chief justice Holt, and even of the crown, in the opinion of king Charles I. With regard to the case now before the house, he hoped the house would come to a decision with a grave and sober judgement, and with such feelings as became judges, and not with those attached only to advocates. He feared, however, that many came there more impressed with the feelings of advocates than those of judges. The honourable mover had said on a former occasion, he wished to check the proceedings of sir Francis Burdett; a second had said, it was time to repress the spirit of jacobinism; a third, that the proceedings of sir Francis Burdett had been very long known: how any of these things were at all connected with the subject then before the house, he knew not; and particularly what the honourable gentleman could mean by the proceedings of his honourable friend being long known, he was at a loss to guess. What proceedings could he allude to? He hoped, however, such feelings had on the present evening been left at home, and that the decision of this night would be founded on justice and on reason. It was said by the resolution, that the letter was a scandalous libel on the privileges of the house. He for his own part did not think it was a scandalous libel; and as such should move as an amendment, that the order of the day be now read.

Lord Binning said, he did not think it possible to overstate the importance of the paper then under the consideration of the house, because it attacked, in the most gross and violent manner, the just privileges of that house, without a due regard and respect for which they must soon sink into insignificance; because the present were not ordinary times, nor was the honourable baronet, who was the author of it, an ordinary man. The honourable baronet had, for a length of time, in furtherance and support of his favourite child—a reform in the representation of the house of commons—taken every opportunity to blacken the character of the house. From time to time the house had heard that they had not a leg to stand on; and in the course of the last session he had said, that the only place in which the people of England were treated with contempt was in the house of commons. Some persons had, in extenuation of many passages in this paper, said, that they were nonsense; he had no inclination or intention to deny the truth of the observation; but that in his mind, made very little difference. Certain facts stated in a certain way might be equally mischievous in their tendency and effect, whether done nonsensically or with ability; and if the house wished their privileges should not be trampled under foot, it was high time to assert them.

The noble lord next examined the pamphlet in all its parts; and coming to one passage, he said he did not know the meaning of it; but it was certainly very great abuse of the house of commons. The honourable baronet had been pleased to refer to the Roman satirist, who, when lashing the vices of a corrupt country, particularly upbraids the absence

sence of feeling generally exhibited for the sufferings of small men in humble stations. The poor man may lose his goods and all his effects. Should his house be burned to the ground, no one troubles himself about it; but if misfortune touches the great, then all partake of the general sorrow. This (said lord Binning) is an insinuation the house has never deserved. He had not heard, nor could conceive, that the house ever oppressed a poor man. He could conceive a poor man committing a gross and scandalous libel on the house, and also a powerful man who could write a still more scandalous libel in defence of him; and as the honourable baronet had in the house admitted that libel to be his, he thought it high time for the house to assert its privileges, and he should therefore vote for the resolutions.

Sir Samuel Romilly observed, that when this question was before under consideration of the house, he felt it to be his duty to impress upon it the necessity of allowing time for the fullest deliberation of so important a subject. Since that period he had given it all the attention within his power: yet after all the consideration that he bestowed on it, he must say, that if it was true, as had been stated by gentlemen opposite, that he was the only person who entertained doubts, of those doubts he was not ashamed. He had now to congratulate the house upon the disposition that was manifested to meet the discussion with that temper and deliberation suited to its importance. He congratulated it upon the change which had taken place in its tone and feelings upon this question. They had not that night heard of carrying it with acclamation. There was happily a cessation to those warm, indignant, and intemperate emotions, under the influence of which many were disposed on the former occasion to precipitate the decision. The result of such a satisfactory change must be, that though the decision to which the house would now come, should be the same decision as it would have pronounced upon the former night, still it was impossible but that the house must declare its determination, in a manner much more creditable to itself, as well as more calculated to acquire that respect from the people, which, upon every principle, was always to be desired. In taking into its consideration the nature of the publication complained of, the house had two questions to discuss: First, whether it was a libel; and, next, whether it was expedient to acquiesce in the resolutions proposed. For his own part, he was free to admit that he still entertained doubts; first, whether this publication was a libel; and next, that it entrenched upon the privileges of that house.

Here the learned and honourable member took a most extensive view of the business, including the case of Gale Jones, and showing that the advertisement was not intended to libel the house, but that its censure went only to affect the individual members. He next examined all the cases which had been referred to in vindication of the power assumed by the house, showing in what points they were defective; and then coming to the pamphlet, he said, thinking the author of the paper complained of right in the main proposition, though he confessed that the language appeared to be in some parts intemperate, he could not agree that it deserved any censure at all.

Some

Some of the passages he did not well understand, but he could not therefore join in the opinion with the noble lord (Binning) who owned that he did not know their meaning, but still thought they must mean some abuse of the house. If the hon. baronet really thought that an injustice had been committed in imprisoning a British subject, it could not have been expected that he should speak of this with perfect calmness, and that some allowance was to be made. There was a case, which, if it had been that of an individual, he would have cited in the way of an *argumentum ad hominem*. The house of commons in the case of the Aylesbury election, in a paper of reasons drawn up by a committee, agreed to by the house, and sent up to the lords, had used language much more violent to the house of lords than any that had been used respecting themselves in the publication now complained of. He read an extract from the paper, which was in substance—"that the house of commons did not wonder that their lordships, after the encroachments which they had made upon the constitution, now wished to overturn the whole frame of it: that the house found that, under the specious pretext of a regard to public freedom, their lordships endeavoured to draw the determination of liberty and property into the bottomless and insatiable gulf of their own privileges, which tended to swallow up the rights of both crown and people." He asked whether there was any thing in the publication now complained of equal to the violence of this language? If a private person had made use of the language he had just quoted, it might have been justly said, that it was not for him to be rash in complaining of intemperate expressions. He next adverted to the invidious reference which had been made to the past conduct of sir F. Burdett, he not being there to defend himself. Such an irregular proceeding would of itself, in a court of law, be considered, if persevered in, as a contempt. The honourable baronet was to him a total stranger, except in as far as he had observed his public conduct; and therefore it could not be supposed that he was influenced by any other consideration than a regard to duty. It had been remarked by an honourable and learned judge (the master of the rolls), that the question had been forced on the house. This would have been correct if it had been asserted of any of the courts below—They must decide if their opinion is called for. Their rule was *Fiat justitia*—they must pronounce, whatever might be their opinion of consequences. This house was under no such obligation. It was not bound to decide because an individual reading a publication in the morning, which appeared to him very offensive, had brought it in the evening before the house—and he thought this a case on which it would be better not to adopt any proceeding, even if, by a severe construction, it could be contended that privilege had been violated. In matters of authority, as well as in religion, severity against heresy only served to increase the number of its disciples. He concluded by observing that he would vote for the order of the day.

The debate continued to a very late hour, and most of the leading speakers took a part in it. Towards the close

Mr.

Mr. Sheridan said, he was not a person disposed to betray the privileges of that house, which, no matter whether they were usurped or conferred, were necessary to their existence, and which if they did not possess they would not then be sitting there. But they should recollect that their privileges were derived from the people, and were held for the advantage of the people. If the house were brought into an unpleasant predicament, woe be to the late member of Cambridgeshire! That gentleman was answerable for its embarrassment, and whatever consequences might follow. It was he who excited these doubts concerning the privileges of the house, by converting a personal attack on him into a violation of the bill of rights. This sent people to inquire into the nature and extent of privilege of parliament. He wished to know from the gentlemen who supported the resolutions, what conclusion they intended to draw from their adoption. Did the honourable mover mean to move that sir F. Burdett should be sent to the Tower? If that was his intention, for himself he would say, that he would not be made a stepping-stone to assist him in his progress. He would not consent to hurt a hair of sir Francis Burdett's head. What did the hon. gentleman or his friends mean to move? He called upon him for an answer; he was entitled to it.

Mr. Lethbridge would state what his course had been, and what were his intentions. He was not to be forced beyond the line of conduct he had prescribed to himself. He would lay the resolutions before the house, leaving it to them to dispose of them as they might please. If they were adopted, it would be competent for any honourable member to follow them by any resolution he might think proper. When such should be proposed, he would give his vote conscientiously on the question.

Sir Robert Salisbury said, that if the resolutions were agreed to, he would feel it his duty to propose that sir Francis Burdett be committed to the Tower.

Mr. Wilberforce contended, that parliament had no right to give up the privileges of the people of England, of which this right claimed by the house was undoubtedly one. The power of commitment was sanctioned by precedent, and essential to the independence of that house. He thought the wisest course they could adopt would be to come to a vote on the resolutions at present, and to defer the consideration of the measure of punishment to a cooler moment. He considered the argument of the last speaker as rather unfair. It seemed as if it were intended to induce them to adopt the motion for commitment, by making them ashamed of appearing to be intimidated. He thought the house was in duty bound to mark their sense of the paper on the table.

Mr. Lyttleton was convinced the house would render a more grateful service to their constituents by rescinding the vote in favour of the Walcheren expedition, than by provoking a contest respecting the existence of a privilege that was not attacked.

Sir J. Newport and Mr. W. Smith announced their intention of opposing the resolutions, since it was proposed to follow them up by a punishment not warranted by the offensive matter contained in the paper on the table.

A di-

A division took place,

Ayes - - -	80
Noes - - -	271
Majority against reading the orders of the day -	191

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Lethbridge were then agreed to without a division.

A motion for the commitment of sir F. Burdett to the Tower was then made by sir R. Salisbury, as we are informed; upon which a discussion of some length took place.

An amendment was proposed, that sir F. Burdett be reprimanded in his place; upon which the house divided,

Ayes - - -	152
Noes - - -	190
Majority - -	38

The motion for commitment to the Tower was carried without a division.

April 9. The speaker rose, amidst cries of "Order! order!" at the bar, to state to the house how he had proceeded in consequence of the vote of the house for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower. At half-past seven o'clock on Friday morning he had signed the warrant of commitment, and delivered it to the sergeant to be carried into immediate execution, with a specific direction not to delay the execution of it beyond ten o'clock that day. The sergeant was in attendance, and would report how he had proceeded in consequence of these directions. But before that report was made he had to state, that late on Friday evening he had received a letter from sir Francis Burdett, containing a desire that it might be read to the house. If it was the pleasure of the house he would read that letter, but it must be at their request if he did read it, because the matter did not rest with him.

Mr. Freemantle wished to know at what hour on Friday the speaker had received the letter?

The speaker replied, that he thought he had stated that he had received it on Friday evening, and at a late hour. He had no objection to state the precise hour, for the house would, he hoped, do him the justice to believe, that of every part of these transactions that had come within his cognizance he had taken notes. The hour was ten o'clock. The letter had been left for him by two gentlemen, who desired to know whether there was any answer? He had read the letter, and then desired an intimation to be given that there was no answer.

The house having agreed that the letter should be read, the speaker read it accordingly. The following is a copy:—

"Sir,—When I was returned in due form by the electors of Westminster, they imagined they had chosen me as their trustee in a house of commons, to maintain the laws and liberties of the land. Having accepted that trust, I NEVER WILL BETRAY IT.

"I have also, as a dutiful subject, taken an oath of allegiance to the king to obey his laws; and I never will consent, by any act of mine, to obey any set of men who, contrary to those laws, shall under any pretence whatever assume the power of the king.

"Power and privilege are not the same things, and ought not at any time to be confounded together. Privilege is an exemption from power, and was by law secured to the third branch of the legis-

legislature in order to protect them, that they might safely protect the people, not to give them power to destroy the people.

"Your warrant, sir, I believe, you know to be illegal—I know it to be so. To superior force I must submit—but I will not, and dare not incur the danger of continuing voluntarily to make one of any association, or set of men, who shall assume illegally the whole power of the realm, and who have no more right to take myself, or any one of my constituents, by force, than I or they possess to take any of those who are now guilty of this usurpation; and I would condescend to accept the meanest office that would vacate my seat, being more desirous of getting out of my present association than other men may be desirous of getting profitably into it.

"Sir, this is not a letter in answer to a vote of thanks, it is in answer to a vote of a very different kind—I know not what to call it—but since you have begun this correspondence with me, I must beg you to read this, my answer, to those under whose order you have commenced it. I remain, sir,

"Your most obed. humb. servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT.

"*Piccadilly, April 6th*, 1810."

The speaker, when he had finished reading the letter, said, that the next thing to be considered was, whether it should lie on the table? This too must be decided by a vote.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and observed, that the best way would be not to say a single syllable on the subject of the letter at present. He should therefore simply move, that it be laid on the table, to be considered on a future occasion.

Mr. Charles Wynne suggested that it would be better even to adjourn the debate on the question, that the letter be laid on the table until the next day, and he moved accordingly.

This motion was agreed to without any opposition.

The speaker next requested leave to suggest, that this would be the most convenient time for receiving the report of the sergeant.

The serjeant was called to the bar.

The speaker—"Serjeant, you are directed to report to the house the circumstances attending the execution of the warrant for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower, delivered to you on Friday morning."

The serjeant, after an apology for not having his notes of his proceedings so well arranged as he could have wished, stated, that he had gone to sir Francis Burdett's house on Friday morning with two messengers, when he was told by a servant, that sir Francis Burdett was not at home; he then went to his own house, and wrote a letter to sir Francis Burdett, telling him, that he had called on him to apprehend him and convey him to the Tower, in execution of a warrant from the speaker of the house of commons for that purpose. He stated to sir Francis, at the same time, that he wished to consult his convenience as much as lay in his power. This he had sent by Mr. Clementson, the deputy-sergeant, desiring him again to ask if sir Francis Burdett was at home. At four o'clock on Friday afternoon he was told at the house of commons, that sir Francis Burdett had returned. He then went to sir Francis Burdett's house, and saw sir Francis,

who

who told him that he would be ready to receive him at eleven o'clock the next (Saturday) morning. He left him at that time with the impression that sir Francis would go with him to the Tower peaceably at the time stated. He had assented to this delay because he had the speaker's directions to conduct himself to sir Francis Burdett with all the delicacy consistent with the due discharge of his duty, and because he himself wished to show every possible respect to a member of parliament. Indeed, though he had attempted to execute the warrant that night, it would not have been in his power to succeed, as there was a large mob at the door, and he had not at that time the requisite assistance, conceiving that sir Francis would have obeyed without any resistance. From sir Francis Burdett's house he went to the speaker, and acquainted him with what had passed, stating that it had been arranged that sir Francis was to go with him at eleven the next day to the Tower. The speaker advised him to execute his warrant immediately, and to apply at the secretary of state's office for whatever assistance might be necessary. He then went to the secretary of state's office, where he was detained some time. He next called at sir Francis Burdett's house, stated to him that he was under the necessity of executing his warrant at an earlier hour than that which had been mentioned, and showed him the warrant; which he read. Sir Francis then said, that he disputed the legality of the warrant, and that nothing short of actual force would make him accompany the sergeant, and that he was resolved to resist as far as was in his power. Sir Francis stated at the same time, that he had written to the speaker on the illegality of the warrant. He (the sergeant) then went to the secretary of state's office to make arrangements as to the force which would be required to enable him to execute the warrant. Considering, however, the lateness of the hour, it being then about nine o'clock, and no arrangement having been made with the lord mayor for a force to accompany him when he should have entered the confines of the city, he determined to put off the execution of the warrant till half past six on the following morning (Saturday). In the mean time he applied himself to the arrangement of the necessary force at the secretary of state's office, and sent Mr. Clementson to the lord-mayor for the same purpose. At half past six on Saturday morning he went to sir Francis Burdett's house, and was told at the door that he was not at home, and that the servant did not know when he would return. Conceiving that sir Francis had gone to Wimbledon, he set off for that place, leaving a messenger in sir Francis Burdett's hall. At Wimbledon he was told that sir Francis was not there. He then went to his own house, and staid there a short time. He was told in the course of the day that sir Francis had been seen in the street. He proceeded to his house, and found the door a little open, but with a chain across. A servant told him that he could not come in there, and immediately shut the door against him. On the morning of the following day, which was Sunday, about seven o'clock, he went again to the house with the police officers, knocked several times, but could gain no admittance, and withdrew. Mr. Clementson and himself, by turns, continued near during the rest of the

day and night, leaving messengers to watch the approaches to sir Francis's house. On Saturday or Sunday morning (we could not with certainty collect which), having some doubts how far he was warranted in making a forcible entry into the house, he sent to the attorney-general for his opinion on that point. On that opinion he had acted this morning. He had arranged with the secretary of state that a civil and military force should attend him. He went to the house that morning at ten o'clock with the police officers, and a detachment of cavalry and infantry. He forced an entrance into the house with the police officers, and proceeded to the room where sir Francis was. He told him that he must go with him immediately, and that resistance was quite useless. Sir Francis asked him to show him his warrant, and he told him that he arrested him in virtue of the warrant which he had before seen and read. Sir Francis then got into the carriage, which had been provided for the purpose, and he delivered him to the lieutenant of the Tower. If it should appear that he had erred, or had been remiss in the execution of his duty, he trusted the house would give him credit for having acted from the best motives. It would be considered that the case was wholly unprecedented, and that he had acted from that respect and delicacy which he thought it became him to feel for a member of parliament. When sir F. told him that he would be ready to receive him at eleven o'clock on Saturday morning, he certainly understood that he intended to go with him without making any resistance.

Q. When the speaker desired you to go to the secretary of state's office, did you not state that sir Francis intended to resist? A. No. I only told him that eleven o'clock next morning was fixed upon as the time for conveying sir Francis to the Tower.

The speaker here adverting to the inconsistency between the last and the first part of the evidence, as to the information respecting the intended resistance, begged leave to call to the sergeant's recollection the exact particulars of his communication with him. He (the speaker) had directed the sergeant to serve the warrant before ten o'clock, and not to wait till mid-day hours. The next intercourse took place while he was sitting at that table (immediately before the house was formed on Friday), when he understood that the sergeant was preparing to make a report that sir Francis had been seized. He sent word to the sergeant not to stop there to make his report, but to proceed to take him to the Tower immediately. He heard nothing further about the matter till five o'clock, when the house was sitting in a committee. The sergeant wished to speak with him, and he went to a private room for that purpose, and his first words were, "Where is the receipt of the lieutenant of the Tower?" The sergeant then stated, that he had arranged with sir Francis that he should go to the Tower at eleven the next day. His answer was, "Possibly you may be sent to the Tower by that time; your business is to execute your warrant—and I would advise you to do it before the dark hours." The next time the sergeant came to him was the first occasion when any intimation was given him of the intention to resist.

Q. When did the sergeant go to the

the secretary of state's office? A. About nine o'clock.

Q. What conversation took place? A. Mr. Perceval said—"Well, Mr. Colman, have you executed the warrant?" Witness answered that he had not, as he did not think it justified him in searching.

Q. Was that the substance of your conference? A. Yes; with the addition that Mr. Perceval advised me to take the opinion of the attorney-general.

Q. Did you take the opinion of the attorney-general accordingly? A. Yes. I laid the case before the attorney-general on Saturday, and received his answer on Sunday.

Q. Have you that case and opinion? A. I have the opinion.

The warrant to the sergeant-at-arms was then read, with the opinion of the attorney-general upon the legality of enforcing it. The opinion went to state, that in the case submitted, no instance was stated where the execution of such a warrant took place under the circumstance of the door of the individual's house being broken for the purpose of getting an entrance. He believed there was no such precedent. The case must therefore be considered upon the only principle which could be analogous, namely, the course of proceedings in the execution of warrants, where the king was a party. In such cases it was understood and sanctioned, that the persons appointed to execute such warrants might force the outer door; the same privilege in the process was next allowed where subjects were the party. Reasoning upon that analogy, and in the absence of any direct case, he did not see why such a warrant as that directed to the sergeant should not be executed in the same manner that a criminal process, where the king was the prosecutor, would be carried into effect. It was in that view the present case could only be considered, there being no direct authority to support its exercise. It was to be observed, that the fullest notice should be given to the individual whose person was to be seized, of the purport of their coming. He also was of opinion, that the proper officer might call to his aid all species of aid, military as well as civil. He did not think that it should be executed at night; but in case of any rescue he was fully of opinion that it was perfectly legal to break in and search, not only the houses of the individual rescued, but of any other person where there was a justifiable suspicion to suppose that he was concealed.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in his interview with the sergeant, expressed his surprise, that he had not executed the warrant when he had seen sir F. Burdett, at all events that he had not touched him. The sergeant asked Mr. Perceval for his advice relative to the legality of breaking the outer door. Mr. Perceval would give no advice; but stated, that whatever doubts might exist as to forcing the outer door, there could not, in his opinion, be any relative to all the interior doors in the house. The chancellor of the exchequer further stated, that he (the sergeant) had the duty to exercise, and that if he had doubts upon the legality of enforcing the warrant, it was his best course to take the opinion of an eminent lawyer. He recommended the attorney-general. Mr. Perceval, although he would have thought himself justified in breaking the outer door, if

it was his province to execute the warrant, still would not from himself give any advice to the sergeant.

Lord Ossulston.—Suppose you had all the military means, furnished by the secretary of state, did you not feel the whole responsibility of the execution rest upon yourself, so much, that if resistance had been made, and death ensued, the warrant being afterwards found illegal, would you not have considered yourself subject to an indictment for murder? A. I did certainly conceive myself the responsible person.

In answer to a question from Mr. Adam, the sergeant stated, that he had, on Sunday, seen the sheriffs of London and Middlesex in front of sir Francis Burdett's house; and that, after he had shown them the warrant, they expressed their readiness to support him, upon the supposition that sir F. Burdett came out of his house.

Q. Were you not told at the secretary of state's office, on Friday, that through your negligence in the execution of your duty you must be considered as responsible for all the consequences? A. I think I was told so, and I felt the justice of the observation. I think I said so, or something to that effect.

The attorney-general stated, that on Friday morning—on recollection he begged to say Saturday—he attended the cabinet council, and being called upon for his opinion as to the legality of breaking open the outer door of sir Francis Burdett's house, in order to execute the speaker's warrant, he requested time to consider it. He felt it to be quite a new question; and being unacquainted with any case in which such a difficulty arose in the mode of executing such a warrant, he had no precedent to refer to; but reasoning from analogy as to other warrants, the tendency of his opinion was, that the door ought to be broke open for the purpose of executing this warrant. This impression was the result of the best consideration which he could give to the case, and therefore he told the sergeant-at-arms that he would be justified in breaking open the door. But at the same time he stated that he could give no decided opinion: as far, however, as his opinion went, which was grounded not upon authority, but reasoning, he thought the door might be broke open.

Q. (By Mr. Whitbread) Have you stated all that passed at the council upon the subject of this warrant? A. I also stated to the sergeant-at-arms the consequences of so executing the warrant if not justified in law. If a conflict were to ensue from which any death should follow, I observed, that the sergeant would or would not be justified according as the mode I have described of executing the warrant should be deemed legal or illegal; and I think I also stated, that if any thing should happen to the sergeant himself, it must depend upon the legality or illegality of the mode of executing the warrant, whether any person should be criminally responsible for the consequences.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that if the house were now in possession of all the information desired upon this subject, he would move to have the minutes of the evidence printed.

A member moved, that the messenger who accompanied the sergeant-at-arms to sir Francis Burdett's house on Friday night should be called in and examined.

Mr. Jacob, in rising to second this motion, took occasion to observe,

serve, that the inquiry should take a wider range than gentlemen appeared to have in contemplation. The object of all the interrogatories seemed to be to criminate the sergeant-at-arms, the ministers, or the law-officer, and for this purpose only one witness was examined. Nothing had as yet been gone into to affect the criminality of the prisoner, or to expose any of his secret advisers, whether members of that house or not. He only meant to suggest the propriety of extending inquiry upon this subject, in order to ascertain whether any member of that house, or who, had recently advised sir Francis Burdett to resist the authority of the speaker's warrant. It appeared to him that the house had at least as much right to call upon any member to violate his confidential counsels with sir Francis Burdett, as it had to call upon the law officer of the crown to violate his consultations with the king's cabinet.

This speech excited a warm discussion, and the honourable member disclaimed all personal allusion.

Sir John Anstruther adverted to the evidence of the sergeant, and appealed to the house, if it did appear from that evidence that ministers had not taken any steps whatever to provide against consequences, which might have been so easily foreseen. The opinion of the attorney-general was not taken until late on Saturday. Why was not that opinion taken on Friday morning, and forthwith acted upon? If it had been taken and acted upon, what might it not have saved? —The confusion of two days, the lives of some of the king's subjects. He censured the sort of advice given to the sergeant by the ministers: it amounted to this—"Go and execute your warrant, you shall have all possible aid both civil and military—but then we can't say how far you may lawfully go—Never mind, however, do your duty, and 'tis no matter whether in the event you are hanged or not for the attempt."

Mr. Whitbread moved that the papers, evidence, &c. be printed; which was agreed to.

April 10th. Mr. Curwen proposed that the debate be resumed; which being agreed to,

The speaker stated, that the question was, whether sir F. Burdett's letter should be laid on the table.

Mr. Curwen then rose and observed, that if he had thought the honourable baronet had intended to have denied the authority of that house entirely to imprison, he would not have voted on a former occasion as he had done. The language of the letter, before complained of in that house, he had imagined, might have proceeded from a warmth of feeling without any disrespect being intended; but after what had passed since, he could hardly doubt what the principles and feelings of the honourable baronet were. No man felt more strongly than he had done, the propriety of a moderate reform of that house, in order to secure that confidence from the people upon which its strength and its utility so materially depended. But he could not agree that this would be best effected by the endeavour to bring the whole house of commons into contempt.

Whatever might be his opinion of the administration, he must support the government. The times were altered, and till these changed again, he would not moot any thing that had a tendency to diminish the authority of government in general. When the effects of ferment

were gone by, he should then think himself at liberty to blame any part of the conduct of the administration in this business that appeared to him to deserve censure—though he must, for the present, support it, Thinking that the course most becoming the dignity of the house would be to take no notice of this letter, he moved, that the further consideration of it be adjourned *sine die*, or till this day six months.

A very long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Perceval moved, "That the letter which sir Francis Burdett had written to the speaker was a high aggravation of his offence; but it appearing from the report of the sergeant that the warrant for his commitment to the Tower had been executed, this house did not think it necessary to proceed any further on the said letter." The consideration of that letter might be important at a future opportunity; for instance, if an application should be made for the discharge of the writer.

Mr. Whitbread could not upon principle assent to the right honourable gentleman's motion. He was glad to find that the right honourable gentleman was at length willing to attend to the expediency; that he and his friends were disposed to consider consequences; that they were come to their senses, and felt that they ought to have foreseen and provided against resistance to the speaker's warrant. He thought that from the beginning the right honourable gentleman ought to have seen reason to apprehend that the execution of the warrant would have been resisted. Sir Francis Burdett's declared opinion of the character of the warrant was calculated to induce the apprehension, and yet it appeared that the right honourable gentleman was quite unprepared for the event. This formed a serious ground of complaint against him; but there was another ground of complaint. It would be recollected, that when the honourable baronet actually resisted the warrant, the case was referred to the consideration of the right honourable gentleman; and his answer was, that he knew not what advice to give, as there was no precedent whatever in which this warrant had been resisted. Now he put it to the right honourable gentleman personally, professionally, and officially, whether, upon abandoning the law to pursue politics, it did not become his duty to study parliamentary history with somewhat more attention. In point of fact, there was a precedent of the speaker's warrant having been resisted long before that issued against sir Francis Burdett, whose manner of acting he was by no means disposed to justify, and that resistance was accompanied by contempt. But in this precedent how did the house proceed? Why, they voted that the party so resisting was sick. Such was the mode by which the house averted any conflict upon that occasion. But yet, as to the privileges of the house, he was as ready as any man to maintain them, and that the warrant of the speaker was complete; that if good for any thing it was good for every thing, and that it authorized the breaking open of doors, if necessary, in order to enforce its execution. If it were not invested with that authority, what, he would ask, was to become of the most important functions of that house? How were witnesses to be brought to the bar, as in the recent investigation respecting the Duke of York? How was the house to come at various

rious points of information material to the performance of its first duties? In a word, if the speaker's warrant were not omnipotent, what was to become of the inquisitorial character of that house? It was impossible that the people could be so insensible to their own best interests —could be so besotted as to entertain a wish of wrenching from the house a power so essential to all the good purposes of its institution. Let it be recollected, that although the house of commons had erred from its duty in many instances, it ought not to be deprived of those privileges which were indispensable to its utility and power, when it should become more conformable to the opinion and the interest of the people.

Having taken a luminous view of all that had been done, and of all the evils resulting from this business, he said, of the two propositions before the house, he confessed that he should prefer that for an adjournment. To the chancellor of the exchequer's observation, that the letter of sir Francis Burdett should be inserted upon the journals, with the opinion of the house upon it, in order to be referred to in the event of any application from the honourable baronet for his release from the Tower, he should only say that, in the first place, such an application did not appear to be at all likely. But, if it were made; if the honourable baronet manifested any disposition to make a proper concession to the authority of the house, he should be willing to have this letter forgotten altogether. Indeed, upon every consideration of policy and experience, the house should decline to put this letter on the journals. He would therefore oppose the right honourable gentleman's motion, for which, however, upon a general principle, he could never consent to vote.

The attorney-general said, that if the occasion should again occur, he would give the same vote he had already given. The honourable baronet had been convicted of an offence cognizable by that house; an offence that in his mind went to set at nought the authority of that house: for if the doctrine of the honourable baronet could be established, the privileges of that house were at an end, and its authority of course, which could be supported only by the maintenance of those privileges. He would ask those gentlemen who had been so anxious for a vote of reprimand in preference to that of commitment, supposing that the majority of that house had been of their opinion, in what manner did they think that reprimand would have been received? The honourable baronet would have looked down upon such a censure with feelings very opposite to those necessary to be entertained by the object of a reprimand, in order to make that reprimand effectual. That honourable baronet would have looked upon it as if a man of rank and eminence was reprimanded by his servants in his servants' hall. For this, and the other reasons he had already stated, he never should regret the vote he had given for commitment to the Tower, though no man deplored more sensibly than he did, the fatal consequences that had resulted from carrying that measure into execution.

The honourable Mr. Lyttleton thought, that if ever there had been a question that called for unanimity, it was the one under consideration. The house was bound to express its resentment at the proceeding;

and so strongly did he feel on the subject, that he was bound to declare himself called on, and determined to resent it. This sentiment he could not utter but with regret. Those gentlemen who were acquainted with the engaging and amiable manners of that honourable baronet would give him credit for the reluctance he felt on this occasion. Whatever he felt himself bound to say was wrung from him by the strongest conviction, and a conscientious sense of public duty.

Amongst the grounds of complaint which he had against the honourable baronet, he could not pass over his implied promise to the sergeant-at-arms, to accompany him to the Tower. He had lived on terms of friendship with that hon. baronet: but this was an act so wholly unworthy of him, that he must for ever abjure him either as a private or a political friend. Another ground of complaint on his part against sir Francis Burdett was, that from the first to the last moment of his obstinate resistance, he had been attended in his house by the brother of a notorious and avowed traitor. This he could not easily forgive him. He was far, indeed, from inferring the treason of one brother from the treason of another. He did not mean, by any means, to say that Mr. Roger O'Connor was a traitor. But if, what was impossible, he had been in the situation of sir Francis Burdett, he should not have associated with any man to whom suspicion could any how attach; he should not have been attended by the brother of Arthur O'Connor, that vile traitor, who employed himself in writing, in a paper published in the English language at Paris, the most foul, false, and scandalous libels upon the British government and nation: a paper printed in the English language no doubt with a view to be circulated in these realms. Was this the manner, by the introduction of foreign libels and treasons, that the liberty or public spirit of the country was to be asserted and animated? All such proceedings of the honourable baronet he should disclaim, and was determined to oppose him in every instance.

He should vote for the amendment, as the stronger measure.

Many other members spoke on this occasion, and several amendments were proposed; but at length it was agreed that the letter of sir Francis Burdett to the speaker should not be entered on the journals, and that none of the amendments should appear on them.

It was then resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that the letter was a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of that house; but, as it appeared from the evidence of the sergeant-at-arms, that the order of the house had been executed, the house did not think it proper to proceed further."

April 18, Lord Ossulston rose to put a question to the secretary of state for the home department, with respect to a subject which considerably agitated the public mind. He saw in the newspapers a proclamation, offering a reward for the discovery and apprehension of persons alleged to have fired at some of the military in the course of the late disturbances: and he saw also the report of a coroner's inquest, who had found a verdict of "Wilful murder against a life-guardsman unknown." Now he wished to know, whether it was intended

tended to issue a proclamation, and whether it was in the contemplation of government to take any steps towards discovering the offender, whom, he understood, it could not be difficult to find out, as he was one of a rear guard, consisting of only six persons.

Mr. Ryder admitted, that if the concluding statement of the noble lord were correct, there could of course be little difficulty in discovering the offender alluded to, if offender there were. His majesty's ministers had no doubt instituted an inquiry, as their duty prescribed, into all the circumstances connected with the conduct of the soldiery and the populace during the tumult, and he was enabled to state that there was no instance in our history where it was found necessary to collect the troops, in which the forbearance and moderation of the soldiery was so remarkable, while they were not only pelted by the populace with stones and mud, but actually fired upon. This moderation was, indeed, not only manifested during the period in which the army were engaged in Piccadilly, but upon the Monday when the prisoner was conveyed to the Tower. Such was the result of the inquiry which his majesty's ministers had instituted. As to the particular event adverted to, he was assured that no shot was fired by a soldier, until several shots were fired from the same place to which the fatal shot was directed. Under these circumstances it could not be expected that government should issue the proclamation required by the noble lord; nor did he think, unless a different result should appear from further inquiry, it would be consistent with its duty to issue any.

Mr. Whitbread agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that the conduct of the soldiery had been very exemplary; but did that right honourable gentleman mean to say, standing in that house as a minister—

Here the chancellor of the exchequer rose to order, observing, that as there was no question before the house, the honourable member was not warranted in proceeding further. He had no objection whatever to a discussion of the case referred to, but he felt the impropriety of allowing a speech to be made, and to go forth without any answer.

The speaker remarked upon the point of order, that it was deemed generally inconvenient to the house to extend a conversation of this nature, beyond the mere answer to the question proposed. If it were desired to carry the subject further, the practice was according to the custom of the house to give notice of a motion. He begged pardon for interrupting the honourable member; but being appealed to on the score of order, he felt it his duty to state his opinion.

Mr. Whitbread expressed his resolution to avail himself of his right to make a motion, without giving any notice; and that motion would be, that the verdict of the coroner's inquest should be laid before the house. He was really much astonished at the very extraordinary doctrine laid down by the right honourable gentleman. What! did the right honourable gentleman mean to assert that the verdict of a coroner's inquest was not deserving of any investigation, that it formed no ground for additional inquiry, that no step should be taken in consequence of it? Was

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it not due to the cause of justice, to the feelings of the public, to the character of the soldiery, one of whom was accused of murder by this verdict, that an inquiry should take place? Such an inquiry indeed seemed peculiarly due to the vindication of the troops; for until the guilty individual was discovered, the whole body was liable to be implicated in the imputation that verdict conveyed; and why should not a proclamation be issued in order to facilitate that discovery? But it appeared from the statement of his noble friend, that there was an obvious facility towards that discovery, within the reach of ministers, without any proclamation whatever! Why should not such a facility then be immediately resorted to? Surely no minister would pretend to disregard the verdict of a coroner's inquest, to assume the right of a grand jury, or to prevent that case which a coroner's inquest pronounced to be wilful murder, from being referred to a jury for trial. It was clearly necessary that the inquiry should be followed up on this business, for the satisfaction of the public and the soldiery. If it turned out, from that inquiry, that the statement of the right hon. secretary was well founded, that the conduct of the troops was in all instances marked by forbearance and moderation, and that several shots were fired from the place where this murder was alleged to have occurred, then the inquiry would be most satisfactory; but yet it could not be argued, that because the soldiery in general behaved well, the murder of an innocent man by one of those soldiers ought to be overlooked. Such an inference alone could warrant the disposition betrayed by the doctrine of the right honourable secretary, and therefore he felt himself irresistibly impelled at once to oppose it. Therefore indeed he was urged to that which he should be otherwise indisposed to do, if he was not so pressed.

A debate of some length ensued, and the motion was negatived without a division.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

Walcheren Expedition—Debates on Lord Porchester's Resolution—Debate and Resolutions on Mr. Hunt's Defalcation—Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons—Sir Samuel Romilly's Motion for the Liberation of Gale Jones—Petition of the Electors of Westminster—His Majesty's Message respecting the Duke of Brunswick, and Debate thereon.

ALTHOUGH we have already given accounts of some discussions on the expedition to the Scheldt, yet we must not wholly omit the debate, which continued for four nights, on the resolutions moved by lord Porchester, and intended to criminate ministers. This expedition excited a great and almost general dissatisfaction in every class of the people; and when notice was given of the inquiry into the causes of its failure, the public was naturally anxious to hear the justification which would be put in to the charges that had been made against the authors of that expedition: every ear was open, fully expecting to be gratified by the examination of witnesses continued from day to day in the house. Ministers had, however, in the instance of the duke of York learned by experience the consequences of admitting the public to hear discussions of general interest, and in which there was a probability of much to blame. Mr. Yorke, therefore, rose in his place, and, after professing much sorrow that the public had been admitted to hear the evidence of the charges against the commander in chief, moved that during the present investigation all strangers be excluded from the gallery of the house of commons. What effect this produced with respect to Gale Jones we have already seen, but with regard to the honourable member, it led to very different consequences. A tellership of the exchequer, a very lucrative sinecure, falling vacant, it was instantly given to him as a reward of his important services: this office he could not accept without vacating the seat for Cambridgeshire; and though he probably expected to be returned without opposition, he was disappointed; and public indignation ran so high, that it was doubted whether there was a borough in the whole kingdom, so mean as even to admit the mention of his name as a candidate.

The examination of witnesses being over, and the evidence printed, the members of the opposition were determined to make one grand effort in endeavouring to displace those from his majesty's councils who had been the cause of so much calamity, and so much bloodshed, without answering one good end.

It was accordingly agreed that lord Porchester should bring forward the business in the house of commons, And on the 26th of March his lordship took a review of the whole business in a most masterly speech, of several hours in length, in the particulars of which we cannot pretend to follow him; but having gone through the greater part of the evidence, he said, I come now to the last, but not the least interesting, and perhaps the most important part of the case. Knowing that there were already, on the 8th September, 8000 sick

sick at Walcheren, the following details from sir Eyre Coote in succession, held out no hope of abatement. The force remaining fit for duty, in the event of an attack, rendered the defence of the island extremely precarious. He accordingly writes, asking that the blankets, and other warm clothes which had been left behind the army in England, should be sent to them. They had been put into hospitals without roofs: and if they had not met with supplies from the smugglers, they must actually have perished without medicine. I do not attribute all this to the ministers, but to that miserable subdivision of offices, having no control upon each other, but all of which ought to be under the control of the war minister. It was particularly the duty of ministers, however, to have been vigilant on this occasion, when they knew how divided among themselves, and how inefficient this corps actually was. It was their duty to have seen that soldiers, who by their act had been placed in this situation; who by their act, beyond any actual necessity, had been placed in such a situation of peril, were not left to perish. I cannot figure any excuse for such gross misconduct. I can conceive no excuse but this, that they themselves were at the time in a similar state of disunion. I ask with what view they left those brave men to perish down to the 15th October, and why they did not at once destroy the fortifications, and remove the army, the moment the ulterior object was found to be impracticable. If they talk of a practicable defence of Walcheren, I answer, that all the opinions and evidence on that point show that it could not be retained without a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men; and that no reliance could be placed on our naval defences, in such a situation. All those acquainted with the navigation of the Scheldt know that we could not depend on our naval defences alone; that for three months of the year the fleet must go into Flushing: that the enemy can easily convert their schuyts into gun-boats, and attack our fleet; and it is also well known, that when once ships go into one branch of the Scheldt they cannot easily get into the other. We never could think of establishing that as a station of defence, without also keeping there a naval force equal to all the vessels and all the means of the enemy; and I ask, if this country has a population equal to the support of such an establishment? if there ever was a man who entertained the idea? But when ministers knew that this disease existed, and that there was no chance of its diminishing, but of its increasing, I confess myself utterly at a loss to conceive on what principle they could reconcile such a notion to their minds? So much had the malady increased, that at last general Don tells you, your army was completely cut up, and that there was the greatest apprehension that the hospitals might fall into the hands of the enemy should any accident befall your naval force. I ask, Why were the feelings of ministers so callous to the sufferings of the army, while the heart of every other Englishman in the kingdom was wrung with their sufferings? Why did they not recall their gallant countrymen after the letter of the 8th September describing their calamitous situation, instead of consigning them to the same deplorable fate till November following? I will tell them why. It was not because they were anxious at the time for the retention of Walcheren,

but

but from an eagerness to retain their own offices. The heart-rending intelligence as to the state of our brave army, which united in sympathy and feeling the minds of every other man in the country, operated on them as a principle of disunion, serving to them as the signal to commence intestine feuds—

Validas in viscera vertere vires.

The noble lord proceeded to notice the call on this country, in the letter from Mr. Bathurst, for continued operations; whereas, when they were in full strength, there was not a person to be found in those very countries we were aiding, who would throw a stone in our behalf. How, the noble lord asked, could we believe, that to bring a British army to perish in Walcheren was serving the cause of Austria? Such an offer was made to Austria last war, and the question put in return was, "Where is the island of Walcheren?" It was not in Holland, but in the North of Germany that we could have made any thing like a diversion. He had gone through the principal parts of the great mass of evidence which had been adduced in the inquiry to this expedition. He could wish to turn away his eyes from a campaign planned in ignorance, conducted in impotence, and which had ended in immolating some thousands of the finest troops of this country. His lordship concluded by moving two different sets of resolutions—the one on the policy and conduct of the campaign, the other on the retention of Walcheren after the ulterior object was found impracticable. The noble lord being exhausted, the resolutions were read by earl Temple, and are as follow:

No. I.—1st. "That on the 28th of July last, and subsequent days, an armament, consisting of 39,000 land forces, 37 sail of the line, 2 ships of 50, 3 of 44 guns, 24 frigates, 31 sloops, 5 bomb vessels, 23 gun-brigs, sailed on the late expedition to the Scheldt, having for its object the capture or destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp or Flushing, or afloat on the Scheldt, the destruction of the arsenals and dock-yards at Antwerp, Torneaux and Flushing, the reduction of the island of Wacheren, and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war.

2d. "That Flushing surrendered on the 15th of August, whereby the reduction of the island of Walcheren was completed; and that on the 27th of August all attempt upon the fleet and arsenals of the enemy at Antwerp was, by the unanimous opinion of the lieutenant-generals, declared to be impracticable, and was abandoned.

3d. "That the destruction of the basin, dock-yard, arsenal, magazines, and naval store-houses, of the town of Flushing, and of such part of the sea defences as it was found proper to destroy, having been effected on the 11th of December, the Island of Walcheren was on the 23d of December evacuated by his majesty's forces, and the expedition ended.

4th. "That it does not appear to this house, that the failure of the expedition is imputable to the conduct of the army or the navy in the execution of their instructions, relative to the military and naval operations in the Scheldt.

5th. "That on the 19th of August a malignant disorder showed itself amongst his majesty's troops; and that on the 8th of September the number of sick amounted to upwards of 10,948 men.

6th. "That it appears by the report of the physician appointed to inves-

investigate the nature and causes of the malady to which his majesty's troops were thus exposed, that the disease is one which prevails periodically in the islands of Zealand, and is of peculiar malignity there, and which constantly follows a law of season appearing towards the end of summer, becoming more severe in the autumnal months, declining in October, and nearly ceasing in November. That perfect recoveries are rare, convalescence never secure, and that the recurrence of fever quickly lays the foundation of complaints which render a large proportion of the sufferers inefficient for future military purposes.

7th. "That of the army which embarked for service in the Scheldt, 60 officers and 3,900 men, exclusive of those killed by the enemy, had died before the 1st of February last, and on that day 217 officers and 11,296 men were reported sick.

8th. "That the expedition to the Scheldt was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the malignant disease, which has proved so fatal to his majesty's brave troops, was known to be most prevalent; and that the advisers of this ill-judged enterprise are, in the opinion of this house, deeply responsible for the heavy calamities with which its failure has been attended.

No. II.—1st. "That lieutenant-general sir Eyre Coote, having on the 9th of September been left in the command of Walcheren with an army of about 15,000 men, did on that day make an official report on the state of the island, the extent of force required effectually to guard it, the nature and condition of its defences, and the number of men then sick and unfit for duty; representing that, after such his exposition, his majesty's ministers would be the best judges of the propriety or possibility of keeping the island; and adding, that the advantages must be great indeed which could compensate the loss of lives and treasure which the retention must necessarily occasion.

2d. "That on the 23d of September sir Eyre Coote stated to his majesty's ministers, that the alarming progress of disease was such, that if it should continue in the same proportion for three weeks longer (as he added there was every probability that it would), our possession of the island must become very precarious.

3d. "That on the 5th of October sir Eyre Coote, after stating that the number of sick was increasing, and that the effective force was thereby rendered so trivial as to make the defence of the island, if it should be attacked, extremely precarious, did express his anxiety to be informed of the intentions of his majesty's government as to the future state of Walcheren.

4th. "That notwithstanding these, and many other pressing representations, in the alarming condition of the troops, and the danger to which they were exposed, his majesty's ministers did neglect to come to any decision until the 4th of November, and that the final evacuation of Walcheren did not take place until the 23d of December.

5th. "That on the 10th of September the number of sick in the island of Walcheren was, exclusive of officers, 6,938; and that the total number of sick embarked for England, between the 15th of September and the 16th of November, was 11,199, making in that period an increase of sick of 4,268.

6th.

6th. "That although the great object of the expedition had been abandoned as impracticable, a large proportion of the British army was (without any urgent or determined purpose in view, or any prospect of national advantage to justify such a hazard, or to compensate such a sacrifice) left by his majesty's ministers to the imminent danger of attack from the enemy, and exposed during a period of more than three months, under circumstances of aggravated hardships, to the fatal ravages of a disease, which on the 31st of August had been officially announced to be daily increasing to a most alarming degree.

7th, "That such the conduct of his majesty's advisers calls for the severest censure of this house."

Lord Castlereagh then rose, and expressed his hope, that under the circumstances in which he stood, the house would feel that he was called upon to seize the earliest opportunity of explaining the grounds on which this expedition had been undertaken. His lordship vindicated every step taken in the business, and appealed to a number of authorities, in the justification of himself and the ministers in general. "Was the house then," said his lordship, "prepared, as the resolutions proposed, to decide between such contradictory statements, to determine upon such a litigated military opinion? The house was, by these resolutions, called upon to pronounce a most serious sentence against the conduct of government; that it had undertaken an expedition where there was no chance of success, where, in fact, failure was certain. Was the house ready to come to such a conclusion? For himself, he would declare, that were his concern in this expedition to have been the last act of his life, he should have felt himself bound to engage in it in discharge of a great paramount duty; and if that government had shrunk from it through any fear of responsibility, through deference to any or all the opinions quoted by the noble mover, or through any consideration of the risks inseparable from such an enterprise, it must have lost in honour and in character. If, indeed, under all the circumstances, government had declined this undertaking, he should think that his task this day would have been to defend them against the resentment and indignation of that house and the country. If government could have been so supine as to allow a great naval depôt of the enemy to go on improving and undisturbed, if it could have permitted an opportunity to pass by of creating a diversion in favour of the continent, he should to the last hour of his life have thought that government disgraced, he should have trembled, indeed, for ministerial responsibility. But there was great danger and great risk in this expedition—so there was. But he was yet to learn whether that house would be willing to restrain the martial spirit of this country, by the rigid precepts of cold precaution or mathematical calculation; whether a rule of action was now to be established different from that which had heretofore prevailed; whether those principles were to be abandoned, through which the nation had acquired such distinguished glory, through which the fame of our navy had been so eminently advanced, and the fame of our army was so rapidly advancing? Was it, he would ask, by a cold consideration of risks, by a spirit of tame precaution, that Nelson conquered at Copenhagen, at Aboukir, and at Trafalgar?

Trafalgar? and was it under the influence of such a spirit that Wolfe ascended the heights of Quebec? that lord Melville sent an army to conquer in Egypt? that sir John Stuart achieved the victory of Maida? or that our gallant troops produced the evacuation of Portugal? which, however gentlemen might quarrel with the convention of Cintra, must always be regarded as a glorious feat. Was it possible that that house or the country would ever encourage the propagation of a spirit different from that which led to such splendid results, by countenancing the doctrines by which some gentlemen were so anxious to appreciate the undertaking of the late expedition to the Scheldt? But if the stiff hand of death were thus to lay hold of all our military enterprises, by the application of those rules which the gentlemen on the other side of the house professed to advocate upon this occasion; if parliament should impose such fetters upon military undertakings, then there would be an end to the prospect of national honour, then would France have reason to rejoice; for then, indeed, should we have committed a suicide upon our martial spirit. At the same time that he made these observations, he would not be understood to recommend the hasty adoption of any military project, far less the undertaking of any rash, chivalrous expedition, where the object in view was of no importance, while the pursuit of it was pregnant with danger. But how different was the character of the measure under consideration! If the expedition to the Scheldt stood alone a justification upon the policy of creating a diversion favourable to the cause of the continent, he should have thought that quite enough to warrant the proceeding. He should, indeed, contend, that it would have been amply warrantable if it had nothing else in view than the destruction of a great naval arsenal of the enemy. But, when both these important considerations were combined, when we had to look not only to the interest of the continent, but to our own interest and safety, could the propriety of the undertaking be questioned? Could ministers shrink from it without incurring the imputation of a dastardly degrading fear of responsibility, without betraying a greater solicitude to escape censure than to deserve praise, without exposing themselves to the charge of preferring the tenure of place to the performance of duty, and of sacrificing important public interests, to petty, personal considerations? The noble lord concluded with stating his inability to decide upon the merits of the whole of the resolutions, from the mere cursory reading of them which the house had heard. How far the resolutions, as to matter of fact, were correct or relevant to the question before the house, he could not at present determine; but as to the resolutions of opinion, he had no hesitation in expressing his intention against that which proposed to censure the policy of undertaking the late expedition.

Mr. Ponsonby, in answer to lord Castlereagh, said, his lordship had surprised him by stating the object of Antwerp as secondary to the view of relieving Austria. The noble lord attempted to justify his measure, because Austria had a great interest then at stake, and he felt himself bound to create a diversion in her favour. Had he ever adverted to her solicitations? Did she ever advise this expedition to the Scheldt? Her demand on us was to send to the north of Germany

many, and not (as the noble lord insinuated) a great force. Her words were, *some force* of infantry and cavalry, and some artillery, which, she adds, might have the most beneficial effects in the outset of the war, the first events of which, she stated, would be decisive of the north of Germany. In the total absence of the French troops from that quarter, she observed, "a detachment" of our force might pave the way, with the assistance it might receive, to success in the greatest military operations. In his speech last night, the noble lord was, in his mode, manner, and deportment, more like one who had been performing some great service, or was listening to something pleasing and entertaining, than one in the situation he was placed in. He was as gay, and light, and cheerful, as if he had not sent out a great armament, which had failed in its objects, and which had sent so many brave men to their graves. He spoke of his discharging a pleasing duty, boasted of his standing on the foundation of a rock, and asserted that he only should have been culpable if he had not sent out the expedition. His feelings must surely be different from those of all other men.—He was deeply responsible for the sacrifice of so many gallant men in his fantastic scheme, in opposition to the opinions of every naval and military man whom he consulted! He was told of that worst of enemies the weather, and yet he sent out his armament a month after the time mentioned by sir Home Popham! The first lord of the admiralty kept pace with him, and, having no clear and distinct view of his subject, told the gallant admiral with perfect ease, "Go on, I dare say you will do very well!!!"—The noble lord has said, it was necessary to raise the military character of the country. What! was not the military character great before this ill-fated expedition? Was it raised by the result of the attempt upon Antwerp? He never heard of such presumption! What! was it necessary to squander men's lives in chivalrous and impracticable expeditions, to establish the character of British soldiers? If the noble lord was right in his expedition, why did his colleagues carry on a dirty intrigue against him? It seemed as if they were anxious to get the expedition out, for the purpose of getting the noble lord out. It seemed as if they foresaw its failure, and knew the author of it would consequently be sacrificed. Unfeeling as they were from habit, bold from ignorance, and confident from impunity, they sported with the lives of thousands of the bravest men in the world. He trusted that the house would never screen a miserable cabinet, whose rash and ill-digested plans had inflicted such accumulated calamity and disgrace on the country.

General Craufurd spoke at great length against the resolutions. The gentlemen opposite have asked how the navy were to have got up the river; but he begged to remind them, that till after the 27th of August there never had been any battery above Lillo and Liefkenshoek, so that our fleet could have received no annoyance from that cause. You would have taken Bergen-op-Zoom too. The insignificant garrison of this last place could have offered no resistance to our army. The honourable general concluded by moving an amendment to lord Porchester's resolutions, in substance,

"That the house, taking into consideration

sideration the importance of the late expedition to the Scheldt, where a considerable naval force had been constructed by the enemy, and that affording assistance to Austria was a desirable object—considering also the probability of success, from the reduced state of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Antwerp—the house was of opinion that his majesty's ministers were right in taking those measures, which had unfortunately been unsuccessful by the operation of wind and weather. The house saw with regret the valuable lives which had been lost; but it was of opinion that the grounds proceeded on by his majesty's ministers promised great advantages previous to the time when the island was evacuated. With respect to the difficulties which had occurred, the same had increased to a great degree by the operation of the wind and weather, the consequences of which could not be foreseen."

After this amendment had been put, it was supported by Mr. Marryatt.

Sir James Hall opposed the conduct of ministers, and attributed the disappointment which had recently occurred to their incapacity. The honourable member expressed a desire to see a change in the government, with a noble marquis, of splendid talents, at the head of a new administration.

After a few words from the chancellor of the exchequer on the subject of adjournment, which was loudly called for, the right honourable gentleman moved that the debate be adjourned.—The house accordingly adjourned the debate.

March 29. The order of the day was entered into, for resuming the adjourned debate on this subject.

General Tarleton rose, and addressed the house. He began by noticing the speech of general Craufurd, who he said had on a former night galloped over details of battles, sieges, and campaigns. The honourable general contended that in the whole history of this fatal enterprise, there was nothing which must not be calculated to excite disgust and indignation against the most culpable ministers the country ever had. But of all things, the most horrible was that of consigning so many of our brave soldiers to inevitable death in the isle of Walcheren.

Mr. Rose defended the conduct of the expedition.

Lord F. G. Osborne spoke against it.

Mr. Grattan ridiculed the weakness of the information on which ministers risked an army of 40,000 men. Of what did it consist? 1st. A Memoir concerning Walcheren: by an Officer: 2d. The State of Walcheren in 1801, and Remarks by an Officer; given to the Quarter-master-general: 3d. A Paper on Walcheren by an Officer formerly in the Dutch Service, dated Nov. 1805: 4th. Another such, anonymous, and no date: 5th. State of Military Force in different Places, December 1808, from a printed army list, found on a French officer, stating that no troops were in Antwerp, and that from France they could not be mustered in less than a week; in other words, that if our business was not done in a week, the French would be upon us; exceed that, and we are ruined; no men to be spared from Holland; an account of a mob beating the officers at Rotterdam for taking away the boys to the army, and great uproar at Amsterdam and Leyden, and so forth! He said further, there was no German news,

but

but that the French had crossed the Danube in two places, and been defeated by the Austrians. This was on the 17th July, and the fatal battle was on the 6th. No great politician who did not know of the battle of Wagram! There was some other information from a young man who had been sometimes in Antwerp, seldom above three or four days at once, up to 1805; he said he had not been there often, but what he knew he told them: many stones lay in the ditch there; but if there were any new works, they had escaped his observation. Such was the ground-work of this famous expedition, and he thought that all the calamities of it could be traced to, and ought to be visited upon, the ministers who planned it.

Mr. Canning, in a long speech, entered into a defence of the expedition, and also of his own conduct. He could not, however, justify the retention of Walcheren, particularly when the troops were pressed by sickness. It should, however, said the honourable gentleman, be recollected, that at that time ministers were otherwise employed: they were employed in considering how it could be retained with the least loss and inconvenience. He thought no just blame could be imputed to them on this point.

Mr. Whitbread said, much as he had been surprised at many things which had been uttered in his speech by the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, he was still more surprised at one omission which that right honourable gentleman had made. He looked upon him as a man more responsible than the noble lord (Castlereagh) for the failure of the expedition; he considered him as deeply responsible for having done that which, in the history of the country, no other man could be found to have done. That right honourable gentleman, knowing what the interests of the country required—knowing too all those measures which were in contemplation and going on, and having information of the expedition which was in preparation, did on the 16th day of April last go and declare to the duke of Portland, then at the head of the government, that the minister who was to have the conduct of that expedition was not competent to his situation; that the man on whom that duty devolved, however he might esteem him in private, however he might value him for his good qualities and virtues, was not competent to his public situation. Not satisfied with this, the right honourable gentleman went to his majesty to make the same communication, for fear of any mistake. But to the noble lord himself he never communicated his opinion, that he thought him incapable of performing the duties of his situation, but suffered him to originate and conduct to a close the expedition which had terminated so disgracefully for the country. The noble lord had stated that the administration was founded upon a rock. Little did the noble lord on that occasion suspect that the rock was mined. Little did he think that he was in danger of being blown aloft in the springing of the mine. But as it often happens to him who kindles the train, the right honourable gentleman who laid it was also blown up with him. It was the wish of the right honourable gentleman to place the noble lord in another situation, a change which the generous feelings of that noble lord, and he was ready to give him every credit for those generous feelings, could not be brought to brook or submit to. He

was not disposed to enter into the consideration of the personal feelings and circumstances of the transaction between the right honourable gentleman and the noble lord. But the right honourable gentleman had twice appealed to the public, and once again by his friends. As one of the public, he, leaving both the noble lord and the right honourable gentleman at the thresholds of their offices, and passing over every thing private or personal in the case, had a right, upon public grounds, to demand from the right honourable gentleman some satisfactory explanation. With regard to this whole proceeding, he professed himself to be the partisan of the noble lord, and not the abettor of the right honourable gentleman. So far as regarded the public, he would ask the right honourable gentleman how he could answer the question which he then called upon him to answer, and which had been put to him before, a month since, without obtaining any reply? he would ask the right honourable gentleman how he could answer to his sovereign, how to that house, how to the country? The expedition thus undertaken had failed, and he therefore had to call upon the house of commons to avenge the public upon those ministers who had subjected the nation to this calamity; but, above all, upon that individual who had declared to the duke of Portland, and afterwards, for fear of mistake, had gone to declare to the king, that the minister intrusted with its conduct was incompetent to his situation.

The honourable member then took a view of the arguments of the noble lord (Castlereagh), who, he observed, had tried to bottom himself on lord Chatham! Why, if the talent of the whole administration was united, and compared with the single intellect of that one man, it would look as "Ossa to a wart." Lord Chatham dislodged a wretched and intriguing cabal; he was dismissed from office: he rose superior to his difficulties, gained strength from the fall of the mean administration which superseded him, and raised England to the pinnacle of glory on which she stood proudly at the commencement of this reign. On such a man's acts he feared the noble lord could establish no precedent for his conduct. Failing here, the noble lord next bottomed himself upon general Wolfe!—General Wolfe went to Quebec, most probably ignorant of his ultimate destination; but he succeeded in his designs, and general Wolfe stands, both for us, and for future times, a model of enterprise and discretion. The next person to whom the noble lord had recourse was lord Nelson! Lord Nelson had a foresight peculiarly his own, to which he feared the present attempted parallel was ill-suited; at Aboukir he depended on himself; he saw that his ships could sail where those of the enemy swam, and he made an attack on them: only one ship of as gallant a captain as any in the navy went on shore; and Nelson said he was glad of it, as it served the others as a buoy; he succeeded in his attack, and attained a glory, in the comparison of which the present imbecility sunk doubly. At Trafalgar he improved on the expedient of Clarke; and at Copenhagen he confirmed all his former successes, and established his future glory. On this man either, it was to be feared, the noble lord could find no bottom.—The next precedent chosen was the expedition to Egypt; that expedition first was intended for Belleisle, and had

had actually proceeded to Ferrol; it went, however, to Egypt; and the event covered Abercrombie and his brave coadjutors with glory. On this also he feared there was no bottom. He did not know, indeed, where the present ministry could find a parallel. He would remind the house, however, of the expressions of the great Frederick relative to the men who had preceded lord Chatham. The house might apply them "They were," said he, "a batch of wretched little lawyers, presuming to compare themselves to prince Eugene, whom the great lord Chatham ousted." Having in vain tried to bottom themselves, then, upon great precedents, they had recourse to such authority as existed among themselves; and a right honourable gentleman declared, that general Brownrigg gave an opinion in favour of the expedition. The fact was, however, he did no such thing. By way of an excuse for the appointment of lord Chatham, it had been said he had served in America. This was not the case; he never had served in America. He had served, indeed, in the disastrous campaign of Holland; and, as sir D. Dundas had said, he had no doubt he had behaved very bravely there; but still that was no reason for now giving him the command of 40,000 men. After much argument and satire which the honourable member made use of in condemning and ridiculing the expedition as fraught with mischief and folly, he said, he had indulged in some farce on this subject—alas! he was now come to pure unmixed tragedy—he was now come to a melancholy estimate of the prodigality of human life, and the wanton extravagance of human happiness—he was come to consider the cruelty of men who had sent our troops to perish unnecessarily and ingloriously in the most unhealthy climate in the world, at its most pestilential season! It had been said by way of extenuation of ministers, that the last season was remarkably rigorous: he had to state, from good authority, that it was one of the mildest ever known in Walcheren! Sent to inevitable sickness—even in that sickness our poor soldiers were neglected. Who could wonder at it, when they recollected the ill-constituted, ill-arranged, and ill-digested medical board? Their head, sir Lucas Pepys, said, what he meant by the investigation of camp and contagious diseases, was the inspection of hospitals. He might just as well have said, that the way to judge of the diseases of the foot, was to look into a pair of cast-off boots! To show the effect which those diseases had upon our army, he had only to state, that out of the third regiment of guards (light company), which marched out of London 121 strong, only 32 returned, and five out of the number were unfit for duty. Thus was our army crippled by this disastrous expedition! He was near concluding without remarking on the idea of a *coup-de-main*. The noble lord who had coined the new word did not seem to know the meaning of the old one. He (Mr. W.) had considered a *coup-de-main* as a single, distinct, and quickly executed operation; but the noble lord seemed to consider it rather as the result of protracted operations and suspended attacks. It might just as well be said, that if the ministry, so often broken down already, and discomfited, were finally subdued on the present occasion, they had been carried by a *coup-de-main*. As to the retention of Walcheren, he really

cast all the blame of that measure on the right honourable gentleman opposite, who, when the cabinet were perplexed over their failure, had increased their confusion by exciting private feuds, and casting the apple of discord among them. Exhausted as he now was, and as the house was, he should conclude by demanding their unanimous and prompt decision—the wreck of our brave army demanded it—the martyred thousands whom we had left to rot in Walcheren demanded it—"There is, indeed, (said Mr. W.) from the centre to the circumference of the empire, one united, universal, heart-rending cry for justice. Give it then to the supplication of the people—give it to the sorrows of the army—give it as the last consolation to the widows and orphans of the dead—give it as a pledge of the honour and integrity of the living."

Captain Parker said a few words in vindication of the expedition; after which the house adjourned.

March 30. Sir Thomas Turton called upon the house to recollect the time when this expedition left the ports of this country, and to consider the number of widows and orphans which the measure had made, the blood which had been spilt, and the treasure which had been wasted; all which he contended arose from the disunion of ministers. Had it not been for that disunion, ministers would immediately on receiving sir Eyre Coote's letter, stating the number of dead and dying, have decided on quitting Walcheren: but they were waiting for unanimity amongst themselves; or, perhaps, said the honourable baronet, they paused for the arrival of that eastern star which they expected.

Sir Francis Burdett asserted, that the resolutions did not go far enough. He would have both the commanders in chief brought to a court martial for undertaking to direct an enterprise they confessed they knew nothing about, and ministers punished much more severely than by a vote of censure. The honourable baronet went over the whole argument, and concluded, "Thus ended an expedition which was undertaken by ignorance, and executed by imbecility—an expedition which wasted the treasure of the country, the lives of our troops, and the honour of our name—an expedition planned by ignorance, and impudence the most unparalleled. Many might censure him for unnecessary warmth, but he could not help feeling, nor could he find expression strong enough for that feeling: he thought sincerely, that every man who had any concern whatever in this expedition stood as a criminal before the country. The ministers were presumptuous, and the officers in both services ignorant; and nothing less than the impeachment of the one, and a court-martial on the others, could or ought to satisfy the country. In all their proceedings there was a marked disregard for their country, and a cautious concern merely for their own interests. From the beginning to the end they were all the same; all ignorant, presumptuous and imbecile. As to the commander in chief, he could not help saying that the result of the inspection of the papers on the table was merely wonder how any man, with the feelings of a gentleman, could act as he did; how any man possessed of such conscious imbecility could retain his situation. The noble lord was very anxious to separate the question of the medical board from that of the merits

merits of the expedition. This he could not do; it excited in him the instant recollection of the brave men who fell victims to the disease. The noble lord betrayed, indeed, through all his speech, a callous insensibility to the miseries he had caused, truly shocking; he sported with the deaths which he had occasioned, and even presumed to persuade the country that its calamities were honours! He dared to compare himself with Chatham, Nelson, St. Vincent, and those brave heroes who had directed our arms to constant and imperishable glory. He was amazed how he dared to mention the names of those great men on such an occasion. Why, this dreadful expedition had cost the country, on a serious calculation which he had made, three times as many lives as all the glorious naval victories which we had gained since the commencement of the war! This was the expedition of which the noble lord had affected to speak so indifferently. The right honourable gentleman had indeed spoken more feelingly on the subject, but he had used some arguments which shocked and astonished him. He seemed to speak as if he had found a shield for all his disgraces in extrinsic causes, and even ventured to impute the successes of the enemy to the despotism by which they were governed! What! did he mean to impute our losses to the freedom of our constitution? It was a monstrous doctrine refuted by all history, and melancholy indeed when it was considered that it came from a man who had held the reins of government so long, and who was so likely to resume them. Machiavel, a finished politician, had declared that the greatness of the Roman people was founded on their freedom. They had indeed flourished, and they had so flourished by opposing despotism with the arms of liberty. So did Athens—her eloquence, and her free zeal, resisted numbers with success. If such a principle had been the principle of the right honourable gentleman's action, then indeed all our calamities were explained. He should now vote heartily for the resolutions; and the only repugnance which he felt was, at their not going to an impeachment and court-martial. When he said this, however, he declared he saw no good to the country from the dismissal of ministers, unless it was followed by a total change of measures.—If we wished to be rescued from our present perilous situation, we must have reform—reform which would revive and re-establish the ancient fundamental principles of our constitution. Unless this was obtained, neither himself nor the country would be satisfied. From the folly of not demanding this arose all our calamities. From it arose this expedition—this child of corruption, expiring by its own inherent imbecility. All their calamities, all their disgraces were derived from the want of a fair and equal representation. To that, and that alone, the people ought to look; it would be folly to expect relief from any other cause. If this was obtained, they would no longer see ministerial weakness working an abandoned prostitution. This was their only avenue of escape from ruin, imminent ruin. For himself, he cared not, if that ruin was to come, whether it came in the shape of a rotten borough, or an open iron despotism. The present immediate question he should now decline; he did not wish to think of it; he could not with any tem-

per speak of it. In private life, if he saw the catastrophe of men, so brave, so patient, so martyred, he could call it nothing else than cool, deliberate, atrocious murder. Though ministers, within twelve hours sail of Walcheren, might have had every information, they would not deign to seek it, but sent their soldiers unheedingly to their grave. They now called for vengeance—the honour of the house was pledged to give it; and, for himself, he would say, nothing but instant impeachment and court-martial should satisfy the nation for the cruel effusion of their army's blood.

Mr. Bathurst spoke on the same side, and Mr. Peel defended the expedition.

The chancellor of the exchequer having answered the leading arguments of several of the preceding speakers, said, the importance of Antwerp to the enemy, both in a naval and commercial point of view, could not be doubted. In fact, the commerce of the port of Antwerp alone, produced more to the customs of Bonaparte in the year 1806, by one-third, than the whole of his revenue from the customs within the last year throughout all France, namely, the customs of Antwerp in 1806 amounted to eighteen millions of francs, while the whole of last year's customs did not exceed twelve millions of francs. Did it not therefore become ministers seriously to consider the practicability of retaining a station which afforded the means of depriving the enemy of such a productive source of revenue? This alone formed a good reason for endeavouring to retain Walcheren. But its importance towards rendering the great naval depôt of the enemy comparatively unavailable, was indisputably great. That importance was recognized by the opinion of Mr. Pitt, who in 1805 meditated an attack upon Walcheren, which it was known would have been made if the army under sir John Moore at that time had been deemed competent to the object. An attack upon Walcheren was in fact in the contemplation of Mr. Pitt so far back as the year 1798. But such a measure was also under the consideration of lord Sidmouth's government, and of that of the late administration, as his right honourable friend Mr. Canning had correctly quoted from the speech of lord Grey. Thus this island was sought after by so many different ministers, not one of whom, be it remembered, ever abandoned the pursuit of it from any apprehension of its unhealthiness. When he and his colleagues got possession of a place so much desired, and estimated of such consequence by lord Nelson, by lord St. Vincent, and by other great naval authorities, he would appeal to the house and the country, whether it did not behove them deliberately to weigh any proposition for giving it up. Let it be recollected, that ministers had an opinion before them that Walcheren was tenable, and for that opinion he referred to the evidence of sir H. Popham. It was also to be considered, that neither from the dispatches of lord Chatham, nor from any thing the noble lord stated on his return from the expedition, could ministers collect any thing to weaken the opinion they were induced to adopt, as to the practicability of retaining this island. The noble lord no doubt, urged the propriety of furnishing an adequate garrison, but not a word about the indefensibility of the island. It would, no doubt, be asked, Why

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abandon Walcheren under all these considerations? He would answer, In consequence of the second report of sir Richard Strachan, which was among the documents on the table. In a former report of the 13th of September, which was also before the house, this gallant officer stated that Walcheren was quite tenable; that a plan for its complete defence was drawing up, and that it ought not to be given up. But in the latter report, the gallant officer communicated his opinion, that in consequence of the cessation of the war with Austria the enemy would be enabled to bring such a force to act against Walcheren, as it would not be in the power of this country, with any reasonable proportion of its means, to withstand. Ministers therefore determined upon the evacuation of the island. The right honourable gentleman next proceeded to advert to that part of the question affecting the retention of Walcheren, And here he would ask it of the candour of honourable gentlemen, if the evacuation of Walcheren was that which could be done as soon as it had been resolved upon;—if it was or could be made the operation of a day? Supposing that evacuation to have been determined upon at a given time—that it had been determined upon by his majesty's ministers, as a wise measure, to evacuate that island—was there nothing worthy of consideration as to the propriety of the means by which that desirable object was to be carried into effect? The first object of their proceedings must be that of the removal of their sick. Would the precipitate abandonment of the island have been the best way to secure that object? Or, in order to secure the safe and tranquil re-embarkation of the sick, was it not expedient that the healthy troops should be in undisputed possession of the island? Or would it have been a more summary way to have called off the healthy troops at once, and abandoned the sick to their fate? Well, then, it is admitted that we should have first brought home our sick; and now let those gentlemen who have been so fine in their random flights at speculative censure, come down for a moment to the simple sobriety of fact. The navy could not bring home our sick—transports must of course have been employed in that melancholy service. After the transports had arrived, they must necessarily have undergone the process of fumigation, and after that returned to convey the remainder; for we could not command the means of tonnage to convey them all home at once; and then after the sick had been brought home, and not before, commences the evacuation by the healthy part of the troops: even this slight summons was, he believed, sufficient to show that it was not possible to evacuate Walcheren at the time that it might be thought expedient to evacuate it. And this brought him to another question, involving still more conclusive reasons for the subsequent delay in the retention, than those arising from mere practical difficulties. Would it have been right, under existing circumstances, to have evacuated Walcheren so precipitately, independently of the physical impracticability of doing so? And now he would state to the house one fact: on the 10th of October the government had received intelligence, to their minds satisfactory, that hostilities were on the eve of commencing between Austria and France. Now, suppose ministers, after having received that intelligence, had nevertheless determined upon the abandonment

abandonment of Walcheren, and that hostilities upon the continent had actually re-commenced, how easy was it to anticipate the torrent of invective that would have poured upon ministers from the honourable gentlemen opposite for abandoning at such a period a conquest before so dearly bought, and then so critically important? Was it a rash supposition to imagine at that time the breaking out of hostilities between Austria and France? Was there nothing in the wavering and uneasy alternations that preceded the treaty of Vienna, to countenance the belief that the contending powers might again rush to arms, and another battle be fought for the political existence of the continent? And if there were grounds for an expectation so anxious, would Walcheren have been nothing in our hands against the common enemy? Or would it not have been a most desirable, a most important means of annoyance? But there is yet another ground upon which, conjointly with the preceding, he thought the retention defensible. On the 10th of October, for the reasons he had stated, it would have been wrong to have given it up, comparing fairly the good and evil arising out of the act of retention. He thanked the house for the candour of their attention, and he should sit down with simply stating, that it was his anxious and earnest wish to retain Walcheren, if its retention could have been practicable; and that his greatest regret was, that it was not possible to retain a conquest which, if retained, would have proved very valuable. The right honourable gentleman then sat down amidst a cry of *Hear, hear!*.

Mr. Brougham expressed his most perfect conviction, that when a subject embracing the vital interests of the empire, one in which every man was anxious to ascertain the exercise of that duty which the house of commons owed its constituents, was in discussion, he could not satisfy his feelings, even by voting for the original resolutions, if the matter was to rest there. He had a confidence that those who felt for the country's calamities would first support the present resolutions; looking forward to the ulterior consideration, which could alone afford the country justice for the past, and guard against similar delinquencies in the future. Those who, on the other hand, could limit their sense of duty to the present resolution, would, of course, support them, inadequate as in his mind they were to any other purpose but the salvation of ministers.

Several other members, besides those noticed, took part in the debate; and when the house came to a division, the first question was on the first set of the original resolutions of lord Porchester, conveying a censure on ministers, on the ground of the impolicy of the expedition. On this question the numbers were,

For the original motion	227
Against it - -	275
Majority against the resolutions	48

A second division then took place on the amendment of general Craufurd to the first set of resolutions, the amendment going to an approbation of the conduct of ministers on the policy of the expedition.

The numbers were found to be,

For the amendment -	272
Against it - - -	282
Majority in favour of ministers	40

A third division then took place, on

on the second set of resolutions, to the effect of censuring ministers for the retention of Walcheren.

Ayes	-	224
Noes	-	275
Majority	-	51

Upon the amendment approving of the conduct of ministers in the retention of Walcheren, the numbers were,

Ayes	-	253
Noes	-	232
Majority for ministers		21

Adjourned.

April 12. Mr. Calcraft rose. He had, he said, given notice of two motions, the one respecting the very reprehensible conduct of the board of ordnance, in not taking securities for the fidelity of Mr. Hunt in the responsible situation he filled; the other for the expulsion of Mr. Hunt, as a member of that house. The latter motion he should postpone for the present, as certain documents necessary to be in the hands of members were not yet printed. The former motion he should bring on now; in doing which, he felt it quite unnecessary to trouble the house at any length; the facts were in themselves so simple, and the duty for the house to pass a strong censure on the parties implicated, so obvious and so urgent. It appeared from the general orders in the reign of Charles II. that a regulation was imposed upon the board of ordnance, by the neglect of which, in the case of Mr. Hunt, that board had been guilty of a great and reprehensible omission, whereby the public had sustained a loss of 10,000*l.* and for which, according to every principle of justice, they ought to be responsible. Under the general order to which he alluded, the board were bound to oblige the treasurer, before he was allowed to proceed upon the duties of his office, to find securities for 10,000*l.* such as the board should think eligible, and as the treasury should approve. But although Mr. Hunt had, for the second time, been appointed to this office so far back as 1807, he was never obliged by the board to enter into any sureties, and he absconded from his office, and left the country with a deficit in his accounts, as appeared from the ordnance returns, of 93,296*l.* It appeared from the report on the table, that a letter had been written to Mr. Hunt by Mr. Crewe, secretary of the board, and dated April 22, 1807, shortly after the appointment of Mr. Hunt, requiring him to enter into the sureties prescribed; but from that time forth it did not appear, by any document accompanying the report, or by any evidence whatever, that any further steps were taken by the board to oblige Mr. Hunt to give the necessary securities. Now this was so palpable a breach of duty on the part of the board as it was impossible to pass by without censure, consistently with any attention to the responsibility of public officers trusted with the money of the country. If the board had any defence to offer for this flagrant omission, he should be glad to hear it. He had searched and inquired for a motive in every quarter, but could find none. The board of ordnance were amply paid for their own services, they were amply aided by subordinate officers: they sat but three days in a week, and therefore could have no plea of being so overwhelmed with business as not to have time to attend to their duty in this case: in fact, they could have no excuse. There was something peculiarly indulgent

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in the conduct of the board to this gentleman, Mr. Hunt, on the ground of surety, for which he (Mr. Calcraft) was totally at a loss to account. Upon Mr. Hunt's first appointment to the treasurership, in 1803, he was suffered to remain eighteen months in his office without producing his sureties; and after his second appointment, three whole years passed without obliging him to produce any. Having stated these facts, he felt nothing more now necessary than to state to the house the resolutions he had to offer. It might be said that that regulation laid down in the general order of Charles the Second was only imperative upon the *master* of the ordnance. But every one knew, that for a long series of years the official management of the ordnance business devolved upon the board. At present, he believed, there was no such officer as the master-general of the ordnance; and he did not mean to impute the slightest blame to lord Chatham, who, he believed, knew nothing whatever of the transaction. The honourable member then read his resolutions, as follow:—

1st. Resolved, "That it appears to this house, that Joseph Hunt, esq. member of this house, has been twice treasurer of his majesty's board of ordnance. That he was nearly eighteen months in that office on his first appointment in 1803, before any security was obtained; and that on his second appointment in 1807, it is not recorded in the ordnance department that any security whatever was given by him.

2. "That it appears to this house, there is a balance of 93,296*l.* against the said Joseph Hunt, esq. as late treasurer of the ordnance.

3. "That it appears to this house, the master-general of his majesty's ordnance is directed in the original instructions of king Charles II. under which he and the board now act, to take from the treasurer, upon his first entrance on the execution of his place, security to such an amount as he may judge necessary, and as shall be approved of by the treasury.

4. "That it appears to this house, the security taken in the first treasurership of Joseph Hunt, esq. nearly eighteen months after his entrance on the execution of his place, was 10,000*l.*

5. "That it appears to this house, no security was taken on the second appointment of Joseph Hunt, esq.

6. "That it is the opinion of this house, the master-general and the board of ordnance have been guilty of a breach of the instructions under which they act, and by which they ought to be formed, in neglecting to take security from Joseph Hunt, a member of this house; and are responsible to answer as to this omission of duty, which, from the state of the balances against the said Joseph Hunt, has actually occasioned a loss of 10,000*l.* to the public."

Mr. A. Cooper intended no opposition to the main part of the resolutions; but it appeared that the board at least had not been deficient in their duty. A minute had been made to direct Mr. Hunt's securities to be called for, with which it turned out that he had not complied; but this involved no culpability of the board. He (Mr. A. Cooper) remembered when a similar charge had been brought in the case of sir J. Mildmay's compensation against the treasury board; but on its appearing that the error was the work of inferior officers, and that his honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) had no share of that error, the censure of the

the house did not attach to the proceeding, as the general negligence of the board of treasury. It would be in the present instance an unnecessary and unusual act of their judgement to censure the board of ordnance, which lay under similar circumstances; but to obviate a similar occurrence, he should move for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the security to be taken for the discharge of public offices, and for vacating such offices, unless security should be given within a limited time. The board did not know that a balance of 11,000*l.* stood against Mr. Hunt, after his first resignation of office. He must on the whole deprecate so severe a censure as that proposed by the honourable gentleman on the opposite side.

After some debate, the question was put on the several resolutions. The first five were adopted.

In place of the sixth, the following resolution was moved and agreed to:

"That it is the opinion of this house, the master-general and board of ordnance have been guilty of an omission of duty, in neglecting to take security from Joseph Hunt, esquire, member of this house, and late treasurer of the ordnance, in conformity to the instructions under which they act."

April 13. The speaker acquainted the house that he had received a letter signed "Francis Burdett," on which he wished to know the pleasure of the house. On a cry of *Read! read!* he read as follows:

"To the right honourable Charles Abbot, speaker of the house of commons.

"Sir—You having on or about the ninth of April inst. as speaker of the house of commons, forcibly broken and entered the dwelling-house of me, the undersigned Francis Burdett, situate in Piccadilly, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex; and having also, on the said ninth day of April, caused me to be apprehended, and unlawfully committed to a certain prison called his majesty's Tower of London, and to be there imprisoned, and as yet kept and detained in prison there, without any reasonable or probable cause whatever: I do therefore, according to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, hereby give you notice, that I shall, at or soon after the expiration of one calendar month, from the time of your being served with this notice, cause a bill to be filed against you in his majesty's court of king's bench at Westminster, and a writ of summons to be thereupon sued out of his majesty's said court of king's bench at Westminster against you, at my suit, for these said trespass and false imprisonment, and shall proceed against you thereupon according to law.

"I am, &c.

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"Dated 12th of April, 1810."

The speaker said it was at the option of the house whether the letter should be entered on the journals.

The letter was then ordered to be inserted on the journals.

April 16th. Sir Samuel Romilly rose, in consequence of his notice of a motion for the discharge of Mr. Jones from his confinement for a contempt of that house. Though the opinions which he (sir Samuel) had expressed on the legality of the warrant under which Mr. Jones now suffered were still perfectly unaltered by any thing which he had heard, his present motion was to rest on the plain and single ground that the punishment had been

been sufficient for the offence, such as that might have been. He could discover but one objection to the measure which he was about to propose, and that was, from the practice of the house in requiring a petition to be presented at their bar, acknowledging the justness of the punishment, and expressing contrition for the offence. It might be a fair object of question, whether there was any thing in the principle of that house which utterly prohibited a spontaneous act of justice; or whether it was beyond the privilege of any member to suggest that act of justice. It might be asked, whether such a requisition as an acknowledgement of the offence was strictly in the power of any court dealing in justice. But the house would feel that their power was to be exercised with less violence to human feelings than that of any other jurisdiction; and that if they were powerful—if jurisdiction had been intrusted to them by a people loving their liberties—if they had obtained a right to inflict punishment, that infliction was to be the rarest exercise of their strength: they were to feel the solemn pledge under which they stood, the great responsibility under which they were charged to administer justice tempered with mercy. After much sound reasoning and a fine appeal to the feelings of the house, the learned and hon. member asked, was the sufferer to be released, not by the justice of the house, but by its want of power? Supposing Mr. Jones indissolubly wedded to his opinion, an obstinate heretic, was it to be justified that the worst of all the kinds of punishment, indefinite punishment, "the hope deferred," that oppresses and bends down the whole man more heavily than any infliction which he can measure with his eye and prepare to encounter, should be let loose upon him for such an offence as that which he had committed; or that the homage of Mr. Jones, a man in humble life, should be thought the only thing that could appease the angry pride of the house? This was not to be persisted in; but, let the feeling of offended dignity be what it might, there were superior feelings which the house would acknowledge. Those were the feelings of justice, the feelings of reason, the feelings of that great compound of justice and virtue, humanity. The hon. member concluded a most eloquent speech, by moving that Mr. Gale Jones should be summoned to the bar of the house, on Tuesday, and then discharged.

This motion excited a long and very animated debate, in which all the force and powers of eloquence were in its favour, but it was nevertheless negatived by a majority of 48.

April 17. Lord Cochrane brought up the petition of the electors of Westminster, on that day assembled in Palace-yard, and moved that it should lie on the table.

The following is a copy of the petition:—

"To the hon. the commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

"The petition and remonstrance of the inhabitant householders of the city and liberties of Westminster, assembled in New Palace-yard, the 17th day of April 1810, by the appointment of Arthur Morris, esq. the high bailiff, in pursuance of a requisition for that purpose.

"We, the inhabitant householders, electors of the city and liberties

ties of Westminster, feel most sensibly the indignity offered to this city in the person of our beloved representative, whose letter to us has fallen under the censure of your honourable house; but which, so far from deserving that censure, ought, in our opinion, to have led your honourable house to reconsider the subject which he had so ably, legally, and constitutionally discussed. We were convinced that no one ought to be prosecutor and juror, judge, or executioner in his own cause; much less to assume, accumulate, and exercise all those offices in his own person. We are convinced that the refusal of your hon. house to inquire into the conduct of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, then two of his majesty's ministers, when distinctly charged with the sale of a seat in your hon. house, evidence of which was offered at the bar by a member of your honourable house; and the avowal in your honourable house, 'that such practices were as notorious as the sun at noon-day,' practices at the bare mention of which the speaker declared that our ancestors would have startled with indignation; and the committal of sir Francis Burdett to prison, enforced by military power; are circumstances which render evident the imperious necessity of an immediate reform in the representation of the people. We therefore most earnestly call upon your honourable house to restore to us our representative; and, according to the notice he has given, to take the state of the representation of the people into your serious consideration; a reform in which is, in our opinion, the only means of preserving the people from military despotism."

[The success of this and many other similar petitions will be noticed further on.]

April 30. The chancellor of the exchequer brought up a message from his majesty, which was read by the speaker, and was in substance as follows:

"George R.—His majesty finds it necessary to state to the house of commons, that in consequence of the continued occupation of the territories of the duke of Brunswick by the French armies, since the unfortunate events which were attended by the lamented death of his illustrious father in 1806, his serene highness the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, his majesty's nephew, has, after a series of gallant but unavailing efforts for the recovery of his possessions, been compelled to seek an asylum in his majesty's dominions. His majesty, therefore, recommends it to this house, to consider of the means of enabling him to make some provision for the establishment of his serene highness, during such time as the state of the continent may continue to preclude the return of his serene highness to his own dominions; and his majesty relies with confidence on the loyalty and attachment of his faithful commons to make such provision for this purpose as may be suitable to the rank and to the misfortunes of a prince so nearly allied to his majesty's throne, and for whom his majesty's feelings are so strongly interested.

"G. R."

May 4. The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, on his majesty's message, relative to a provision for the duke of Brunswick; which was accordingly done (Mr. Lushington in the chair). The right honourable gentleman then said,

said, it would not be necessary for him to trouble the house with many observations. Since the commencement of the French revolution, the house had uniformly acceded to grants of provision for those who had sacrificed their interests on the continent, by espousing the cause which this country had embraced in the contest. In addition to this, he believed that the near connection between the illustrious individual in question and the sovereign of this country was to be considered as the principal cause why such extreme severity had been exercised against him. When, in addition to this, it was recollected, that the duke of Brunswick had given such a splendid instance of heroism in the diversion he had made in favour of Austria, and afterwards in fighting his way from the borders of Bohemia to the banks of the Elbe, with the brave band who accompanied him, he thought no one would object to the motion he should submit to the consideration of the house; the object of which was to settle on the duke of Brunswick the sum of 7000*l.* a year out of the civil list, over and above the pay as colonel of the regiment he brought over with him, which would be about 1500*l.* a year.

Lord Milton did not rise to object to the motion; but when he considered the immense pressure of taxes under which the people of this country at present laboured, to which cause he really believed the irritation and discontent that now prevailed was more to be attributed than to any other that had been mentioned, the house ought to be extremely cautious how they consented to add to such burdens. There were other sources out of which such grants might issue, without burdening the people. The droits of admiralty amounted to a very large sum, which was entirely at the disposal of his majesty, and he thought it the duty of ministers to consider, and answer to the house why this provision, and others of a similar nature, should not be provided out of that fund.

Mr. H. Martin was exactly of the same opinion with the noble lord who spoke last; and though he did not mean to oppose the motion, he thought the provision should be made from the droits of admiralty, and not from the pockets of the people.

Captain Parker expressed himself in favour of the motion. It would, he said, be a dreadful thing to see a prince begging in the streets, and much more repugnant to the feelings of the people of this country than the payment of the sum required.

Mr. I. H. Brown thought that in the present high commercial prosperity of this country, the house ought not to hesitate at granting the sum required by the motion. When it was considered how nearly allied the illustrious personage in question was to his majesty, and that he had a large family, to support as well as himself, he hoped there would be no objection to the motion, which had his hearty concurrence and support.

Sir J. Newport said, that neither the noble lord nor his honourable friend who followed him had made the smallest objection to the grant, but only to the fund from which it was to be drawn. The honourable gentleman who had just sat down had stated that the duke of Brunswick had a large family to support. If so, he supposed the piety of the honourable gentleman must be much offended, as he (sir J. Newport) had been informed the duke

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of Brunswick was not married. If the provision now asked was taken out of the droits of admiralty, it would not be a burden on the people: and he thought ministers ought at least to give an answer why it was not taken from that fund, rather than from the civil list.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was in hopes the right honourable baronet would have profited by the lesson he received last night, and have inquired into the subject before he ventured on rash assertions. He said to his honourable friend behind him, that his piety must be offended at the duke of Brunswick's having a family, as he understood the noble duke was not married. It was true that illustrious personage had no wife, but that arose from his having had the misfortune of losing her; but he was left with two children to support, which was certainly a very heavy charge; and he was shocked to think how much his character might have been injured by such kind of insinuations, if not explained.

The motion was then read and agreed to, and a bill brought in, which finally passed both houses.

CHAPTER VII.

Lord Grey's Motion on the State of the Nation—Sir Francis Burdett's Notice to the Speaker—Alderman Coombe's Motion on the Rejection of the City Address—Alderman Curtis's Motion for the Admission of the City Petition and Remonstrance—Processes served on the Speaker, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Lord Moira, by Sir Francis Burdett—Report from the Committee of Privileges—Mr. Wynne's Motion on Privilege—Petition from the East India Company; Debates on in the House of Commons and House of Lords—Budget—Mr. Grattan's Motion in favour of the Irish Catholics—Mr. Brande's Motion on Parliamentary Reform—Lord Grey's Motion on the State of the Nation—Mr. Brougham's Motion on the Slave Trade.

THE discussions in parliament to be noticed in this chapter do not yield in importance and real interest to any that were ever agitated in this country. The right of the house of commons to imprison for what has been deemed a breach of privilege, was called in question by the ablest speakers and soundest lawyers in both houses. On this side of the question have appeared lord Erskine in the upper house, and sir Samuel Romilly in the lower. Fortified by such authorities, the mass of the public who can think and reason for themselves, might well conclude that their representatives had gone beyond those powers which were intrusted to them for their own private protection, and for the freedom of debate. Hence, petitions from all parts of the country were presented to the commons, praying an immediate

release of their fellow-subjects from what the petitioners deemed an unjust and illegal imprisonment. Some of these petitions were rejected, as containing too much the spirit of remonstrance; others were admitted to lie on the table. They almost all asked, as a security from similar proceedings, a reform in parliament. This subject was, as we shall see, taken up by Mr. Brande, the member for Hertfordshire, and the measure which he proposed was the most moderate that could be conceived, and appeared almost unexceptionable. It was simply to have a committee to take the representation into consideration, in order that such corrections might be suggested as the state of the case required. The arguments adduced by the honourable member were strong and borne out by facts that could not be denied; but the majority was decisive against all inquiry. The same weight, and by nearly the same persons, was opposed to the arguments of Mr. Grattan and others, in defence of the rights and privileges of our catholic brethren.

The first subject which now demands our attention was that introduced by earl Grey, respecting "the present state of the country." His lordship, on the 17th of May, rose in his place, and said that when he turned his mind to the consideration of the present state of this country, which every thinking man must at this moment be compelled to do with the utmost seriousness and anxiety; whether he looked at our situation as connected with foreign affairs, or the management of our domestic concerns; whether he looked at the conduct and events of the war in which we were engaged, or at the measures pursued at home; in whatever light he endeavoured to view our situation, either as to the conduct of government, or the state of the public mind, he must confess that the feelings by which he was actuated were any other than those of joy, or cheerfulness, or hope. The claims that such considerations had upon their lordships' attention, and that of every public man in the country, were irresistible; and he felt it to be his bounden duty to take this public notice of them in their lordships' house of parliament. Our situation was, indeed, such as must make it desirable to give support to the government and constitution of the country; which were at present placed in a situation of singular danger. But it was far from his intention to add to the evils of the country by rallying round, as it was called, or joining with the present administration, which was so mainly the cause of our existing dangers. Notwithstanding that report had been pretty generally, he hoped not maliciously, circulated, he took that opportunity to state to the house and the public, that it was very far from any intention entertained by him. On the contrary, he felt it to be his duty to arraign and to expose their gross mismanagement, and repeated and dangerous misconduct, to parliament and to the nation. To rally round them entered not into his mind; but he would rally round the parliament and the constitution. No man could look upon the state of our affairs under their mismanagement, without participating in the anxieties and fears and indignation which he felt on the subject. While he saw the necessity for parliament's taking the subject into their most serious consideration, he must say, unless parliament were fully impressed with a deep sense

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of the duties they were so urgently called upon to perform, he felt little hope or confidence from any effort that he could make, even though supported by the powerful aid of his noble friend sitting by him (lord Grenville), to whose integrity, talents, and wisdom, as well as to those of other noble persons who entertained similar public principles and views, for saving the country from its dangers, and procuring for it future benefits, the nation must look up. But while he considered ministers as the cause of so many calamities, he never could bring his mind to be friendly to any system, the object or consequences of which was to delude the public mind, taking off their attention from the true interests and the real dangers of the country, and assuming the shape, not of complaint against, and a desire of redress from, specific evils, but of a systematic opposition to the frame and essential privileges of the parliamentary constitution from which we had derived such benefit and happiness. He hoped that, at the present crisis, any such appearances were only imputable to error and mistake, and had no foundation in any disposition to undermine or impair the constitution, which was the best security of the throne, and of the rights and liberties of the people. The privileges of parliament he conceived to be absolutely essential to its independence, to its existence; or else, in all the experience he had been able to acquire in parliament, in all that he had heard or seen or read upon the subject, he had been entirely wrong. The opposition now raised was hostile to the whole of the privileges of parliament; privileges assumed originally for the sake of the independence of parliament, and of the liberties of the subjects of the nation. Sure he was, that all the great, and wise, and experienced public men whom he had known, under whatever political description they might be classed, entertained that opinion, that it was essential to maintain those privileges of parliament which had been so long acted upon, sanctioned, and acknowledged. Convinced sincerely that the privileges of parliament were so necessary in a constitutional view of the subject, he was equally ready to meet the just and constitutional claims of the people of this country, which could in no other place but in parliament be justly and advantageously considered or attended to. He never was more deeply impressed with any subject, than he was with the present general situation of the country in all its most important relations; and he was convinced that it was his duty to move an address to his majesty, expressive of the opinions entertained by himself and those with whom he had the honour and happiness to be politically connected, stating the causes which, in their judgements, had produced this alarming crisis; and humbly recommending to his majesty such measures as the honour of the crown and the security and happiness of the country imperiously demanded. As these were subjects of great importance, that required the almost immediate attention of their lordships, he should conclude by giving notice of his motion for such an address to be moved by him on that day three weeks.

The earl of Liverpool said, that satisfied in seeing that the noble earl perceived the situation of the country, and the necessity of upholding the privileges and dignity of parliament, notwithstanding the severity of the observations which he had made on the conduct of his majes-

ty's ministers, (a severity which he was bold to say was totally unmerited by them,) he should thankfully receive the assistance of that noble earl in the support of those privileges which were necessary to the well-being and security of the constitution.

Lord Grenville thought, that the intelligible and able statement of his noble friend must convey to ministers a pretty correct idea of the object of the address which he intended to propose. The country saw, indeed, its difficulties daily increasing. Our dangers were accumulating upon us, and surrounding us, from the increasing pressure of an expenditure, and more especially from the imbecility, rashness, and folly of the king's ministers, who showed the greatest political incapacity, and absolute ignorance of the constitution, of the principles of which their very first act, their entrance into power, was a violation. Danger had likewise increased from another quarter; and even our parliamentary constitution had become the object of attack. His lordship must now contend for the necessity of maintaining the privileges of parliament. They had been assumed in the earlier periods of the Stuarts for the support of the independence of the parliament, and of the privileges of the people themselves. They had been maintained and acted upon ever since, and had become part of the law and usage of parliament. Our rights and liberties were not secure without them. He concurred most cordially with what had been so ably said by his noble friend: he was not one who would rally round the administration, but he would rally round our parliamentary constitution. To our parliament our country owed its liberty, its greatness, its prosperity, and its happiness.

Lord Erskine said, he entirely agreed with his noble friend who gave the notice, that notwithstanding any imperfections with which time might have visited our happy constitution, it was the best and wisest upon the face of the earth, and under which there was the greatest enjoyment of happiness and freedom; but it was impossible to contemplate that perfection without adverting to the principles which were its essential characteristic. Its characteristic indeed had been correctly and luminously expressed by his noble friend (lord Grenville), who sat next to him, when he said, "that parliament was the author of it, and that like our ancestors, from whom we inherited our freedom, we should rally round parliament: so said his lordship; because in rallying round parliament, or in other words, round the king, lords, and commons, we were rallying round the constitution and the laws; around which *all* were disposed to rally." It was the cause of the immediate reference to this sound doctrine that obliged him to address their lordships. His noble friends had adverted to the late exercise of privileges by the house of commons, and of the sensation they had created. If they alluded only to the disturbances in this great city which they inhabited, he joined in lamenting them; but if they involved in this sentiment the legal resistance by those who had been the objects of them—if they alluded to actions which, though not pending, were in immediate prospect, he must declare that he considered it to be a matter of the greatest magnitude and importance, which the laws alone ought to determine, and with which their lordships had *at present* no manner of concern. If the privileges of the commons under the con-

constitution had been invaded, the commons wanted no assistance from the lords to protect them—the laws would protect them; and if in the invasion of their privileges, the lords' privileges were by analogy invaded, it less became them to be forward in their assertion; more especially as the question might come legally and judicially before them. No man would more zealously defend the privileges of parliament, or of either house of parliament, than he should; and he admitted, that what either branch of the legislature had been for the course of ages exercising with the acquiescence of the whole legislature, would, *in the absence of statutes, which would be the grand question*, be evidence of the common law of parliament, and, as such, of the common law of the land. The jurisdiction of courts rested in a great measure upon the same foundation: but besides that these precedents, as applicable alike to all of them, were matters of grave and deliberate consideration, they were, and must be, determined in the end by the law. He knew that the contrary was insisted upon by the commons, when they committed lord chief justice Pemberton for holding plea of them in his court; but so far was he from considering such a claim as matter of argument under this government of law, that I say advisedly, said his lordship, that if, upon the present occasion, a similar attack was made upon my noble and learned friend (lord Ellenborough) who sits next me, for the exercise of his legal jurisdiction, I would resist the usurpation with my strength, and bones, and blood. Why was any danger to the house of commons or the country to be anticipated by a sober appeal to the judgement of the laws? If his noble and learned friend and his brethren the judges had no jurisdiction over the privileges of the house of commons, they would say they had no jurisdiction. If they thought they had, they would give a just decision according to the facts and circumstances of the case, whatever they might be. These facts and circumstances are considered, however, too clear for inquiry; yet the king's attorney-general, and a member of the house of commons, when called upon by the sergeant for advice upon the subject, was obliged, and most properly, to admit that there was no precedent to be found for his forcibly prosecuting, and that if death ensued he could not undertake to insure him against a conviction, and an execution for murder. Was this the character of an immemorial and an acknowledged jurisdiction? But it was said that there was an end of the privileges of parliament if they must pray in aid the king, or any other authority, to support their jurisdiction. Yet, in the very instance alluded to, they were obliged to pray in aid the king—not of his laws indeed, to which the people would have paid the most implicit obedience, but of his bayonets, which, when contrary to law, they would resist. He desired to warn their lordships against too hasty a resort to force, until right had determined its application. It was a dangerous resort, which never could be necessary in the government of the British people, when the laws were on the side of authority: let the laws speak first, and if they were disobeyed, the people, instead of resisting, would obey, and execute them themselves. There was another view in which this question must be looked at. He was giving no opinion whatever on the subject,

but stating only the question. Suppose there should be positive statutes upon this subject, before the possible origin of any jurisdiction of the house of commons—it was contended that there were—he was still giving no opinion; but was it not open to the subject, if he were advised to plead such statutes in bar of the privileges in the cases contended for? and could any authority but a court of law overrule such a plea? Could the commons themselves resist the effect of such statutes, to which they were parties? There might be statutes indeed on such a subject, which, except in form, wanted no judicial cognizance, because every man could read for himself. If a written law would bear two interpretations, and the worst interpretation had been given to it by a series of decisions, that worst interpretation was undoubtedly the law; but where a statute spoke a clear, plain, unambiguous language, the people had a right to the protection of its letter, and they ought to insist upon that protection. The parliament might repeal it; but whilst it was a statute, neither the king, lords, nor commons, or all three of them, had any dominion over it. It might appear he was putting an almost impossible case; but on that very ground he had defended from death the subjects of this country, and perhaps more than *them;* their lordships might not have been sitting to-day to hear him, if upon these grounds he had not successfully defended the dominion of the laws. He was then told that a conspiracy to levy war against the king was treason, as an attack upon the natural life of the king; he had said, No! because the statute of Edward III. *under any interpretation*, had said No also. He was told that lord Hale and lord Coke were against him; to which he had answered, irreverently perhaps, but in other respects rightly, that their authorities were no more against a positive, unambiguous statute, than so many large flies buzzing against a wall; and so he should forever maintain. Lord Erskine here said, "I would rather die, my lords, than submit to any dominion but that of the law. I know the law upon this subject, my lords, as well as any of your lordships; it is impossible I should not; and it would be criminal to surrender or even to withhold my opinion." If he had been warm upon the subject he must be pardoned; he could not alter his nature—what he had ever been through life he must be to-day—what had been the character of his mind and understanding must continue to be its character. He made no apology to his noble friends for this expression of his opinion. They would little deserve the character they justly had in the country, if they were capable, not merely from courtesy, but even from confidence and affection, to compromise opinions upon such grave and important questions. He was most sincerely attached to the principles of those with whom he had so long acted, and particularly to his two noble friends whose unquestionable integrity and superior talents entitled them to the great station which they must ever hold in the opinions of mankind. It was to secure that pre-eminence that he made these observations, because he knew that nothing could ever secure contentment and happiness in this country but the protection and dominion of the law.

On the same day, in the house of commons, the speaker rose, and addressing the house said, that before

fore they proceeded to the business of the day, which was immediately to come before them, he felt it to be his duty to call their attention to certain transactions of high importance, which particularly alluded to himself, and in which the house was most intimately concerned. It would be recollected, that previous to the late recess he had received a notice from sir F. Burdett, which he had then communicated to the house, that it was his (sir F. Burdett's) intention to bring an action against him (the speaker) for the execution of the warrant he had issued upon that occasion, pursuant to the resolution and order of the house. During the recess, he had received a second notice to the same purport, arising, he supposed, from some mistake or irregularity in the first. He wished to remind the house that the term was now very near its commencement, and it was certainly highly important and necessary that they should take the subject into immediate consideration, and determine as to the proceedings had, and to be had, thereon.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he had not made up his mind on the subject, but he thought it deserving the maturest consideration; therefore he would propose "that a select committee should be appointed to search for precedents, and to report their opinion theron."

A very animated debate took place, in which a great number of gentlemen took part. Mr. Tierney moved as an amendment that the words "to report their opinion thereon" be left out.

Sir A. Pigot said he was sorry, indeed, to see the situation into which this house had been drawn. It was now three weeks since the speaker had received a notice from a member of the house, that he intended to bring an action against him, for an act done in obedience to an order of the house. He was not going to blame the committal to the Tower, nor any of the proceedings relating to it, but merely to the point then under consideration. The notice had been ordered to be entered on the journals. It happened there was some mistake in the description of the parish in which sir Francis Burdett's house stood, and a second notice had been served to cure this error. This corrected notice had been communicated to the house on the 17th of last month: we were now come to the 7th of May, and the house was now first called on to consider what was to be done in consequence of it. "What," said he, "is the nature of the proceeding? A member of the house, committed by the house to the Tower, gives notice to the speaker, that he would bring an action in consequence of the proceedings on the warrant issued by the speaker on the order of the house." This, he said, was an entire new proceeding. In no case, in the worst parliamentary times, had such a thing ever been heard of. Such a monstrous and disgraceful novelty had never been witnessed. Yet this very extraordinary novelty, which was so distinguished an opposition to the privileges of the house of commons, and a disgrace to the times—this transaction, so new and so important, is suffered by ministers to rest, with only being entered on the journals, and nothing further had been thought of it. Was there nothing necessary to be considered in this impertinent paper called a notice, respecting the danger to which it tended, and the inconveniency to be produced by it? Was nothing

necessary to be done by those who advised the measure (not improperly he would allow) but merely to enter it on the journals? He for one would support the measure; and he considered he was only discharging the duty he owed to the house and to the country, to say now, as he had said before, that the more he considered the question of the privileges of that house, the more he was convinced of their necessity, not only for the good and security of that house, but for the welfare and safety of the whole people, who, he was sorry to see, were in danger of being led away by new doctrines of privileges, which, if they did not give up in time, they would find would be productive of the most ruinous consequences. More than a week had passed after receiving the notice, before the recess took place, yet no committee had been moved for, nor mentioned: no steps seemed to have been thought of during the time of the recess; and now on a sudden, the day but one only before the term, ministers are all in a bustle and a hurry to know what's to be done. After a neglect of nearly five weeks, they come down to the house, and on being reminded by the speaker how near the term was approaching, and how very necessary it was that something should be done by the house towards taking proper measures to defend their own order, they tell the house they have not made up their minds on the subject, and wish for a committee to shelter themselves, and to surrender the privileges of the house to their opinion. He could not but lament this incomprehensible negligence. When they recommended the measures which had been adopted, did they not know that the speaker could only act ministerially? When the notices were served, did not they know that they were given by a man who was not likely to shrink from his point? Why did they not before the recess recommend the measure they now do? They had lost much time, and now the day but one before the term, what is it they do? Ask for a committee to search for precedents, and report their opinion. The latter part of the resolution was in his opinion unconstitutional. Ministers, it seemed, had never considered what were the rights of the house, or what its remedies, at any period of the proceeding since the question originated. He, for his own part, had never for a moment doubted that the house had the privilege, and never could part with it but when it surrendered its legislative, inquisitorial, and judicial functions. Some had said the house had not a right to try for libel—they might just as well say the house had no right to bring an action of trover or detenue. It was certainly the case; but still, notwithstanding all the daily trash which was published, there was no doubt they had a right to punish those who libelled them in their legislative capacity. This power of punishment they only possessed by commitment. They could not bring an indictment, there was no person in whose name it could be drawn up. They would also be obliged to supplicate the crown, and there was no knowing whether the crown would be always willing to grant their supplications. There was no knowing whether, as in the times of Charles II. the crown might not choose to join such instigators of anarchy as were now at work to undermine the house of commons. Yet such was the situation in which the adherents of the new

new school wished to place that house! Contemptible pretenders! Shall it be endured that such men are to set up their opinions against the legislative assembly, and say that its vote upon this day was more vile and corrupt than on the day preceding? Better have no house of commons at all than have it so degraded. If a doubt was to be cast even upon the existence of their privileges, their functions were gone for ever; not only their legislative but their inquisitorial and judicial functions, for such he contended they had. If they retained not the power of commitment, what power ought they to retain? All inferior courts possessed this power, and he had very great doubts whether that power ought not to be exercised against even the inferior agents who gave notice of an action against that house. It was very certain that if a person had been committed in the court of chancery for a contempt, and that an attorney presented a notice to the chancellor that he would bring an action against him for such act, the attorney would be in the care of a tipstaff in a very short time. He should vote for the amendment. —The original motion was, after a long discussion, carried by a large majority.

Mr. alderman Coombe, in rising to make the motion of which he had given notice, in support of the constitutional rights of his fellow-citizens, felt satisfaction that it would not be necessary for him to trouble the house at great length. As the house of commons was now so anxiously engaged in asserting its own rights, he trusted it would not be too much to expect that house to afford protection to the rights of the citizens of London. It was not his intention to dwell upon the rights of the subject to petition, nor to descant upon the value of that right, which was the foundation of our civil independence, and the principal bulwark of British liberty. These were considerations that must be familiar to every gentleman who heard him. The right of petitioning the sovereign was exercised in three ways: one was, by transmitting the petition to the secretary of state, in which case there was not the smallest chance that it would ever meet the eye of his majesty. The next was, when persons having access to his majesty at his levees, put their petitions into his own hand. But the third and most valuable mode was, that of presenting a petition to his majesty upon the throne, in which case an answer was always received. This mode of petitioning was confined to the universities and the city of London.

As much clamour had existed for a long time respecting the claim made by the livery of London to present their petitions to the king on the throne, he should briefly put the house in possession of the real state of that question; and for that purpose refer to the different addresses and petitions which had been agreed to by the livery of London, in common-hall, during the present reign. In the year 1769, an address was voted to his majesty; but as no particular instruction accompanied it on that occasion, that address was presented to the king at his levee. In the year 1770, an address was voted, and the sheriffs were instructed to inquire when his majesty would be pleased to receive it upon his throne. The sheriffs made the inquiry; but not having received any answer,

answer, another common-hall came to a resolution that their address should not be presented to the king but upon his throne. When his majesty was acquainted with this new case, he stated that he would consider of it; he did consider of it, and the result was, that he received the address upon his throne. In 1771 another address was voted, and a resolution entered into, that the mayor and sheriffs should be accompanied by a great body of the citizens of London. This intention was frustrated by an intimation from lord Hertford, communicated by letter to the lord mayor, that it was his majesty's pleasure that no more should attend than the act of parliament allowed. The consequence was, that in order to conform to the act of parliament, a committee of ten was deputed to attend the lord mayor and sheriffs; and this address was also received by his majesty upon the throne. In 1773, another address was received on the throne. In 1775 two addresses had been voted; one in April, which had been received by his majesty on his throne: another in June, which never was presented. In this latter case the chamberlain was informed by letter from lord Hertford, that it was his majesty's pleasure not to receive any address upon his throne from the city of London but in its corporate character. This communication was then submitted to a common-hall, at which certain resolutions were voted, declaratory of the right of the city of London to present their petitions or addresses to the king on the throne, and to have an answer to them. Another resolution was also passed, containing an express injunction to the sheriffs not to present the address but to the king on his throne. The sheriffs having waited upon his majesty on a levee day, were informed that the address would be received at a levee: but on stating their instructions, his majesty informed them that he would be at all times ready to receive the petitions of his people, and that he was the best judge where. No address was therefore presented on that occasion. The same fate attended an address voted in 1781, and the next subsequent address in 1797. In the year 1800 another address was voted to be presented to the king on the throne; and in consequence of an instruction to that effect, the sheriffs waited on his majesty at Weymouth, to know when he would be graciously pleased to receive it on his throne. The sheriffs obtained his majesty's permission for the chamberlain to read to him their instructions; but received the same answer as in 1775—that his majesty, ever ready to receive the addresses of his subjects, was the best judge where. Upon the representation of these circumstances by the sheriffs to the common hall, certain resolutions were agreed to, which were communicated to the king at Windsor by the sheriffs. These were all the cases that had occurred during the present reign until the latter end of last year, when the citizens of London had to complain of the calamities of the times, and the livery of London was assembled to address his majesty on the grievances with which the nation was oppressed. That hall was called, and a more numerous and respectable meeting never assembled in London. An address was voted to his majesty, and the lord mayor and

and sheriffs directed to present it to his majesty at a levee, waving their right to have it presented on the throne, in consequence of the state of his majesty's health. On the 14th of December they applied to the secretary of state, and were informed by him that they would not be allowed to present it at a levee; and on the 20th of the same month, when waiting on his majesty with another address, they were refused permission to present this address at the same time. The consequence was, that the livery had come to resolutions similar to those voted in 1775. What he complained of was, not that the address of the livery had not been received on the throne, because, as his fellow-citizens had waved their right on that head, he was not bound there to insist upon that for them which they did not instruct him to contend for: what he had to complain of was the obstruction given to presenting the petition to his majesty at his levee. Having stated the case, he should conclude by moving—

"That the obstruction made by his majesty's ministers to the addresses of the lord mayor, aldermen, common-council, and livery of London, on the 14th of December last, is an infringement of the right of the subject to petition the sovereign on all lawful occasions." The motion was lost by a large majority.

On the following day, Mr. alderman Curtis presented a petition and remonstrance of the lord-mayor, aldermen and livery, on the subject of the imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett. This petition gave rise to very animated debates for two successive days, when it was rejected, as an insult on the house. On this occasion Mr. Whitbread asked, Was it for that ministry, who had sent sir Francis Burdett to the Tower upon a majority of thirty-eight, to found their opposition to a petition of Englishmen upon the legal thinness of that meeting? Was it for a ministry, who themselves had escaped from the condemnation of that house, by a small majority, to call upon the house of commons, upon such grounds, to resist a petition of the people? But the hon. secretary (Mr. Ryder) was indignant at the passage, "Where was your justice, and where was your dignity?" Agreeing with the petitioners in the manner in which they apply these terms, he would go further and ask, Where was the common sense of the house? Where was its justice when it passed over the delinquency stated in that petition? what were its claims to dignity, when in that house the accused acknowledged a base traffic in your house, and your conduct made you partners in their transgression, by voting for their impunity? Upon your records stand the evidences of your forfeited character. They appear in judgement against you; in vain then do you entrench yourself within the walls of this house. But although you fancy that, so entrenched, your conduct is unreprehensible, and your character unimpaired; do you or can you think that the people of England, seeing what they have seen, with the references in their power to be made to your journals, will tamely acquiesce, and not remind that house of all the undue proceedings which it has sanctioned, of all the grievances which it suffers to continue?

Look

Look again at your own journals: it is with them you ought to contend, inasmuch as they are the monuments of your forfeited character. Another ground of objection with the right honourable secretary was founded upon the comments made by the petitioners upon the construction of that house. So sagacious is that right honourable gentleman in sifting out objections that should close the ears of the sovereign and the doors of the house of commons against the prayers of the people. Well then, as to the construction of that house: without adverting to what was recorded upon the journals of that house, let us consider a very recent case, in no small degree illustrative of its construction. The new teller of the exchequer, upon his appointment to that office, vacated his seat in this house. He again applies in a county, where for his private virtues, and attention to its local interests, he was respected, for a repetition of its confidence. The county of Cambridge, indignant at his public conduct in this house, almost unanimously dismiss him. They speak a language, not alone depending upon majorities, but actually recorded in the crown-office. That right honourable gentleman, even subsequent to that dismissal, is appointed to an office of high responsibility, and again finds his way into this house. As the representative of what body of electors? By what influence returned? Can the right honourable secretary, so jealous of the character of the house, contradict me when I say that this representative of the people of England is nominated by a peer? If the house of commons accede to such objections to the right of petitioning, upon what basis will that right rest? You have rejected the petition of the men of Middlesex (a petition which he would have supported) because it conveyed its opinions not with the submission you required. The livery of London, aware of your objection to that petition, endeavour to guard against a similar consequence, by bestowing much labour and much ability in drawing up one conformable to the expressed desire of this house, how a petition ought to be shaped. Up starts a minister to oppose its reception; and, in fact, telling the people of the country that his taste and his feelings are the standard by which that house is to regulate what application of these shall be received by the representatives or not.

Mr. Jacob believed firmly that the people, though not the populace, approved of the conduct of the house of commons. They only disapproved it who wished to set the populace above the people. With respect to petitions, nothing was more easy than to obtain them; they could be obtained by any collection of pickpockets from Fleet-market, or patriots from Saffron-hill; by any cry of delusion among the multitude, no matter whether of "Burdett!" or "No popery." It had been doubted by some, whether the present petition was carried by a majority of liverymen. One gentleman had said there were 2000 present, and another had said that there were 3000; but it must be remembered, that the passage to the King's Bench was through the hall of the livery, and that any man, no matter whether he belonged to the livery or not, might gain admission. The most respectable

spectable and decent part of the livery were, indeed, not at that meeting, nor was it to be expected that they should. What man of liberal habits or refined mind would willingly expose himself to the attacks of an assassin or a pickpocket? Such men had naturally enough absented themselves; but they had adopted a proper mode of stating their sentiments. They had entered into a spirited protest against the resolutions; and he had now to inform the house that 1700 liverymen had signed that protest. They had declared their intention of supporting the established constitution; of standing by the king, lords, and commons; of upholding the legal representatives of the people, and reposing full confidence in the virtues of their sovereign, the integrity of that house, and the purity of the judges of the land. These were men of sense and moderation, determined to contend for the laws, and to resist the influence of all party whatsoever. For himself, he was not the ally of any party. He repeated the assertion; he appealed to every unprejudiced man in that house for its veracity; he had opposed delinquency in every shape; he had declared that the son of the king and the brother of Mr. Pitt were both criminals, and he now declared he thought sir F. Burdett ten thousand times a greater criminal than either. He disdained alike popular clamour and court patronage, but boldly contended for the privileges of that house, for the privileges of the people. He was surprised that no petitions except those from Middlesex and the assembly near Saffron-hill were presented, if the spirit which was represented to be in the country really existed. If he could be brought to believe in the general diffusion of that spirit, and saw a general presentment of petitions in consequence of it, he might be induced to acquiesce in its truth. But he could not do so, when he saw a single petition or two drawn up amid the obscurity of a large mob. He wished to be understood as not objecting to this petition on the ground of its merely being signed by twelve liverymen. No: he objected to it, because he thought it was intended to convey a studied insult on the house; and he was the more convinced of this from hearing the resolutions, which passed at the same meeting. Coupling those resolutions with the petition, it was totally impossible to doubt its intention; no man could lay his hand upon his heart and say he did so. He hoped the house would have the spirit unanimously to reject it. Believing as he did that this petition only spoke the sense of a few profligate desperados who should have long since become the objects of criminal justice, he would, without hesitation, vote for its rejection.

Sir S. Romilly observed, that all must wish to come to a calm vote on this subject, whatever that vote might be; but the speech of the honourable gentleman who spoke last was not much calculated to promote that object. Having voted for the Middlesex petition, the house would not be surprised that he should support the receiving of this. It was of the utmost importance that those who proposed to vote for the rejection of the petition should distinctly state the grounds of that rejection. If the doors of the house, according to the expression of the speaker, which had been received with such universal approbation,

bation, were to be thrown wide open to petitioners, the house ought not to make any great difficulty as to the expressions of persons who really thought themselves aggrieved. The house ought to be desirous that these appeals should be made to itself, and that these differences of opinion should find their proper channel in addresses to the house. The petition was said to be an insult; but they ought to point out the particular passages, that they might be considered. The language was submissive. It had been well stated by an honourable baronet (sir T. Turton), that the substance of a complaint of any proceeding of the houses could never be agreeable to the majority. The form alone could be reasonably objected to. He had read the petition more than once, and he could not find the offensive expressions. He thought the house, by rejecting the petition, would increase its difficulties, and he wished to conciliate the people as far as was consistent with the dignity of the house. His object was to do his duty both by the house and the public, and he could have no other. Where was the danger of receiving a petition where nothing could be pointed out as insulting, except the statement of the grievances complained of? He saw no difference between this and the Westminster petition, except that the chancellor of the exchequer had agreed to the reception of the one and opposed that of the other. The hon. gent. (Mr. Jacob) had made distinctions betweenthe people and populace, and had fortunately given a definition which enabled others to collect that he contrasted the middling with the lower orders. But was that house, designed to be the representative of the whole people, to allow of any such contrast? And then the honourable gentleman said, that decent people were prevented from assembling in the hall from a dread of pickpockets and assassins! He would not have mentioned this, had he not thought that it would be a disgrace to this popular assembly, whose dignity depended upon its being a popular assembly, to pass over such expressions without notice.

May 10. The speaker informed the house that he had been served with a process by sir F. Burdett, which, if it was the pleasure of the house, the clerk should read.

The clerk then read the process of notice upon the speaker, laying the damages at 30,000*l.*

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the process was referred to the committee for taking the proceedings relative to sir F. Burdett into consideration.

The speaker then informed the house that the sergeant-at-arms had also been served with a process.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that the sergeant had been before the sitting committee in the morning.

Mr. Whitbread did not see why the house should so totally abandon itself to the committee, as not to have the sergeant immediately before itself, in order to hear what steps were taken against him. He had heard that the report of that committee was to be presented the next day, and wished to know whether it was intended to discuss it on the day on which it was presented.

The chancellor of the exchequer had no objection whatever to the sergeant stating to the house itself the measures which had been taken against him. He thought it rather extraordinary, however, in those who blamed ministers for not being

able

able to give an immediate answer on this subject, now to object to the immediate consideration of the report.

May 11. The speaker stated, that he had received a letter from the earl of Moira upon the subject of sir Francis Burdett's imprisonment; which was read by leave of the house.

This letter, which was dated St. James's Place, May 10, was to the following effect:—

"Sir,—By the advice of Mr. Garrow, my counsel, I am to apprize you, that notice has been served upon me as constable of the Tower, of an action against me at the suit of sir Francis Burdett, for illegal detention. I do not communicate this circumstance to you as with a view to solicit your intervention, as I have instructed my own solicitor to defend the action, and I mean to rest my defence upon your warrant, and the instructions which I have received from the secretary of state.

(Signed) "MOIRA."

Mr. Davies Giddy brought up the report of the committee appointed to consider the course expedient for the house to pursue upon the subject of the actions brought by sir Francis Burdett against the speaker and the sergeant at-arms.

The report was read by the clerk. After referring to the several documents referred to the committee, with regard to the arrest of sir F. Burdett, and expressing a confidence in the just right of the house to those privileges which it was now attempted to dispute, the report stated, that from the examination of the journals it appeared to have been the frequent, uniform, and uninterrupted practice of the house to commit persons offending against its privileges. This report was confined to the question more immediately referred to the committee, with respect to the mode of maintaining the privileges of this house with the law of parliament. But as to the utility of these privileges and that law, as to their analogy to the ordinary courts of justice, and the legal decisions had upon these privileges—these were points which the committee reserved for a second report. Although it had been the more general custom of the house to vindicate its privileges by its own authority, the report went on to state, that some instances had occurred in which a different course had been followed. With respect to proceedings taken against members by extraneous means, and with a view to impair the authority and injure the privileges of that house, these proceedings were most frequent and serious in the several reigns of Charles the First and Second, and James the Second. It was through these proceedings, and the efforts of the house to resist them, the establishment of the bill of rights took place; and the committee had no doubt that the article of that bill, declaring that no member should be questioned for acts done in that house, extended as well to the improper questioning by individuals as to the improper interposition of the crown. After referring to the act of the 4th of Henry VIII. and to the cases of Hollis and Elliot in the reign of Charles II. to the committal of justices Pemberton and Jones for interfering with the privileges of that house, whose jurisdiction even those judges did not attempt to deny; and particularly to the case of sir William Williams, in the year 1671, with several resolutions of the house upon the subject

subject of its privileges, and decisions of the courts of law, upon applications made for the release, by habeas corpus, of persons committed by the authority of the house, the report proceeded to state the conclusions drawn by the committee, from the fullest consideration of all the circumstances connected with the case. There were various modes which it was competent to the house to adopt upon this occasion. It might be thought proper to commit not only the party, but all those concerned with him in bringing the actions referred to. The power of the house so to commit was indisputable, but the expediency of its exercise was another question; and against the expediency of committal in this instance it was with these considerations to be observed, that such committal would not serve to stay the actions. But even if the committal were to take place, still the committee would advise the speaker and sergeant to plead to the actions, in order to show to the court the authority under which they acted. The report, however, concluded with observing, that it was for the house to consider whether it would be expedient to direct that the actions should be defended?

The report being read,

Mr. D. Giddy moved that this report should be laid upon the table, and also that it be printed: which was agreed to, after a discussion of great length and interest. In the course of this,

Mr. Ponsonby made a most able speech, towards the conclusion of which he said, It was not because the vote of that house, upon this or that public measure, was opposed to the wish and opinion of the people; it was not because their representatives had evinced a conduct which the constituent body at large disapproved; it was not because some of their decisions could not be defended, that the power of the commons of England should be then curtailed. No; they were to be defended even under such circumstances, because a blow aimed at them, even in that house of commons, would affect and overthrow its privileges, and with them the people's liberties through every succeeding parliament. But it might be contended that the possession and exercise of such privileges as that recently questioned was too great and too dangerous to be continued in any house of commons. They were, however, borne in periods of our history in which the people of England were most high-mettled, and jealous of the slightest invasion of their liberties. They were admitted in some of the best periods of our history, when many of our ablest predecessors were engaged in arduous contests for the rights of the people. It was sincerely to be hoped that the people would continue to respect them, inasmuch as they were the best barriers of protection to their own most valuable interests. For in that house ought the people to expect, and to it they should look for, security and protection. There was a new doctrine afloat, and a strange direction given to the popular hope. Whilst their feelings were estranged from the commons, the people of England were directed to look to the crown for the guardianship of their rights. What! the crown protect the liberties of the English people? Attached as he was to a limited monarchy, he would contend there never was, during the whole period of our history, a monarch, except the virtuous monarch now upon the throne of these realms, who

who ever loved a house of commons—there never was a king, with the same exception, who was not an enemy to public liberty. He founded this opinion upon no invidious comparisons of one reign with another. It was human nature; and there never yet lived the man who loved that power which acted as a control upon his wishes and his passions. That the family of Brunswick would long continue to support these principles, for the defence of which the people of this kingdom placed them on the throne, all were ready to believe. But who would take upon himself to say, that even in future successions of that family a prince might not appear jealous of the influence of the people, and anxious to destroy their weight in the constitutional balance? Under such a state of events, to whom could the people look for protection and support? What branch of the constitution could they depend upon for a successful resistance to the encroachment that threatened their liberties with extinction? To the house of commons in the full possession of those privileges, the efficacy of which the rash and the deluded would now wish to diminish. Was it not the house of commons, supported by the voice of the nation, that resisted successfully the tyrannic encroachments of the Stuarts, and ultimately dethroned that family, when it was found impossible to induce them to desist from their arbitrary proceedings? Never was there propagated doctrine more pernicious and delusive than that which went to alienate from that house the popular confidence, in order to give it to the crown. True it might be, that from acts of that house the confidence of the nation was shaken; true it might be, that it was considered rather the instrument of the minister than the organ of the public voice, (an opinion which he considered pressed too far in this country;) yet even under all these admissions, it was not upon the crown that he could be induced to depend for the preservation of the people's rights. If the grievances of which the country complained were to be attributed to the construction of that house, let that construction be altered, if the nation wished and demanded it. But whilst it was necessary that a discretionary power should exist,—where, he asked, could it be intrusted with more safety than to the representatives of the people of England? But then it had been contended, that though there was no objection to concede a discretionary power to that house, yet its exercise should be limited. Was then the court of king's bench, or was public opinion to be the standard of regulating to what extent the power should be exercised? If the king's bench was to possess the power of trying the legality of its privilege of commitment for libel, it would be invested with the power of being the judge of every privilege of that house. There could be no limitation. The very right of holding a plea in the case of libel would constitute the right of trying the extent of privilege in any other case. Suppose a person was committed for striking and violently assaulting the sergeant-at-arms, or any messenger of the house, in the execution of their duty, and that for such breach of privilege it committed him. He brings his action in a court of law; nothing can prevent him, and the court must hold plea, upon the principle that it had interfered before in the case of libel, and that it must now

see whether the house of commons had the power to do the act or not. In such case, what became of the privileges of the commons of England? Again, was public opinion to be the criterion for limiting their exercise. Set up such a standard, and fancy, if you can, the mischiefs which would most infallibly be the consequence. Then would you place the privileges of this house at the mercy of contending factions; both bidding against each other at this auction of popularity, until privilege and liberty fell a sacrifice to their selfish and unprincipled objects. One democracy of faction would be destroyed only to be succeeded by a worse; extinction of all order and all virtue would follow in their train, ultimately to secure the absolute rule of a single individual. Let the country remember the miseries under which, from such causes, it once suffered: let it remember the recovery it has had: let it remember that period of its history when, in the reign of the first Charles, that unhappy prince was reduced by the constitutional exertions of the house of commons to desist in a great degree from his arbitrary acts of prerogative, and the salutary prospect presented itself of a free and legitimate government. From what causes was it that such exertions proved abortive? It was because a faction sprung up in that house and in this country, who, arrogating to themselves all the patriotism and public spirit in the nation, misrepresented, defamed, and crushed the wise and honest men of all parties; a faction who possessed great talents but no virtues, with purity in their mouths, but profligacy in their hearts—who talked of liberty but meant despotism, who sought the Lord but found a crown. If England, with the example of a former age before her, and particularly with the awful example of such a calamitous visitation, shall be so infatuated as to relapse into such dangerous and delusive errors, then I pronounce that she is doomed to suffer more grievous calamities than have ever yet befallen any nation upon the earth; and, what is more galling and more aggravated, she is doomed so to suffer unpitied and unreprieved.

A select committee was next appointed to search for precedents in support of the authorities exercised by the house in the matter respecting sir Francis Burdett; and on the 18th Mr. Giddy presented the report, which was in substance:—

"That the committee thought it unnecessary to state particularly the contents of all the precedents they had found, as they were all so clear in support of the privileges of the house.

"That the precedents more directly connected with the case in question went to show, that in order to prevent offences against the authority of the house, in respect to its proceedings, that purpose could not be so effectually answered by a recurrence to the ordinary and circuitous proceedings in courts of law, and that the house had uniformly punished such offences by the summary exercise of its own authority, and the commitment of such persons, whether members or not. That the house had from time to time so punished such persons, more especially in Bushell's case in 1701, and in the case of Ashby and White in 1704, where the house of lords decided in favour of the conduct of the house of commons, upon this point, although both houses were at variance at the time upon several others. Also in Murray's case, confirmed

confirmed by the court of king's bench; and Brass Crosby's case, confirmed by the court of exchequer; also in Blingham and Flower's case, confirmed by the house of lords. The committee also found, that in cases of libel on the house, either by words or in print, the house had uniformly proceeded by the summary commitment of the parties offending, and that their proceeding in such cases had been approved and supported by the opinions of the most able lawyers and judges, some of them the most eminent and upright men that ever sat upon the bench in this kingdom; and especially by lord chief justice De Grey, in Cuyler's case, where he decided that the house may commit summarily of its own authority for offences against its privileges. That the privileges of parliament were necessary to the security of the state. That the law of parliament was the law of the land, according to the maxim laid down in magna charta, which says that no freeman shall be committed to imprisonment without the judgement of his peers, or according to the law of the land; that this maxim recognized the law of parliament; and that the right of committal was established by ancient usage, and was as clear and incontrovertible as any other part of the law of the land; and was necessary to the security of the state itself."

The report having been read, Mr. Horner said, he could not let that report pass without noticing how unnecessarily they had attempted to reason upon the foundation of the privileges of the house, the impropriety of which struck his mind strongly. This was, he believed, the first time that a committee of privileges had ever presumed to enter into a citation of authorities in favour of common, essential, and inherent privileges, from the opinions of courts of law or of the other house of parliament. In the best of times, indeed in all former times, it was the constant language on such occasions, it was the regular maxim of the wisest patriots and the most zealous defenders of the liberties of the country, that no analogies from the practice of common law, no opinions from any other bodies whatever, should be suffered to weigh in a matter of such momentous concern as the privileges of that house, which never could be regulated by the principles, forms, or technicalities of law courts. He could appeal to the opinions of all those great men, those eminent parliamentary statesmen, those sages now no more, on the subject of analogies drawn from other places for such a purpose. The committee were justified only in so far as they stated the precedents from the journals; but to take upon themselves the task of discussing the question of the privileges of the house on general principles, was quite contrary to all that had been recorded or known heretofore, in times when the constitution of the country and of that house was, to say the least, quite as well understood as at present. He thought, therefore, that the house ought to defer the question upon the report, till they had considered it more maturely. The report was accordingly recommitted, and on the 23d it was again brought up and ordered to lie on the table.

June 8. Mr. Williams Wynne rose to make his motion respecting the late proceedings adopted by the house in consequence of the action commenced on the part of sir Francis Burdett against the speaker and the sergeant. Here the honourable gentleman went at a considerable

length into a previous commentary on the proceedings and report of the committee to which the notices of action served upon the speaker had been referred. He said that the doubts he had from the first entertained of the propriety of pleading, subsequent consideration had rather contributed to increase than to remove. He was afraid that pleading to the king's bench left room for the construction that that tribunal was the judge of the privileges of that house. If the judgement of that court should be in favour of their privileges, was it to be supposed that their privileges were confirmed by such a decision? or, on the other hand, In case (no doubt a most improbable one) the decision was against their privileges, how was the house to proceed in the assertion of them? He conceived it to be a maxim, that where the privileges of the house were violated, the house surrendered those privileges if they refused or declined to assert them; they were bound to show respect for themselves, if they designed to secure the respect of others. After many other observations, commenting in substance on the inconveniences and embarrassments likely to result from pleading, and on the danger of giving rise to any misapprehension that that house was not the *sole* judge of its own privileges, he concluded with moving a resolution to the following effect: "That whoever presumed to commence or to prosecute actions against the officers of that house, for any proceedings taken by them in obedience to the directions of that house, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that house; and that all attorneys, counsellors, sergeants-at-law, and solicitors, aiding in the prosecutions of such actions, were also guilty of a breach of privilege." He intended, if this resolution should be carried, to follow it up with two others: the one presuming the persons concerned in the conduct of the present action as acting with the leave of the house; and the other requiring the proper officer of the court of king's bench to attend at the bar the next day, with copies of all the records and proceedings hitherto had in that action. On the first resolution being put,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to oppose it. He could not see the necessity of it; and contended that it would be a very inconsistent proceeding, after the house had agreed to plead, to punish those persons concerned in prosecuting that action to which they had resolved to plead. With respect to what had fallen from his learned friend, as to the alleged embarrassment in which the house would be placed in the assertion of their privileges, if the judges decided against their privileges, he did not see why the learned gentleman should go out of the way, and presume that the court of king's bench would not do justice; it was a presumption on which they had no right to argue: in case, however, that justice should not be done,—a presumption which he repeated it was by no means fair to make,—still in that case he knew of no precedent where the house committed a chief judge for such a decision, he being at the time of committal a judge. If lord chief justice Ellenborough should decide contrary—

Mr. W. Wynne. He is a peer.

Mr. Perceval. A peer? exclaims the honourable gentleman, irregularly across the table; but, whether or no, if his lordship or other judges should decide contrary to the law of the land, he presumed that the proper

proper mode to remedy that violation of the duties of their station would be by impeachment. As he thought the resolution of the honourable gentleman contained a direct truth, it of course could not be met by a negative. He should therefore content himself with moving the previous question.

Several other members spoke on both sides; when the house divided:

For the resolutions - -	14
Against them - - -	74
Majority - - -	60

May 14. Mr. Astell presented a petition from the East India company, which was received and read. It was of considerable length, and took a retrospective view of the connexion between the India company and the British government since the year 1793; stating, that upon the expenses incurred by several expeditions which had been undertaken, debts were incurred on both sides which were never clearly balanced and liquidated; but that a considerable balance was due to the company, which they now prayed to have examined by the house, and any balance that might appear due to them be paid.

Leave was given to present a petition pursuant to the prayer of this petition, which was accordingly presented and read; and Mr. Astell moved, that it be referred to the committee appointed to consider of the affairs of the East India company.

Mr. Creevey rose to offer some observations upon the statements alleged in this petition. It stated that the government was in debt to the East India company on account of the expenses incurred in the late war; but their account was referred to a committee in the year 1805, who reported that the amount of the balance then due to the company was 2,300,000*l.* Out of this they were paid two millions, and there still remained a balance in their favour of 300,000*l.* But in the next year the company produced a new statement, in which they swelled this balance to 1,500,000*l.* making their original claim, instead of 2,300,000*l.*, 3,800,000*l.* He denied that such a thing ought to have been done; it was done, however; and now they came forward with a new claim for 1,900,000*l.* alleged to be due upon this stale account. They seemed totally to forget that, in fact, the public owed them nothing. He could easily understand that, wanting this sum, they preferred claiming it as a debt to asking for it in any other shape; because, if it was granted to them in the shape of a debt, it would be got by a single motion; whereas in any other way the progress would be circuitous, and liable to be impeded by much discussion. It was now just four years since any discussion of the company's affairs took place in that house; for they had been now four years without bringing forward any budget, although they had in successive years claimed and obtained large sums in advance, on pretence of answering the exigencies of the moment. All, in fact, that parliament knew of the East India company for the last four years was from its petitions on their journals. In the year 1807, a bill passed for enabling them to borrow 2,000,000*l.* In the following year another bill passed for enabling them to raise 1,900,000*l.*: they stated again last year, that they wanted another 2,000,000*l.* to meet the exigencies of the occasion; and yet another session had passed without their submitting to the house any general state of

their affairs; owing to the want of which it was impossible for the house to come to a full and fair discussion upon a subject so important. He considered the present claim as one of the most preposterous that ever was offered to parliament, and he trusted the house would grant the company nothing until a full account of the state of their affairs was produced and investigated. The law positively required, that before any dividend was made of their profits, they should clear their accounts with the public; and yet, although no such clearance had been made, the company were now dividing on their last year's profit 10½ per cent. He hoped, therefore, the house would come to some decisive issue upon the subject.

After some further discussion the petition was referred to the committee on India affairs. The result was, that a bill was brought into parliament for advancing to the company 1,500,000*l.* This was opposed in both houses; and on the third reading in the lords,

The earl of Lauderdale entered into a detailed statement, for the purpose of showing the unprosperous state of the affairs of the company, and the little prospect there was of this money being repaid. The act of 1793 required that the debt of the company in India should be reduced to 2,000,000*l.* the bond debt in England to 500,000*l.*; that 500,000*l.* per ann. should be paid to the public; and that a sum should accumulate to make up the amount of 12,000,000*l.* as a security for the holders of the capital stock. Instead of this, the debt in India had accumulated to 32,000,000*l.* the bond debt in England to 4,000,000*l.*, the 500,000*l.* unpaid to the public now amounted to 7,000,000*l.* and these sums, added to the 12,000,000*l.* made a difference of 52,000,000*l.* His lordship also contended, that it appeared from the balance paper of stock, per computation laid before parliament, that the company was now 16,000,000*l.* worse than nothing. The noble lord adverted to the late transaction in Madras; observing that no government ever deserved more reprobation than the Madras government for its conduct in those transactions—conduct which, in one instance, was wholly unaccountable, it having suspended and sent home colonel Boles for signing military orders by order of his superior officer, and appointed to the same situation colonel Sutherland Macdowall, who had signed one-half of the very same orders. With respect to the forged bonds of the nabob of Arcot, the conduct of the officers of government was also highly reprehensible.

The earl of Harrowby declined entering into any detailed state of the affairs of the East India company, there not being sufficient materials before the house for that purpose. He admitted there had been disappointment, but no blame was imputable to any one. The present sum was asked in order to give time to the company to bring about their affairs. The conduct of the Madras government in the late transactions was, he contended, deserving of the highest praise. The circumstance respecting colonel Sutherland Macdowall he had now heard for the first time. With respect to the forged bonds, his lordship observed, that the conduct of the officers of government was wholly undeserving of blame.

The bill was passed: but lord Lauderdale entered his protest against it.—See Public Papers.

House of commons, May 16. The usual

usual papers preparatory to the budget having been referred to the committee of ways and means, the house resolved itself into the said committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer began the statement by observing, that he thought it necessary that those accounts which he had moved for should be referred to the committee; and he thought that they would be found highly interesting in their general results, and particularly applicable to the subject to which it was his duty now to draw the attention of the committee. He thought that they would not only afford the best means of forming a correct judgement how far the country was able to support its present burthens, but that they would be the best answer to those who were accustomed to take gloomy views of the financial situation of the country. They would show that, so far from there being any reason to apprehend any thing like decay or failure in our finances, the more we looked at them, the more reason should we have to be satisfied with their growing improvement and prosperity. It would be highly satisfactory to know, that such had been the produce of our revenues in that very year when men of great weight and authority in that house anticipated a failure, that instead of the deficit they apprehended, there had actually been a very considerable increase. He should now state the supply for the present year. For the supply of the year, there had been already voted for the navy 19,258,000*l.*, and for the army in Great Britain, including the expenses of the commissariat department, 13,903,060*l.* For the army in Ireland, 2,992,057*l.* When to those sums were added 2,750,000*l.* for army extraordinaries for Great Britain, and 200,000*l.* for Ireland, and the further sum of 441,000*l.* unprovided for in the last year, it would make the whole vote for the army in the present year 20,307,000*l.* The ordnance estimates were 4,411,000*l.* and the miscellaneous services already provided for, as well as those which remained to be provided for, would altogether amount to about two millions. The vote of credit bill for the present year would be, as it was last year, three millions, and the subsidies to foreign powers, 1,580,000*l.* These sums, added together, made a total joint expense for Great Britain and Ireland of 50,366,000*l.* for the year. To this was to be added 1,650,000*l.* for interest of exchequer bills, and 18,500*l.* to loyalty loan-holders, making the gross total 52,85,000*l.* From this was to be deducted the proportion of Ireland, which at that time amounted to 6,106,000*l.* leaving the whole sum which was to be provided for the separate account of Great Britain 46,079,000*l.*

This total exceeded the supply by the sum of 141,202*l.*—Having now stated to the house the total amount of those grants, it became his duty to make some observations on the different items. As to the first two items of the ways and means, it did not occur to him that it was necessary to make any particular observations at present. But with respect to the war taxes, he felt that it would be incumbent upon him to state to the house those reasons which made him conceive himself to be warranted in taking them at the amount that he had stated. As to the war taxes, they had last year produced 22,707,000*l.* The produce of the tax upon property actually paid into the treasury in the last year was 13,754,233*l.* of which sum the assessment had only

been 11,400,000*l.* The excess of the receipts above the assessment of the year was 2,351,233*l.* It would not, however, be reasonable to calculate upon so large a receipt in the present year, as the excess of the receipts above the assessment consisted of arrears which had been collected with great activity and success. Such had been the activity used in the collection of the arrears, that there was now none due of a later date than the year 1807; and the arrears which now appeared to be due were as follows: for the year 1807, the arrears were 409,923*l.*; for the year 1808, 530,368*l.*; for the year 1809, 1,540,750*l.*; and for the present year, 6,241,405*l.* This last sum, however, could not properly be called arrears, as the assessment for the year 1810 was to the 5th of April, which was only last month, and which is now in the regular course of collection. It was, therefore, hard to state whether there were any arrears properly belonging to the year 1810. Since the year 1804 there had been granted on account of the property tax 115,880,000*l.* of which there had been received 107,441,478*l.* leaving a total arrear of 8,437,522*l.* There could be no reason to think that the receipts of the property tax in the present year could fall short of 11,400,000*l.* and when he should add to them the estimated amount of the other war taxes, he thought he might fairly reckon on the whole amount of the war taxes for the year at 19,500,000*l.* The average produce of the war taxes on customs during the last three years had been 9,060,000*l.* Should that be taken as their produce in the present year, added to the 11,400,000*l.* it would form a total of above twenty millions. He would, however, be content to take it for the present at nineteen millions and a half. With respect to the lottery, he knew an honourable gentleman opposite him (Mr. Whitbread) was still positive in his intention of opposing the raising of any sum of money whatever in that way. Whatever weight his objections might ultimately have, he was sure the honourable gentleman would be much gratified to find that many of the most serious evils which were formerly attendant upon lotteries had been in a great measure, if not wholly, removed by different suggestions which he himself had made. The new plan, of having the whole lottery drawn in one day, cut up by the roots that system of insurance upon the drawing of the lottery which had produced such mischievous effects among many of the lower classes of the community. When the drawing of the lottery continued many days, it was hardly possible to prevent illegal insurances: and the great mischief attending them was, that the poor were often induced to risk all that they were worth, and expose themselves to absolute ruin, in the hope of recovering their first losses. The destruction of insurances had almost entirely removed those evil consequences which had been complained of in former lotteries. He did not think that giving up the lottery altogether would by any means destroy the spirit of gaming among the lower orders. He thought, on the contrary, that it might drive many of them to modes of gambling which would be much more pernicious to them, as partaking of the evils attending insurances. He meant the little goes, and things of that description. He trusted that when it came to be argued, the house would still be of opinion that this source of revenue should not be abandoned. As to the large sum of 8,311,000*l.* in exchequer

chequer bills funded, the vote of credit of the last year had been defrayed from these exchequer bills. And as to the vote of credit for the present year, he did not think it necessary for him to use any particular arguments to recommend it. He trusted the house would perceive the necessity of the usual vote of credit in the present state of the country, and the circumstances and situation of the world in general. He came next to the consideration of the loan, consisting of eight millions for the service of Great Britain, and four millions for the service of Ireland; and he had the satisfaction to inform the committee that he had contracted for the twelve millions that morning, on terms infinitely more favourable to the public than had ever been at any former period known. The terms he had proposed were to give for every 100*l.* subscribed, 130*l.* in the 3 per cent. reduced stock, and to take the bidding in 3 per cent. consols. The contract was finally completed upon an offer on the part of the contractors to take 10*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* in the consols, in addition to the 130*l.* reduced annuities, for every 100*l.* subscribed, making in the whole 140*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for each 100*l.* The amount of interest upon the money borrowed was, therefore, but 4*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* per cent.; so that the loan of twelve millions for the service of Great Britain and Ireland was thus borrowed at 15*s.* 7¼*d.* per cent. below the rate of legal interest. The total charge that would arise to the public, including the sinking fund and managements upon the loan, would be but 5*l.* 13*s.* per cent. The committee would be enabled to appreciate the advantage derived to the public upon this loan, by adverting to the terms upon which the loan of last year had been effected. Gentlemen would recollect that the loan for the service of the year 1809 had been procured at an interest of 4*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*, and that such terms were on that occasion looked upon as most favourable. It would be seen, therefore, with satisfaction, that according to the statement he had just submitted, the loan for the service of the present year had been obtained at the rate of 8*s.* 7*d.* per cent. less than last year, and it would be for the committee to decide, whether, so far as the transaction was connected with the situation of the country, it was to be regarded as a proof for the better or the worse. It would be in the recollection of the committee, that at a former period of the session he submitted a proposition to the house for funding a certain proportion of the exchequer bills outstanding in the 5 per cents. The stock created by that operation, added to what was created by the transaction of the loan, constituted the whole amount of the addition to the public debt. In consequence of the loan there were created in the 3 per cents. reduced, 10,400,000*l.*; in the 3 per cents consols, 830,000*l.*; making a total on account of the loan of 41,260,000*l.* Now if this amount were to be added to the stock created on account of the funded exchequer bills 8,581,727*l.* it would give a total addition to the public debt of Great Britain in the present year of 19,811,727*l.* The charge for interest upon this addition to the public debt was on the reduced consols, 336,000*l.*; on the exchequer bills funded in the 5 per cents, 429,086*l.*; forming a total annual charge of 755,986*l.* To this charge, however, was to be added, on account of 1 per cent. sinking fund, 198,117*l.*, and charge of management,

ment, 6,735*l.* which would make the whole of the annual charge to be provided for, including the different rates of interest and charges for the sinking fund and of management, 970,833*l.*

The right honourable gentleman next pointed out in a very luminous manner the means which he had in view to meet so large a supply; and concluded a most able speech by referring to the great prosperity of the country. It might, he said, be material for the satisfaction of the committee to look to the state of the trade, manufactures, and commerce, of the country, in order to show that there was a just prospect that their expectations would not prove unfounded as to the stability of the means and resources of the empire. This would most satisfactorily appear from a reference to the comparative amount of the exports and imports at different periods. The official value of the imports last year was 36,255,209*l.* The prosperous year of peace (1802) was only 31,442,318*l.* being an increase last year of nearly 5,000,000*l.* above the most prosperous year of peace. The exports of British manufactures last year amounted to 35,107,000*l.*; in 1802 they were only 26,933,199*l.* being a difference of between 8 and 9,000,000*l.* in favour of last year. The exports of foreign manufactured goods were last year 15,194,000*l.* somewhat less than the amount of foreign exports in 1802, which was 19,127,000*l.* But it was most satisfactory to observe, that though the exports of foreign goods had decreased, the export of British manufactures had risen in a greater proportion, and that there was a greater increase upon the whole of 4,180,000*l.* the amount of all the exports having been last year 50,300,000*l.*, whereas in 1802 they amounted to but 46,120,000*l.* Upon an average of the two last years, compared with the average of 1802 and the preceding year, the advantage was 3,163,300*l.* in favour of these two years of war over two years of peace. But if the advantage had even not been so much in favour of last year, the average would show that the country was not stationary, but progressive in prosperity. In Yorkshire alone the manufacture of cloth had increased in the last year to the extent of one million five hundred thousand yards. But was not the growing prosperity of the country obvious in the great public works which were undertaken throughout the country—the great canals and extensive docks which were on all sides establishing? The progress of such undertakings, with as much spirit, activity, and enterprise, as in a time of the most profound and prosperous peace, was a certain indication of the flourishing condition of our trade, manufactures, and commerce. The committee would, he trusted, excuse him for calling their attention to such topics, which were so intimately connected with the subject of that day. It was of the highest consequence to show that the state of the industry, manufactures, and commerce of the country was such as to enable the nation to maintain the burthens it had to bear. Though undoubtedly the pressure of the times may bear heavily upon some classes of their fellow-subjects,—a pressure which they must all lament,—yet it was consolatory to reflect that there was no ground for apprehending any material or extensive national calamity. But it was not only in

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our internal resources, but in our external means and strength, that the progressive prosperity of this nation was to be traced. This too had happily been made out to the conviction of our enemy. It was but a few years since that enemy had declared that all he wanted was ships, colonies, and commerce. If the attainment of such objects were his wish, what progress had he made towards their accomplishment? It was only by acquisitions from this country that he was to realize any one of them: and yet all the commerce that belonged to his empire it had lost; all the colonies that had belonged to him he had lost; and the few ships he had remaining were kept pent up in ports, without ever daring to put to sea. This was the government, too, whose measures were represented as founded in wisdom, and executed with ability, whilst the government of this country had been uniformly charged with weakness, ignorance, folly, and imbecility. He should detain the committee with but few more observations, to show that the operation of the wise measures of the orders in council, so much abused in this country, had had the effect of reducing the receipts of the customs in France from 2,500,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* 4-5ths of its whole amount. This showed how unavailing all the measures of the French ruler were to the accomplishment of his darling object. He should therefore not take up more of the time of the committee, but move that the terms on which the loan had been contracted for should be approved of by that committee:—which after some discussion was agreed to.

The next subject claiming our attention is the petition from the Irish catholics, presented to the house of commons, by Mr. Grattan, on the 18th of May. The most we can do is to give an outline of the honourable gentleman's speech. The debate continued by adjournment for several nights, and would, if we were to give it at large, occupy more space of itself than we can allot to the proceedings of parliament for the whole year.

Mr. Grattan began by declaring this, in his opinion, to be a subject of vital consequence to the country: it was to him, individually, a subject of the deepest interest. If he should live to see its accomplishment, he would consider himself a very fortunate man; for he should then see himself successful in the attainment of two very important advantages to the country. First, he should see his countryman, his fellow-subject, the catholic of Ireland, participating in the benefits of the constitution, and partaking common privileges with himself. Next, he should witness the consolidation of the empire founded on the liberties of the subject. There were two principles on which this question rested—the first was the exclusion of foreign influence; the second, the communication of constitutional privileges. With respect to the first, the exclusion of foreign influence, this it was considered was attainable by two ways—first, by the adoption of the veto; or next, by domestic nomination. He had expressed a decision in favour of the veto: he had thought that measure was fatal to foreign influence, and not at all hostile to the Irish catholics. That was his opinion. He should mislead the house, however, if he said that was the opinion of the catholics. He did not believe

believe it was; nor did he think they would at all agree to it. The next mode, then, of excluding foreign influence was by domestic nomination. This, he thought, was the only alternative; for he had no hesitation in declaring, that while foreign nomination was insisted on as essential, the prayer of the petition was wholly inadmissible. If the pope was, as formerly, an independent spiritual magistrate, he should, perhaps, allow him the nomination; but he could never do so when the pope was a Frenchman, or when a Frenchman was the pope. He wished, however, by any prudent policy, to give the Irish catholic emancipation, because he would sooner have a constitutional connexion between England and Ireland, than an ecclesiastical connexion between Ireland and our enemy. Let England act justly by Ireland, and she would then see Ireland act firmly and loyally by her. Let her give the Irish catholic his just rights, and she will soon see the catholic religion will be no bar to her prosperity. She may then say to the Irish catholic, "I give you your demand, follow your faith; I do not understand your religion, but there is one principle which I do understand, and that is, an eternal separation from our common enemy." This domestic nomination was not at variance with the catholic religion, for the bishops had declared so in 1799; it was plainly not hostile to the civil interest: so neither their faith nor their patriotism militated against its adoption. At present they were doubly fettered; subject to two masters—to their natural king and their natural enemy, and that enemy the despoiler of their patriarch. It was not to be expected, however, that the catholic bishops were to come and make their offer to that house,—no: when the house manifested a conciliatory spirit, then the petitioners might exhibit a submissive one. This brought him to his second point—the communication of privileges. He feared there was more difficulty in the house to extend that, than there would be in the bishops to acknowledge a domestic nomination. Why should power attempt to impose those restrictions? It was not just—it was not pious. Parliament had no right to frame arbitrary laws, because they went to those disabilities on men arising from accidental circumstances. It had no right to punish religion, because it was a relationship between man and his Maker, independent of civil society. The restrictions did not arise from the fundamental laws of the land. Mr. Pitt did not say so; his cabinet did not say so; the laws themselves did not say so. What law declared it? The declaration of rights? No:—it was framed in the spirit of wisdom and liberty, and must ever stand a model of intelligible freedom. The act of settlement? No:—it was entitled to the gratitude of every freeman. It limited the throne to a protestant succession, but it never excluded the catholic subject from the possession of his just constitutional privileges. Those who said it did, gave it a lawless and ignorant interpretation; an interpretation which went to commit that violence towards the catholic, for the exercise of which, the dethronement of the house of Stuart, on which event it was grounded, took place. Let not the rights of the subject be spoken of as if they sprung from the law. No, they existed

existed before the law; they constituted its foundation, and could not be abolished by it. Parliaments made not men, but men made parliaments and their privileges. It was now declared, however, that the coronation oath of the king militated against these rights. No, it was impossible.—"See (said Mr. Grattan) to what that would lead you; it would make privileges revocable—penalties, eternal; it would establish your first magistrate a sworn enemy to the franchises of his people, and exhibit him calling his Creator to witness the unnatural obligation! It would make your king a foe not alone to his people, but to the mercies of his legislature." Another objection made to emancipation was, that the catholics did not desire it. Against this, there stood not only their own petitions, but the feelings of man. Then, said his opponents, they could not enjoy it even if they possessed it. What did this argue? Why, that the people were too depraved to feel the privileges of men. "Will you then (said Mr. Grattan) make your crimes your arguments? Will you confess that the severity of your laws has caused a moral depravity? and will you say to the Irish people, 'We have debauched your principles, we have broken your hearts, we have despoiled you of your properties, and now we ask you to oppose our enemy, and lay down your lives for us?'" Those who argued thus, however, belied their laws. The Irish catholics could feel as men; those of estates felt their exclusion from power and from parliament; those of commercial interest felt their exclusion from every corporation; and the commonalty naturally participated in the feelings of their fraternity. He next came to consider the danger—imaginary danger—apprehended from the grant of their civil franchises to the catholics. What was the danger? It proceeded upon the supposition that the enfranchised catholic would annihilate the act of settlement; that parliament would become catholic; and that the protestant security in property, church, and state, would be thereby overthrown. But how could it be supposed that the catholics, in such a case, would take measures to overturn the foundations of their own property? Since the year 1778, the catholics had acquired in Ireland very considerable property; that property depended on protestant titles, and any thing that would affect the original would necessarily interfere with the security and possession of the derivative property. The interest in landed property of the great mass of the catholic body depended on the titles of protestant proprietors; and upon this point he might assume two propositions: the first was, that the bulk of the catholic property depended on protestant titles; this, he firmly believed, though he could not be certain it was so: the second was, that the bulk of the catholic property was held under protestant proprietors. The danger therefore that a parliament, if catholic, would overturn the sources and foundation of catholic property, was absolutely impossible. He should next advert more particularly to the arguments urged against the influence of the catholic religion and the principles of the catholic body. These arguments could be reduced to six criminal propositions. The first was, that the majority of the catholics of Ireland were worse than idolaters. The second, that the result

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of the conduct of Great Britain to the Irish catholics was to reduce them to a state of unexampled depravity. The third, that the fundamental law of Great Britain was inconsistent with the grant of civil franchises to the catholics of Ireland. The fourth, that the king of Great Britain and Ireland was sworn, at his coronation, against the admission of the rights of the Irish catholics. The fifth, that the protestant law was hostile to the catholic claim. And the sixth, that the protestant church, being supported by the catholic population, was a sufficient ground for disqualifying the catholic body. These were the chief propositions upon which the whole of the arguments against the catholics rested. To what had they led? To laws that were partial—to laws that were arbitrary—to laws that were designed to punish the operations of the mind—to laws that were intended to control the dictates and spirit of religion. These measures were calculated to ruin the empire; for what but ruin could result from dividing the people at a crisis when the fate of the empire was at stake? If they thought the policy upon which such measures were founded just or plausible, they had only to look to Ireland; they had only to contemplate its penal laws, and to consider their operation. The penal laws began in that country about the latter end of the seventeenth century. Of these laws there were two descriptions; one swept away the trade of the country, the other swept away its constitution. That was the age which took from Ireland its importance, because it extinguished its independence: that age deprived the Irish peers of their judicial functions, and transferred the right of trial, in *dernier ressort* to the British house of lords. The liberties of Ireland thus destroyed, what had been the fortune of that country? In the year 1779, eighty years after the penal code had commenced, when trade and commerce had made great progress in other nations, the people and the government of Ireland were ruined. The country could not support the people, and the government was unable to pay the establishment. At that period the establishment was low, because a great part of the army paid by Ireland had been sent to America; but low as it was, the government had not the means to maintain it. The government was not only obliged to borrow 50,000*l.* from the government of this country, but to take from a private gentleman in Ireland 20,000*l.* in order to be enabled to meet the demands upon it. Such was the wretched condition of the government of that country, at that period, that it went as a pauper to the door of a private gentleman to demand the means of supplying bread to the army. The government then felt it necessary to consult the commissioners of the revenue, and found that though the trade was slack, the emigration to America was great. The country was unable to support its population, and they consequently sought in America what was not to be found at home. Commercial exports were suspended, and therefore Ireland was reduced to the necessity of exporting her people. In its perplexity the government then consulted the parliament, which declared that an independent constitution and a free trade were all that would be necessary for a country containing seventeen millions of acres, a rich soil, a temperate climate, great local advantages, and every

every blessing that could be derived from a bountiful Providence, without any noxious or venomous production to impair its physical advantages. With all these favourable circumstances, however, Ireland had been reduced to a ruinous condition by the effects of the penal code, or rather by the vengeance of God, recorded in the acts of its parliament. In 1778, the case began to alter, because in that year the penal code was, for the first time, in part repealed. The repeal then effected was partial and defective; but it gave additional security for freedom. The distribution of justice was next provided for by the independence of the judges. The army was made parliamentary, by the enactment of a mutiny bill, from having been before at the entire disposal of the government. The revenue, by being made annual, was accommodated to the spirit of the constitution. The trade of the nation was rendered free and open—the legislative power claimed and exercised by the parliament of England over that of Ireland was ceded and relinquished; and the Irish parliament, which before could not originate bills, but petition, was established in the full, exclusive, and constitutional power of legislation. The exports soon increased one half; the population increased one-third; the tillage, which antecedently was insufficient to support the population, was able to feed one million inhabitants in addition, and to afford a large surplus for the use of Great Britain. All this national prosperity was the consequence of the independence of Ireland, and the work of its free parliament:—it burst upon the country like the morning, and young Ireland came forth in the pride of her prosperity like a giant rejoicing in strength. All this had happened within ten years. In the year 1782, the linen manufacture exported did not exceed twenty-four millions of yards; in 1792, it amounted to forty millions of yards; so fast had prosperity augmented and crowded upon the country in the short period of ten years. Such had been the vivifying energy and effect of the wise measures then adopted, that even the powers of nature seemed to stand at the right hand of parliament. The legislature had enhanced the means, by suspending the religious animosities of the country—animosities which had invariably proved the bane of its progress, and the source of all its calamities. The parliament had repealed the most injurious of the penal statutes, and Providence opened the gates of its bounty to fructify the efforts of an improved people. Long had Providence scourged his native country by means of her own acts; but the return of a wiser system of policy and law replaced it in the situation to take advantage of the bounty of Heaven, and to profit of its natural capabilities. Why stop short in the career of liberality and justice? Why should the British parliament, when unanimity was so necessary to the safety of the empire, hesitate to pursue an example which had then led to such important national results? The same principle that would unite the protestant and the catholic, must unite every description of men in the empire. The question was vital; for on the liberties of Ireland must depend, and he wished the house so to consider it, the stability of the British empire. It was not his intention, on that account, to enforce his argument by an enumeration of the

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kingdoms overthrown, the dynasties subverted, the nations destroyed, or the empires erased from amongst the powers of the earth, by means of a blind and infatuated perseverance in the policy he was arguing against. He spoke to the justice of the parliament, and such an appeal required not the aid or the authority of calamitous examples.

The question was lost by a large majority, as was a similar one in the upper house.

May 21st. Mr. Brande rose to submit to the consideration of the house the motion respecting parliamentary reform, of which he had given notice previously to the recess. When he considered the vast importance of this great question—when he looked to the internal situation of the country at the present moment—when he perceived that much of its difficulty, and all its danger, arose from withholding a moderate reform in parliament from the wishes of the nation; but above all, when he contemplated the essential importance of this question to the liberties and rights of the empire, he felt the weight of the task he had undertaken: all the difficulties that belonged to it pressed upon his imagination; and he became sensible of his inability to do justice to the question. Before he proceeded to the consideration of the evils that existed, and the remedy to be applied, he begged to say a few words as to the mode which he proposed to pursue. The grievance, as he had stated, was universally admitted. Every man thought that a reform in parliament was necessary, but most men were alarmed at any idea of sudden or violent reform. He was ready to admit that he was one of those who felt this alarm; and however partial he might be to his own plan, his intention was to move for a committee, in which it might undergo a vigilant revision, and he would have the opportunity of adopting any amendments which might be recommended. His first step therefore would be to move, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of that house, and to suggest what remedies might be applied to any evils that existed. But previously to his making that motion, he felt it a duty he owed to the house to state specifically the plan which he had in contemplation to recommend. The first and greatest evil that existed was, that so many members of that house were nominated by individuals, the proprietors of decayed boroughs. The remedy for this evil was to be found in the good old constitutional practice of the legislature. He was not disposed to look to any innovation; he should not consult any fanciful theory or speculative system: he would be guided by the sound practice of the British constitution, and in that he should find means enough to remedy the evil of which he complained. It was well known to have been the practice of old to relieve on their application, particular boroughs from the *onus* of sending representatives to parliament. The same principle would authorize the disfranchisement of such boroughs as no longer possessed property or population to entitle them to such a right. This principle had been uniformly acted upon; and he trusted that on the present occasion it would be applied by that house, in order to correct the defects in the state of the representation. He trusted that the decayed boroughs, whose representatives were sent to parliament at the

the nomination of individuals, would be disfranchised, and the right of returning members to that house transferred to more opulent and populous places. There could be no question that it would be more desirable to have in that house members uninfluenced, than such whose opinions and votes must be controlled by the individuals who nominated them. The remedy was pointed out by the constitution; and the only difficulty that occurred to him was, how they were to ascertain what boroughs were so decayed as to be proper objects for disfranchisement. There were, he had reason to know, above thirty boroughs which had not fifty voters each, and the representatives for which were consequently nominated by the proprietors of the boroughs. But it would be for the committee, if he should succeed, as he hoped he should, in his motion, to ascertain what boroughs were in that state, and to recommend to the house to disfranchise them; a recommendation which he trusted that house would act upon. Now that he was adverting to that part of the question, he should beg to make one or two observations on the right of election. That right, he must contend, could not exist in depopulated and uninhabited places. Property real and personal, and population, must and ought to be the basis of such a right. When a place became deficient in population, and no property existed in it but what was possessed by the individual claiming the power of nomination, then the place must cease to possess the right of returning representatives to parliament; and no consequences could result from its being suffered to remain with them, but such as were injurious and detrimental to the nation. That property and population formed the basis of representation, he collected from the spirit of the constitution. It was a principle recognised by our ancestors, and he found it pervading every one of their measures respecting the constitution of parliament. The elective franchise for counties had very wisely been given to the freeholders of such counties. He should not think of altering that arrangement, but was of opinion that the copyholders should also be allowed to vote. He could see no ground in reason or principle why they should not, equally with the freeholders, be permitted to vote for county members. In this part of his plan, therefore, he should propose no innovation. He recognised the principle of making property the basis of the elective franchise; for property would, inevitably, possess its influence, in spite of the theory of the philosopher, or the violence of the people. The counties, therefore, he should propose to leave as they are at present, with the exception of adding the copyholders to the freeholders; and after the destruction of the feudal system in this country, he could see no objection to a bill for enfranchising copyholders. In the metropolis, and other popular places, he should propose that the right of voting should be given to all householders paying parochial and other taxes. This was a principle that had been recognised and acted upon by their ancestors: and in proposing to act upon it, he thought that he removed the principal objection to reform. He had thus given a general outline of his plan, which would go to obviate the two principal objections to the present state of the representation. Other gentlemen might consider other objections of

more importance; and particularly that respecting the duration of parliaments. Upon this question he had bestowed much and earnest attention, and he found it one of enormous difficulty, but of equal importance. Annual parliaments would leave the representative too little accustomed to business to be competent to his duties in that house. He, for his part, would be inclined to take a middle course between the extremes of annual and septennial parliaments, and to recommend triennial parliaments; which, without the evils of either, would possess all the advantages of both. But the difficulties in changing the duration of the parliament would be immense, unless a concurrent change were to be made in the mode of making the returns. On this head much discussion had taken place, and various opinions were entertained. Some thought that the returns should be made by districts; others, that the votes should be taken by districts. To making the return by districts he had strong objections; of voting by districts he approved, for if the votes were to be taken by districts it would save much expense, and enable those, who at present are deterred by a consideration of the expense from offering themselves, to become candidates. Nothing need prevent the sheriffs from taking the votes throughout the different districts, without subjecting the candidate to the expense of bringing up the freeholders from the extremities of the county to the place of the election. The votes might also be collected throughout the different parishes in populous towns. Unless some such arrangement should be made, it would be impossible to establish triennial parliaments without producing mischiefs of the most dangerous tendency. He had thus briefly gone through the statement of the plan he had to recommend; and, in order to prevent all misapprehension or misconstruction of its nature, he must beg to recapitulate its principal features. The subject had been repeatedly discussed, and a great variety of opinions were entertained upon it. No man could therefore enter into the question without feeling much difficulty, and some inconvenience. To guard against misconception, therefore, he should re-state that he did not mean to touch the right of voting for county members, except by letting in copyholders, and assimilating the mode of voting in Scotland to the practice in this country: that whilst he left the right of voting untouched, he should propose to disfranchise the boroughs in which the members were returned upon the nomination of individuals; and as the numbers of the house would be diminished, in that proportion to transfer the right of returning such members to populous towns, and to apply any surplus to populous counties: that he would recommend the duration of parliament to be made triennial, together with a concurrent arrangement for collecting the votes by districts and parishes. This was what he had to propose: but there was another point remaining, to which it was necessary to call the attention of the house, and which would require a remedy, viz. the number of persons holding places and seats in that house. Something was necessary to be done on that head; but he was ready to admit that he did not think that all persons holding offices should be excluded from that house. He

was

was confident, however, that persons holding offices without responsibility should not be suffered to have seats in that house. He hoped, therefore, that a bill would be brought in to exclude such persons from parliament. On these grounds he had felt it a duty he owed his country to bring forward his motion, and he trusted the house would give it all the attention it deserved. He concluded by moving:

"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in that house, to consider of the most effectual means of reforming it, and to report the same, with their opinions thereon, to the house."

After a long debate, in which the principal speakers took a part, the motion was lost by a large majority: there being

For the motion -	115
Against it - - -	234
Majority	119

June 18. Lord Grey, in the house of peers, on this day brought forward his motion, "On the state of the nation," which he introduced by a most argumentative and eloquent speech. Having apologized for his own inability for the performance of the task that he had undertaken; and having averred that the present motion had the full and entire approbation of lord Grenville, absent through indisposition; he began his address by exposing the weakness of his majesty's servants in the administration of the government, and their inability to the performance of the great duties devolved on them in the present eventful period of national warfare and calamity. His lordship avowed himself a friend to peace; but seeing no prospect of it, and believing that ministers were equally with himself desirous of it, if properly attainable, he did not think it necessary to interfere on that subject. "When," said the noble speaker, "I state to the house the difficulties which I feel, under the present circumstances of the world, to stand between us and the blessing which must result from a cessation of war, I am aware of the predicament in which I am placed. I have no wish to introduce topics which in their operation might tend to foment those mutual feelings of acrimony and irritation between this country and its enemy, and of course lead to the prolongation of the miseries of war; but neither can I consent to merge in the splendour of that individual who is now the master, not of France, but of Europe, the reflection of all those acts of his, which it is impossible not to lament and to condemn. Unrivalled as is his military glory, my admiration of it shall never be exacted at the sacrifice of our moral feelings; while, on the other hand, I am tenacious of avoiding any course calculated, by the diffusion of irritating language, to prolong the miseries of such a conflict. But when I consider that he who now sits exulting over the spoils of prostrate Europe is alone checked in his hopes of universal dominion, and in his progress to extended despotism, by the power and resistance of this country, it is impossible but that I must believe him prompted by all those influences which sway the human heart, to look to—as his most desirable object, as that in which all his passions are concentred, and to which all his designs are directed—the overthrow of Great Britain. It is from such impressions, and because I feel their strength and certainty,

that I can never consider the restoration of peace, whenever such an event shall happen, in any other light but as a preparation for a renewal of the contest. Let me not, however, be understood as the enemy to peace. I know I might be told that the same arguments as I have used would apply to France under its ancient government; that the same inveterate hostility to the power and greatness of this country prevailed in as much activity under the rule of its former dynasty—and that such objections were not alone adverse to peace, but went to support the eternal duration of war. Admitting that France under former governments was influenced by a strong hostility to this country, I ask your lordships to contemplate the eventful change that has taken place in the energies of that people, and the extent of her power to bring those energies into execution! France is now mistress of the continent. That dominion for which under Louis XIV. they so actively but ineffectually struggled, she has now acquired. The independence of Europe is lost; the balance of power destroyed. Russia, incapable longer to oppose, is made wholly subservient. The hordes of Italy and Germany are now apportioned to recruit her numerous armies; whilst she has at her disposal the means of all the maritime powers of Europe;—in addition to all those means, the too probable acquisition of the Spanish peninsula. What is the inference from all? It is this: that looking at the extent of the resources of France, considering the spirit by which it is directed, and the character of its government, with its ruler, as I before said, not at the head of France but of Europe, it is on ourselves, and ourselves alone, that we are to depend for our own safety." Here his lordship entered into a view of the contest as carried on in Spain and Portugal, condemning the policy of ministers, as well in respect to the war, as to their want of prudence and œconomy in the national expenditure, in men and in money; and he asked, "Is not this an additional reason to call upon your lordships to give some check to ministers persevering in such a mischievous cause? Ought they not to determine upon some systematic financial arrangement, impressed with the necessity of avoiding any anticipation of our remaining resources, at least without making provision for difficulties foreseen? The next observation I wish to make to your lordships is with reference to your paper circulation. I was one of the committee which was appointed at the period when the bank restriction act was recommended. I had steadily opposed such an expedient, for the evil of that day. I considered it a most novel device to have recourse to, being extremely inconsistent with all the maxims and habits of this country. I did dread that its most pernicious effect would be, to extend the circulation of paper so far that its depreciation would follow, and with that the great and numerous difficulties connected with the remedy of such an evil. That evil has arrived; and yet no step has been taken, on so delicate and important an occasion, by his majesty's government. It is true that the question had been taken up in the other house of parliament; and from the talents and research of an honourable friend of mine, on that committee (Mr. Horner), I had the hopes of deriving much information on that subject. Still, I ask your lordships, if this was not of sufficient

sufficient importance to claim your attention? The inconvenience was universally felt. It was felt in your exchange with foreign countries, and even the operations of war; those operations which that short-sighted policy was intended to serve and assist, were now, by this very measure, as confessed by his majesty's government, crippled and confounded. Connected with our domestic policy, there were many other points; one of peculiar importance was lately before the discussion of your lordships; namely, the catholic question. I will therefore not longer allude to it, but shall on every occasion contend that the sure means of strengthening yourselves against the attacks of the enemy, is by conciliation and confidence towards all classes of the king's subjects." His lordship next touched upon the necessity of œconomical and parliamentary reform: "It is," said he, "in my opinion, incumbent that we look to and correct their abuses, which have arisen through time, have injured the frame and corrupted the practice of our constitution. This correction is to be effected by a temperate, gradual, and judicious reform, suited to the nature of the evil, to the character of the government, and the principles of the constitution. I do not make this avowal to your lordships without the most deliberate circumspection. The question of reform has long been one of my most serious contemplation. I took an active part on that subject at an early age. I pursued my object with all that eager hope, and sanguine expectation so natural to the ardour of youth. I will not say that in subsequent times there have not been some differences from my former impressions; but of this I assure your lordships, that upon its great grounds it never has been abandoned by me. To the temperate and judicious reformation of abuses I am now a decided friend; and whenever it shall be brought forward, from me it shall receive a sincere and anxious assistance. But I never did nor ever will rest my views of salutary reform upon the grounds of theoretic perfection; but am ever ready to correct by the constitution a practical inconvenience, where that inconvenience is practically felt. I disapprove of all those fanciful speculations in which some men would wish to engage. Upon that point I was formerly misrepresented by that description of persons who at this day continue the same course. The folly and presumption of the present day went to take up a new doctrine, that every branch and exercise of our constitution was defined by law, and only to be found in the statute book. I have ever understood, from all those able men, that the great and fundamental blessing of the British constitution was fixed in the co-operation and harmony of all its powers, all leading to the great object of a free and efficient government." [Here the noble lord entered into a vindication of his conduct in the year 1793, as a member of the "Friends of the People," in opposition to ministers, and to those also who went the lengths of major Cartwright and others, members of the "Constitution Society."] "These," said he, "were my opinions in 1793. I now continue to retain them. These were the opinions of the men with whom I disclaimed all intercourse then: such are the chimæras of those persons with whom I disclaim intercourse now. I do not impute improper motives to any of

them, although I feel how uncharitably they have attributed motives to me. I accuse no man of bad intentions; although, from recent exposures and shameful conspiracies every day bringing into light, one is almost disposed to think some of those loud in their cry of public purity, to have violated all those principles of honour and morality which form the only sure basis of social life. In recurring to the agitation that prevails abroad relative to the privileges of both houses of parliament, I feel it would be indecorous to advert to the question specifically. But generally I may say that these privileges must, like the other great principles of government, rest upon their utility and their known and admitted existence. Next, whether they were not necessary to support the legislature in the discharge of its functions against the crown? They were necessary; and if the deliberations of parliament could be impeded by popular insult and commotion, why not as necessary to suppress the *civium ardor prava jubentium* as the unconstitutional invasions of the crown on the freedom of parliament? That these privileges have ever been considered as the undoubted privileges of parliament we have the authority of that great statesman Mr. Fox, whose knowledge of the constitution and of constitutional law cannot be disputed, and who in the clearest and most forcible language stated that to be his decided opinion, an opinion which was never attempted to be controverted by his political antagonist Mr. Pitt, and who there is no doubt held the same sentiments. It is, however, unnecessary for me to rest the case upon authorities: the privileges of parliament arise from the necessity of their existence, in order to preserve to parliament the due exercise of those important functions with which it is intrusted. Those who thus attack the privileges of parliament choose to forget that a supreme power must rest somewhere, and must be inherent in some part of every constitution. The argument they apply to parliament would go to an extent far beyond the wishes of those who use it, and would tend to the annihilation of some of the most valuable rights of the subject. If they would not allow to the house of commons the supreme power over the public purse—if they would not allow to this house the supreme judicial power—if they would not allow to the crown the more dangerous power of appointing to offices, and the command-in-chief of the army,—by what argument will they maintain that jurors ought to be intrusted with the power they exercise? Sir Francis Burdett says that he is a martyr to the good old cause for which Sydney and Russel bled on the scaffold; but Sydney and Russel did not fall martyrs to their resistance to any stretch or undue exercise of the power or privileges of parliament, but to their attempting to curb and restrain the arbitrary exercise of the power of the crown; and how did they fall martyrs to that cause, but by the verdicts of juries?—It was the verdict of a jury that sent them to their deaths, of a jury influenced by the most base and profligate judges. It is very far from my wish, my lords, to detract in the least from that most valuable institution, the trial by jury; but let those who would argue from the abuse of a privilege or a power, against the use of it, consider to what an extent that argument might be carried.

fied. It is asked, however, Will you allow a power to be exercised by the house of commons which the king does not possess? My lords, the crown with the command-in-chief of the army requires no such power—to the house of commons it is necessary for the due exercise of their functions. There may happen instances in which this power may be needlessly or improperly exercised; but I must do this justice to all governments for a long series of years past, to observe that there has been no disposition on the part of any of them to stretch their power to an extent which would render it burdensome to the people. The free discussion of public measures has been allowed to as great an extent as is compatible with any free government. Against the abuse of such a power in the house of commons, a security arises from the very constitution of the house. Such a power vested in the crown might be frequently arbitrarily exercised; but it is not likely that the members of this house would combine together to abuse the power with which it is intrusted, still less likely that the members of the house of commons, who are elected by the people, and who to the people must return, would combine together arbitrarily or tyrannically to exercise a power against the people, by which themselves, as a part of the people, must soon be affected. I am aware that what I have said upon this point may not be a popular doctrine; but however pleasing popularity may be, I cannot for a moment hesitate, when popularity is on one side, and my duty on the other, which to choose. I cannot but feel a deep regret if I am deprived of my popularity by any misunderstanding of my views and objects on the part of the people; but it excites my indignation if I am robbed of my popularity by the basest misrepresentations, and the vilest delusions practised by men who, without any regard to truth, sacrifice every really virtuous and patriotic object to the shouts of popular clamour. To obtain such a species of popularity requires neither virtue nor talents. Indeed men without virtue or talents are the best fitted to acquire such a popularity—men who, as we have seen in the present day, set themselves above all the decencies of private life, and above all those courtesies which men who really endeavour to do their duty, concede even to their adversaries. Much more might be said, my lords, upon the various topics to which I have adverted, but I must at present content myself with moving an address to his majesty." [This address will be found among the Public Papers in another part of the volume.]

This motion excited a very animated debate, in which almost all the leading members of the house took a part: but on the division the numbers including proxies were,

For the motion - -	72
Against it - - -	134
Majority against the address	62

June 15.—Mr. Brougham, in the house of commons, rose to call the attention of the house to the state of the slave-trade; a subject, he said, of the first importance; and though it was neither a personal nor a party question; though it touched rather no higher than the honour of the country and the house, and the interests of humanity, he trusted it would receive that favourable consideration which it had before experienced. The ques-

tion was, what steps could be taken to watch over the execution of the sentence which the house had pronounced? It was four years since Mr. Fox made his last motion in that house, and his last speech there, he believed, in favour of the abolition. Since he proposed a resolution, pledging the house to the abolition of the traffic, and an address to the crown to procure the concurrence of foreign states in the same great object. An address to the same effect was agreed to in the other house with equal unanimity, and next year two noble friends of his (Grenville and Grey) followed up these preliminary steps, and by their exertions, second only to those of the member for Yorkshire, who was prevented by indisposition from attending this day, the abolition bill passed. That measure, which had been so long retarded, as some thought from the slowness with which truth made its way, or, as others imagined, from the want of zeal in its official supporters, experienced none of the obstacles which it formerly met with, and passed by a majority greater, perhaps, than was ever witnessed on an important contested question. The friends of the abolition, however, never expected that an act of parliament would at once put an end to a traffic which had been carried on so long, and had taken such a deep root. But both he and others had certainly over-rated the effects of the act, and under-rated the wickedness of the slave-trader, and the infatuation of the planter. What had already been done had not been sufficient to answer the purpose. He hoped then that the house would favour him with its attention, while from the papers on the table, and whatever private information he had been able to procure, he laid before it a statement, which would in some measure enable it to appreciate the extent of the evil, and to apply the proper remedy. He then proceeded to call the attention of the house to the state of the slave-trade in foreign countries; in Spain, Portugal, and America: and having given many affecting details relating to this subject, and pointed out the manner in which foreigners carried on the traffic, he came with great pain to the evasions of the abolition act in this country. All the various means which the ingenuity of unprincipled avarice had been able to suggest had been adopted for the purpose. Vessels were fitted out at Liverpool, as if for innocent traffic with Africa. The cargoes for the most part were the same as those carried out for the purchase of gold dust and ivory. That part which was necessary for the slave ships was concealed so as to elude the search of the officers. The vessels wanted the bulk-head, &c. which was the distinguishing mark of slave-ships. Having got to sea, and cleared the Channel by four days sail, the carpenters set to work, with planks previously prepared, to fit the vessels for the reception of slaves. For better concealment, some of the sailors were Portuguese, and sometimes the master. But the never-failing mark was, that in some capacity or other an ancient hoary slave-trader was always to be found aboard, by whose cunning they were enabled to escape detection. Mr. Brougham then called the attention of the house to the record of the condemnation of the *Commercia Deskio*, a large vessel which had been seized in the river by means of a friend of his, who having held a high situation in Sierra

Sierra Leone was acquainted with the arts of the slave-traders, and had submitted to the pain of a voyage for the purpose of more completely exposing them. He gave a list of the contents of the vessel, which proved the object for which she had been fitted out. Having mentioned the number of guns, the stock of provision, &c. &c. he stated 55 dozen of padlocks, 197 iron shackles for the feet, 93 pair of hand-cuffs, &c. &c. and for 800 slaves in a long voyage, out of their vast humanity, one small medicine chest, value five pounds sterling! The vessel was fitted out with British capital, and, he believed, insured here. He had before mentioned that six vessels had been fitted out by a detestable series of crimes at one single port of this country. It was now three years since that traffic had been abolished by law, and therefore he might indulge now in an expression of feeling, which delicacy before rendered it proper to suppress. The slave-traders were not only like other smugglers employed in the violation of law, but were engaged in the pursuit of crimes; and to call them traders or merchants was an abuse of the term. He would not deem so lightly of trade, so calculated to promote humanity and civilization, so alienated in its nature from murder and rapine, and flourishing most by peace and fair dealing; he would not deem so lightly of it as to call those traders and merchants, who still dared to be guilty of the worst of crimes for the basest of possible purposes. He could conceive some palliation for murder, for piracy, for public robbery, &c. Revenge might be palliated, and the boldness with which the pirate and the robber exposed themselves threw a sort of gloss over their crimes. But these suborners of murder employed others as bad as themselves, except that they were not so cowardly. They ought no longer to be called traders, but Liverpool suborners of piracy and assassination. Before he concluded, he wished to ask, whether it was not possible to execute our own law better? For that purpose he suggested, first, that we should endeavour to obtain the cession of a Portuguese island, for some years, or in perpetuity, which stood in the middle of our own African coast. This would put in our possession a range of 500 miles. Secondly, the number of cruisers on the African coast was too scanty; the cruisers ought to be sent to Africa, and not to America. The slave ships were under the necessity of remaining there for six or eight weeks to get cargoes, and had less chance of escape. The cruisers ought to be light vessels, with a great number of boats, to follow the slave-ships into the creeks. Six or seven vessels could hardly be better employed, and only for a short time. If the trade were once rooted out, it would not readily commence again. The industry and capital of these people must find some other channel. Some would engage, perhaps, in piracy, while others took the highway, so that the law might at length dispose of them. All means of stopping the trade were as nothing, compared with what might arise from the feelings of mankind when its nature and effects should be impartially considered. He should have called the attempt to stop it by pecuniary penalty as absurd, if the law had not gone further. When it was observed how easily acts of parliament might be passed, making those acts capital to which the mind

mind had been long accustomed; when the difficulty experienced by an honourable and learned friend of his in doing away the capital part from the stealing of five shillings was considered; when it was remarked that lord Ellenborough by one act, for which he honoured him, created twelve capital offences; when forgeries were so severely punished, while the opportunities and temptations to commit it were so numerous,—could any one hesitate to say that this ought to be punished as a felony?—Adverting again to the record before mentioned, he calculated the value of the ship's expenses of a voyage, &c. at 20,000*l.* 800 negroes at 100*l.* a head, the present price, would produce 80,000*l.* Here then would be a profit of 60,000*l.* Was this then to be stopped by a pecuniary penalty? If they succeeded in one voyage out of five, they would have an abundant profit. If they fitted out 10 or 20 vessels, and succeeded with only three or four, their profits were ample; while, whether successful or not, they spread devastation over Africa. While you levied your pence, they would pocket their pounds, and laugh at your two-penny penalty. He next adverted to the severity of the 10th of George the Second, with respect to watermen overloading their boats with people; in which cases, if one was drowned by any accident, the boatman was to be transported for seven years. The punishment would be more applicable to the slave merchant. It had been said that the Divine Legislator had not forbidden this crime. He would show that he had. "Whosoever stealeth a man and selleth him shall surely be put to death:" and our gloss on that was, "Whosoever stealeth, torturetb, and selleth a man for interminable slavery, shall be fined 20*l.*" He hoped the house would leave nothing unattempted to give full effect to the abolition act, which he called the most holy of laws: and concluded by moving, that a humble address be presented to his majesty, stating in substance, that the abolition law had not been attended with the desired effect in putting an end to this traffic, beseeching his majesty to take further steps for promoting this great object, &c. &c.

This address was carried; as was another, moved by lord Holland, on the same subject, in the house of peers.

Such is a brief sketch of the proceedings in parliament, in one of its most eventful sessions; to do justice to which would require a volume much larger than that of which it of necessity makes but a small part. On the 21st of June the royal assent was notified, in the usual form, to various bills; after which the lord chancellor delivered a speech in his majesty's name to both houses, and then prorogued the parliament.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Discontent and Indignation of the Nation on account of the Walcheren Expedition—Meeting of the Common-Hall respecting the Rejection of their Petition on the Subject; and the Mode of presenting their Addresses to the King—Remarks on their Resolutions—Berkshire Meeting—Sketch of the Proceedings and Speeches there—Lord Folkestone's Speech—Address of the Meeting to the King—Opposed—Arguments used against it—Meeting of Parliament—Ministers endeavour to prevent or keep back an Inquiry into the Failure of the Expedition—The Inquiry begun—Heads under which it may be classed—The Object of the Expedition, to destroy the Docks, Arsenals, and Shipping in the Scheldt; this Object examined by itself—To assist Austria; this considered by itself, and in connexion with the other Object; not likely to have acted as a Diversion in favour of Austria—A Landing in the North of Germany much more likely.

THE disaster and disgrace which had attended the expedition to the Scheldt,—an expedition almost unprecedented in the annals of this country in point of naval and military force, and certainly unequalled in point of expense,—made a deep impression of indignation and discontent on the minds of all classes and ranks of men throughout the British dominions. Besides the general causes for these feelings, arising from a failure of the object for which the expedition had been equipped and sent out, there were others still more galling and peculiar, to which the apparently wanton sacrifice of lives, to the pestilential climate of an island useless after the main purpose of the expedition had been abandoned, gave rise. The citizens of London were the first to petition his majesty to cause an inquiry to be instituted, in order that the causes of the failure and the attendant disgrace and sacrifice of lives and treasure might be traced out, and fixed upon the guilty person or persons, and that due punishment might be inflicted upon them. We have already stated in our volume for 1809, that the answer of his majesty did not encourage any very sanguine hopes, that an inquiry, such as would be effectual and satisfactory, would be instituted: indeed, his majesty expressly declared, that in his judgement no investigation was necessary, but that parliament would of course, when they met, take such steps as to them might seem proper, and demanded by the circumstances of the case. The royal answer also reminded the city of London, that it was inconsistent with justice to condemn before investigation; and, by this inculcation of candid sentiment, gave to the minds of many people a presentiment, that, if ever the investigation was actually set on foot, it would fail to detect any culpable mismanagement either in the planning or in the executing of the expedition, and consequently fail to fix upon any individual the blame resulting

resulting from its disgrace and disaster.

The address from the common hall gave rise to some circumstances, which require and deserve particular notice and attention. It had been long suspected, that since the weak state of his majesty's sight prevented him from reading the addresses that might be presented to him, they seldom reached the royal ear, unless they contained sentiments favourable to ministers, and approving of their measures. The usual channel through which addresses pass, or are supposed to pass, to his majesty, renders it very easy to stop them in their progress, and very difficult for those whose opinions and wishes they contain, to determine whether they have ever reached the sovereign. They are sent to the office of the secretary of state for the home department, and it is supposed to be his bounden duty to take especial care that all of them, without exception or delay, whatever be the cast of the political sentiments they contain, are communicated to the king. As, however, it may happen, that a secretary of state is too much of a courtier to present an address which holds forth opinions, or states facts, either unpalatable to the royal ear, or which expose the unpopularity of that ministry of which he forms a part; the common hall were desirous that their address should be presented immediately to his majesty, in such a manner, and at such a time, as should prevent the possibility of its being mislaid or neglected. They likewise considered it as their right to present their petitions and addresses to the king at the levee, and not, as the addresses of other corporate bodies are presented, through the medium of the secretary of state. For this purpose the remembrancer of the city of London called at the office of the secretary of state, and gave intimation that the address would be presented on the next levee day: he was told, however, that it must be left with the secretary of state, to be by him presented to the king. As this was refused, the lord mayor took it with him when he went to the levee, and there told the secretary of state, he wished to present it in any way which would be least troublesome to his majesty. The secretary of state peremptorily objected to this, and likewise to a demand of an audience which was made by one of the sheriffs.

In consequence of these unsuccessful attempts to present the address directly to the king, a common hall was held on the 9th of January. After the report of the lord mayor and sheriffs on the subject had been read, some very bold and spirited resolutions were passed almost unanimously. In the 4th resolution they expressed their conviction, "that all complaints of the misconduct and incapacity of his majesty's servants are most likely to be nugatory, if such complaints must pass through the hands of those very servants; and the people can have no security that their complaints are heard." The 5th resolution accused the person who had advised his majesty not to receive the petition of the livery in the accustomed mode, of a scandalous breach of duty—of having violated one of the first principles of the constitution, and abused the confidence of the sovereign. The 7th resolution was grounded on the very questionable right of constituents to instruct their representatives in parliament; which, while it was cheerfully admitted by Mr. Coombe, one of the members of the

the city, was denied by the others. By this resolution their members were instructed to originate or to support every motion which had for its object an inquiry into the causes of the failures of our continental expeditions—the violation of the subject's right of petitioning—the wasteful expenditure of the public money—the correction of public abuses—the abolition of unnecessary places and pensions—and the restoration of the original purity, independence, and duration of parliament. The sheriffs, attended by the remembrancer, were ordered, without delay, to wait upon his majesty, and to deliver into his majesty's hand, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, a copy of the other resolutions.

These proceedings of the livery of London will be censured or applauded, according to the particular light in which they are viewed. By some it will with great apparent force and plausibility be urged, that as the state of his majesty's sight, and his increasing age and infirmities, rendered it impossible that he should personally receive and read the petitions that were presented to him, it was indecorous and unfeeling in the highest degree to endeavour to force the petition of the livery of London upon him, especially when their right to present it at the levee, to the king in person, was very questionable. It may also be urged that the right and the benefit of petitioning is not in the smallest degree affected or weakened by the mode in which a petition is presented or received; and that it is absurd, and argues a very blameable degree of party violence, to infer a plan, or even a wish, to deprive a subject of his right of petitioning, merely because a proper regard to his majesty's infirmities or ease has dictated some variation in the mode by which the opinions and wishes of his people are communicated to him. On the other hand, it may be contended, that the citizens of London were perfectly justified in every thing they did, since, unless their petitions were immediately presented to the king in person, they not only did not know whether they ever would reach him, but even had the strongest reason to apprehend, from what it was ascertained had actually taken place, that they never would pass out of the possession of the secretary of state, if they applied to him as the medium of making their opinions and wishes known to his majesty. Could they be assured that their sovereign regularly received the petitions and addresses of his subjects—to insist on the right of the livery to present *theirs* to the king in person, merely because they had usually enjoyed that privilege, would undoubtedly have discovered a greater fondness for the form than the reality of the blessings which Britons enjoy; and not to have given up this privilege, out of regard to the infirm state of the monarch, on the assurance that their petitions would still equally reach the throne, would, indeed, have justly exposed them to the character of unfeeling subjects. The sovereign, no doubt, has a right to determine the mode and time when he will receive the petitions of his people; but the people as certainly have a right to object to every medium, which will suffer to pass through it only such petitions and addresses as commend ministers and approve their measures, while it effectually stops all such as are intended

intended to put the monarch in possession of the complaints of his subjects against them.

Berkshire was the first county the freeholders and inhabitants of which met for the purpose of laying their complaints before his majesty in the form of an address, arising not only from the failure of the expedition to the Scheldt, but also from the general mismanagement and incapacity imputed to ministers; the inroads which had been made on the constitution; the extreme pressure of the taxes; and the misery resulting to the lower classes from their increase, and the co-existent decline of trade; and in a more especial manner the grievances to which the operation and mode of levying the assessed taxes subjected the people. As these topics of complaint existed more or less generally throughout the kingdom, though they were no where expressed in such unequivocal and strong language, the speeches and proceedings of the meeting of the inhabitants of Berkshire require particular attention and notice.

The business of the meeting was opened by lord Folkestone, who in some preliminary remarks contended with great plausibility and force for the right even of those who were not entitled to vote for members of parliament, to attend and give their votes at meetings convened for the purpose of conveying the wishes and sentiments of the county at large, either to his majesty or to the houses of parliament. There is certainly much to be urged in behalf of this proposition: it by no means follows, that the want of the right to vote for members of parliament ought to imply or to be accompanied with a legal incapacity to state their sentiments to the throne or to the legislature, especially where they feel themselves aggrieved, and wish to state their grievances, and apply for a remedy. When it is urged that the house of commons does not represent the nation at large, because the members are elected by so comparatively a small portion of it, it is replied, that though the electors do not comprise nearly all those for whom the right of voting is claimed, yet that the members, when chosen, do in their deliberations and measures regard themselves as representing the nation at large, and not merely that portion of it by whom they were returned to parliament. If then it is proper and desirable, and even necessary, that parliament should be put in possession of the sentiments of those for whose welfare they are bound to deliberate and to act, all who may be or have been affected by their deliberations and actions, and not solely those who may have elected them, ought most undoubtedly to have the right of petition. Arguments of a similar nature apply with equal or perhaps with greater force to the propriety of admitting the freeholders at large, without regard to the qualification of the freehold, to state their sentiments, and to give their votes, respecting addresses or petitions to the sovereign.

Lord Folkestone, after these preliminary observations, proceeded to draw a contrasted picture between the state of Europe at present, and the state in which it was placed at the beginning of the French revolution. No person who cast his eyes on the map of the continent—who measured with his imagination the immense power which the ruler of France possessed over almost every

every portion of Europe, and who at the same time reflected that this man's predominant and unremitted object was the destruction of Britain, could hesitate in believing, that we could not be saved, unless there were found united in those who directed our concerns, the practical and useful talents of great statesmen joined to a close and regular attention to rigid œconomy, and an open and undisguised attachment to the genuine principles of the British constitution. A ministry in whom these qualifications existed would possess the confidence of the people: with this confidence, aided by a wise and judicious application of the means, military, naval, and pecuniary, which from their situation and offices they possessed, Britons might resist every attempt and exertion of her inveterate and implacable foe. But if, on the contrary, the measures of ministry had a manifest and intentional tendency to weaken the empire, by alienating the minds, and separating the interests, of a large portion of its subjects; if, while the nation was groaning under the constantly increasing pressure of taxation, they saw the money won by days of hard and incessant toil, either lavished upon unworthy objects, or spent in fruitless and disgraceful operations; if they found that a deaf ear was turned to their complaints, and that no promise or prospect of amelioration was held forth: if, above all, they perceived the enemy proceeding regularly and steadily towards the accomplishment of his great object, partly by means of the talent he applied to it, and partly by the blindness, the imbecility, and corruption of the continental governments, against whom he directed his attacks; it required no gift of prophecy to foretel that the glorious and happy days of that country were fast drawing to a close, where the ministry and the people viewed each other with distrust; where the former rested not on the confidence and good-will of the latter, and where the latter had ceased to look up to and respect the former.

In particular illustration of the opinions he advanced respecting the incapacity of ministers, lord Folkestone referred to the state of Ireland, for whose inhabitants nothing had been done to soothe and conciliate, too much to gall and alienate them; who wished to regard us as brothers, and whom nothing but the most aggravated and repeated insults and degradation would compel utterly to cast away the hope that they might in reality form one kingdom with Britain. The introduction of such a number of foreign troops into the island called forth from his lordship some very pointed remarks; in the course of which he recalled to the recollection of the meeting, the noble stand which our ancestors made, in the time of king William, against the introduction of even a few Dutch regiments.

Lord Folkestone next called the attention of the meeting to the principal object for which they had been called together—the expedition to the Scheldt. The armament which had been equipped and sent on this expedition amounted in the different departments to above 100,000 men: and what had this mighty force accomplished? Its triumphs and successes might be summed up in a few words—Flushing and Middleburgh, the latter of which alone was a fortified town, had been taken, but not retained. In the short space of 24 hours the expedition reached its destination:

after

after that, nothing occurred but delay, productive of the utmost disgrace and disaster. That army which, if properly conducted and managed, was fully able not merely to have accomplished every object of its equipment, but even to have turned the fortunes of Europe, was suffered to waste its strength in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren.

That the failure and disgrace of this expedition arose, not from any causes over which ministry could have no control, and which they could not possibly have foreseen, but from a radical imbecility in their plans and measures, was rendered evident from the line of conduct they had pursued in Spain. Had they possessed talents more equal and suited to the high situation they occupied, and principles more congenial to the spirit of the British constitution, they would have cherished and called forth, instead of checking and discouraging, the rising spirit of freedom that was rapidly spreading itself over Spain. But their dread of liberty was so great, as to blind them to the perception, that if Bonaparte were to be foiled or conquered, it must be by a nation of freemen; and that such a nation the Spaniards might have been made, if proper measures with respect to them had been followed by the British ministry when they were first applied to by the Spanish deputies.

Lord Folkestone concluded a long and elaborate speech, in which, amidst a good deal of party violence and over-colouring, there was too much truth and justice, with moving an address to his majesty. In this address, most of the topics which he had dwelt upon in his speech are introduced; and the intrigues and squabbles among his majesty's ministers, at the very time when the armies of the empire were perishing by famine and the sword in Spain and by disease in Walcheren, are held forth to indignant reprobation in very strong terms. The address concluded with alluding to his majesty's answer to a similar petition from the mayor and common council of the city of London, in which his majesty was pleased to refer the petitioners to the wisdom of parliament. "We presume to state to your majesty, that we have seen for years past, with the deepest concern, that attempts to procure parliamentary inquiry upon the subject of our national misfortunes, have in all cases been unsuccessful; and in the course of the last session we witnessed, with not less astonishment than indignation, that a system was adopted, and almost proclaimed, of protecting public men from public inquiry: a system which is in direct defiance of the uniform practice of the best periods of our history, and the most undoubted and invaluable principles of our constitution. It is on this account that we presume to prefer this our petition to your majesty; in doing which, we have the happiness to exercise that great and constitutional privilege which was attempted to be taken from our ancestors by the arbitrary and unprincipled advisers of the house of Stuart, but which was for ever secured to us by that glorious revolution, which produced the happy succession of your majesty's family to the throne of these realms."

To the opinions expressed by lord Folkestone respecting the character and conduct of ministers; the arguments and facts by which he supported these opinions; and to the whole tenor and object of the address to his majesty, objections were

were urged, more remarkable for the imputations of disaffection which they contained, than for their solidity, or application to the purpose of the meeting. Mr. Matthew Montague was the principal speaker against lord Folkestone. He had recourse to the usual reply, that it would be improper, indecorous, and argue a want of respect and confidence, to come forward with complaints and accusations on the subject of the expedition to Walcheren, till it was known whether parliament meant to institute an investigation into the causes which produced its failure. If this mode of reasoning is grounded in truth, it would evidently go the length of putting a stop to almost every expression of the public wishes or sentiments in the form of petition or address, either to his majesty or to the houses of parliament. If the feelings and expectations of the nation were not regularly and publicly made known to government, they might not themselves perceive any necessity for inquiry; whereas the desire to satisfy the people at large of what they themselves were satisfied, would, or at least ought to, operate to produce measures on their part, which otherwise they would not have thought themselves called upon to adopt. Let us suppose, for instance, that ministers, after full and impartial investigation, were convinced that no blame attached to any person on account of the failure of the expedition to the Scheldt, and that therefore they had come to a resolution not to institute an inquiry on the subject; but that the nation at large were of an opposite opinion, and strongly and unanimously expressed a hope that parliament would set on foot a complete and satisfactory investigation:—Would it not become the duty; nay, would it not be the policy and interest of ministry, if there really existed documents and evidence which had convinced them no blame was imputable,—to change their resolution, and, in compliance with the wishes of the people, to institute the most full and impartial investigation? These arguments derive great additional weight, when it happens, as it did respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, that the ministry themselves are supposed by the people to have been chiefly to blame for the failure which is the subject of complaint. To suppose, in that case, that those to whom blame is generally imagined to attach, would originate an inquiry which might bring the proofs of their incapacity before the public, even though the public did not express a powerful and unanimous expectation of such inquiry, is to suppose ministers endowed with weaker feelings of self-interest than fall to the lot of human nature. How much they actually required to be goaded on to the investigation; with what tardy and reluctant steps they advanced to it; how many delays and interruptions they threw in the way of it: and finally how they contrived, partly by their own measures and partly by the eager and skilful application and use of unexpected circumstances—first, to prevent the nation from gaining such a regular knowledge of the evidence that was brought forward as would have kept alive their attention and interest, and then to draw them off entirely to a more novel and stimulating subject, will appear in the course of our narrative respecting the investigation.

Neither the speech from the throne on the opening of parliament,

ment, nor the proceedings on the first day of the session, promised a full and satisfactory compliance with the wishes of the nation on the subject of complaint, which at that time filled every breast and occupied every tongue. His majesty's ministers did not dare to make him assert, that the expedition to the Scheldt had succeeded to that extent, which the magnitude and expense of the equipment justly led the nation to expect; neither did they criminate themselves, or the general whom they had placed at the head of it, so far as to allow a complete and total failure. The words are remarkable, as bearing strong evidence of the difficulty experienced by the mind in selecting them, so that neither too much might be admitted against themselves, nor too little yielded to the glaring evidence of facts and to the firm persuasion of the people. "Although the principal ends of this expedition have not been attained, his majesty confidently hopes that advantages materially affecting the security of his majesty's dominions in the further prosecution of the war will be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenals of Flushing."

In order that it may be fairly determined whether the failure of the expedition to the Scheldt was justly imputable to ministers or not—whether they deserved praise or censure for the planning and executing of this measure; several points ought to be considered, some of which were scarcely, if at all, investigated, or illustrated by, evidence, before the house of commons. In the first place, the importance and magnitude of the object for which the armament was equipped, ought to be compared with the expense of the means that were employed, and the risk of failure to which the expedition was exposed. Secondly, the accuracy of the knowledge upon which ministers proceeded, when they determined to send out such a large and expensive expedition, must be fairly brought forward, in order to justify the measure. Thirdly, the steps they took in order to secure the accomplishment of the object, by providing every thing necessary for the armament; by securing, as far as lay in their power, mutual cooperation among the different commanders; and above all, by selecting a proper person to superintend the whole operations,—require investigation, before they can justly either be blamed or acquitted. As the charge against them comprehended not only imbecility and incapacity in the planning and executing of the measure, but gross and culpable mismanagement subsequently to the failure of the principal object of the expedition, by which disease established itself among our troops, and carried them off in great numbers; a second branch of investigation became necessary, relative to the retention of the island of Walcheren so long after the attack on Antwerp was given up.

With respect to the first head of inquiry, namely, How far the importance and magnitude of the object for which the armament was equipped justified the expense of the means that were employed, and the risk of failure to which the expedition was exposed; it must be considered in two points of view.—The threatened design and object of Bonaparte to invade this country were well known: in order to forward his views, he had for some years paid great attention to the formation and repairs of the docks and arsenals on the Scheldt—particularly

ticularly at Antwerp, where he had actually built and equipped several sail of the line. One object of the expedition, therefore, was to destroy the docks and arsenals of the enemy, and to bring away or render useless the ships which might be found in the Scheldt. Was this an object worth the expense of such an armament, and for the attainment of which this armament ought to have been exposed to the risk necessarily attending an expedition of this nature? In reply to this it is urged on behalf of ministers, that if Bonaparte were to obtain a large naval force in the Scheldt, it would be almost impossible to prevent its escaping; and if once out, the chance would be much in favour of its reaching England before our fleets could interrupt and prevent its passage. Allowing the full weight to the observation, that the regular and complete blockade of the months of the Scheldt is extremely difficult, if not impossible, and that under these circumstances the enemy might effect his escape: —certainly, if all things are duly considered, there was much more probability that we should fail in gaining possession of the ships at Antwerp, if we reflect that they could not be reached unless we overcame great and numerous difficulties, than that the enemy's fleet, properly equipped and prepared for invasion, and consequently with a numerous convoy of transports under their protection, should escape out of the Scheldt, or, if they did escape, that they would without discovery or molestation accomplish their object.—We have actually failed in destroying the docks and arsenals at Antwerp, and at this time there is probably a greater number of ships of war there, than there was at the time of the expedition to the Scheldt: and no person, however reflecting or timid, feels alarmed. There is no certainty that the enemy's fleet will not escape the vigilance of the British blockading squadron, cross the German ocean, and land an invading army on our coasts: but there is such a high degree of probability that they cannot do it; there is such a well-grounded confidence in the vigilance and alertness of British seamen, that the possible danger never crosses or occupies the mind; and there are very few who, in order to have the danger lessened, would consent to make even the smallest sacrifice. Was it then politic or wise to run the risk attendant necessarily upon an attack on such a place as Antwerp, merely in order to avert a possible danger? Had the confidence of the British nation in their navy been rash and unfounded, it might have been proper to have taken these measures of precaution, even at the danger of failure and loss, and with the certainty of great expense: but it may justly be questioned whether an expedition, which must look for its justification to a doubt of the protecting power of the British navy, and which, when explained and defended, had a tendency to inspire that doubt into the minds of the people at large, can be pronounced politic or wise.

We have hitherto examined this measure as undertaken solely for a British object, as looking no further than to the destruction of ships, which it was apprehended might become formidable, if not fatal to this country. It is asserted, however, and indeed shown by ministers, that the object of the expedition was twofold: that it was meant to act as a powerful and beneficial diversion in fa-

vour of our ally the emperor of Austria, at the same time that it accomplished the destruction of the docks, arsenals, and navy of France. Before the importance and probable utility of it in this point of view can be determined, it will be necessary to recall to mind the state of the continent at the time, both when the expedition was planned and when it was dispatched.

Bonaparte, on the banks of the Danube, in the very heart of his enemy's country, at a distance from his resources and supplies, having interposed between him and France an extensive tract of country, the inhabitants of most part of which were kept quiet and submissive merely by the vicinity of his armies and the knowledge of his victories,—had experienced an unexpected, unusual, and severe repulse. The rapidity and promptitude of his movements, by which in no small degree he had daunted his opponents, were checked. At this critical moment the inhabitants of the north of Germany, goaded to resistance by the tyranny and oppression of the French, had flown to arms. Had they been organized and assisted by experienced generals and a regular force; it is highly probable they might have advanced so near to the country immediately between France and the Danube, as either to have actually prevented the march of reinforcements to Bonaparte, or to have inspired him with such a dread of having his communication intercepted, as would have compelled him to have fallen back, and quitted the Austrian provinces and capital.

If our government had never formed the plan of getting possession of the ships in the Scheldt, and of destroying the docks and arsenals at Flushing and Antwerp, is it at all likely that, in such a favourable position of affairs on the continent, they would have directed their views to the Scheldt, rather than to the north of Germany? The plan and policy of Bonaparte in all his campaigns are well known: he submits to the temporary abandonment or sacrifice of all minor objects, till he has secured the grand prize: that once secured, he permits his thoughts and his power to be turned to inferior game. Considering him, then, as acting on this principle, let us consider what probability there was that the expedition to the Scheldt would actually serve as a diversion; that it would prevent or retard the march of troops to his reinforcement on the banks of the Danube. He knew that the obstacles that would oppose the progress of our expedition, arising from the fortifications of Flushing, the intricacies of the navigation of the Scheldt, to pass up which a favourable wind would be necessary; and the strong defence he had thrown up at Antwerp must necessarily delay, if they did not ultimately defeat, its grand and ultimate object. But even supposing he foresaw that his fleet and arsenals must fall; is it to be imagined that, in order to save them, he would deprive himself of the necessary reinforcements? This would in reality be to imagine, that the preservation of his fleet was an object of greater moment and importance with him than the extrication of himself and army from the difficulties in which he was placed. His troops were needed at the same moment; they were needed to protect his docks and arsenals, and they were needed to retrieve his fortune and reputation,

tation, perhaps to save him from another and a more fatal and decisive repulse. It was absurd to suppose that, in such circumstances, Bonaparte would forgo the assistance of one single soldier that he might deem necessary for the execution of his plans against Austria. He was in a situation of great peril: we, as the allies of Austria, deem it proper to make a diversion in her favour; but we plan and direct it in such a manner as if we expected that the preservation of his fleet could occupy the mind of our enemy at a time when another repulse would have most probably sealed his ruin. We expect to turn his attention and his forces from an object which involved his fate, to one which, till that fate was provided for and secured, must appear to him of the most trifling consequence. But it may be urged, that by sending our expedition to the north of Germany we should not have succeeded better in drawing aside the troops that were intended to reinforce Bonaparte on the Danube. Most undoubtedly we should, for the very reason which prevented our expedition to the Scheldt from acting as a diversion in favour of our allies. Had the insurgents in Germany been early assisted by a British force, they would not indeed, properly speaking, have acted as a diversion in favour of Austria; they would have co-operated with her in a most effectual manner, in increasing the peril in which Bonaparte was placed. Two things, above all, the emperor of the French must have dreaded after his repulse on the Danube:—the interruption or defeat of the forces which were marching to join him, and the rising of the people in his rear. One or both of these undoubtedly would have taken place, had the insurrection in Germany been organized and assisted by Britain. We know what obstacles it threw in the way of Bonaparte's generals; we know it occupied them long after their presence was needed on the Danube. We know that those parts of Germany which the French had overrun in their march to the Austrian capital would have been roused to resistance, if a friendly army had made its appearance. And what would have been the position of Bonaparte, if the insurgents of the north of Germany, joined by half the British force that was sent against Walcheren, had appeared in his rear after the battle of Aspern! Even if they had never been able to penetrate so far, still the knowledge that such a formidable force was endeavouring to penetrate in that direction would have compelled him to have employed part of the troops intended for his reinforcement against them: and this indeed would have been a diversion in favour of our allies.

Perhaps, when we act as an ally to a continental power, we should not implicitly employ our auxiliary forces as they desire or think best, though a judicious and well-weighed attention to their request and plans ought always to prevail. In the state in which Bonaparte and Austria were respectively placed after the battle of Aspern, the suggestions of our ally ought to have met with more than usual attention. She knew much better than we could the difficulties in which Bonaparte was placed; on what side he could be attacked or threatened with the greatest probability of success, and of advantage to the

grand and common cause; and what part of Germany bore the yoke of the French with the most reluctance, and would be the most ready and able effectually to shake it off, if they derived assistance from Britain. From the documents relative to the expedition to the Scheldt which were laid before the house of commons, it is ascertained that Austria suggested that assistance should be given to the insurgents in the north of Germany, and never either recommended, countenanced as feasible, or received as an useful diversion, the expedition to the Scheldt. It is well known too, that the insurgents in the north of Germany themselves looked with anxious and longing eyes for assistance from this country; nor did they entertain a doubt, when they heard that an expedition was preparing, but it was destined for their support.

But it was urged by the defenders of the expedition to the Scheldt, that though considered merely as a diversion in favour of Austria, it perhaps could not have been so advantageous as a landing near the mouth of the Elbe, yet that the hope of its both operating in this character in some degree and measure, and of its accomplishing at the same time the destruction of the enemy's arsenals, docks, and ships, justly decided the preference in its favour. This mode of defending it will have little weight, if there be any justice in what we have urged respecting the very little likelihood that Bonaparte, considering the situation in which he was then placed, would deprive himself of a single soldier he deemed necessary for his reinforcement; and that with regard to the naval object of the expedition, it was not worth the expense and risk attending it.

Let us now advert to the allegation, that by our expedition to the Scheldt we actually prevented or turned aside the march of troops to the assistance and reinforcement of Bonaparte. We have called this an allegation; because, though it was advanced in debate, there was no proof adduced in support of it; and there are several circumstances which militate strongly against its truth. It may not be proper, in a case of this kind, to put implicit faith in the assertions of the enemy; but if these are supported by probability, and corroborated by facts which are indisputable, they deserve our credit. Now it is known that the troops assembled for the protection of Antwerp were principally if not entirely composed of the national guards—a species of force which Bonaparte never would have thought of marching to the Danube, and opposing to the Austrian army. Besides, the defence of Antwerp resting more on its fortifications, and on the obstacles which the forts and gun-boats on the Scheldt opposed to our progress, it is not likely that any troops which Bonaparte would deem worthy of fighting against Austria, would be employed for this purpose. But what must decide the argument is, that, notwithstanding our expedition, the French emperor actually obtained such reinforcements as enabled him to conquer Austria; so that, this being an indisputable fact, it seems useless, and a waste of time, to investigate whether more soldiers might not have marched to the Danube if our expedition had not sailed, seeing that, notwithstanding that expedition, a reinforcement suffi-

sufficient for all the purposes of Bonaparte and for the ruin of our ally actually arrived.

On this subject, we have now only to consider the evidence that was adduced to prove that the troops employed on the expedition to the Scheldt could not have been employed in any other way beneficial to the cause of our ally.

The first point contended for, in order to make this apparent, was, that at the time when the insurrection in the north of Germany was at its greatest height, and bore the greatest promise of success, we could not have collected a sufficiently numerous force to have assisted them with any real and permanent advantage. Let us allow, for the moment, that the force that was ready and disposeable was inadequate to the purpose of beneficially assisting the insurgents,—Does not this circumstance prove and betray a culpable negligence in ministers, and gross mismanagement in their calculations and plans. They believed, though perhaps the majority of the British nation did not partake in the belief,—and it certainly was possible—that, under some circumstances of the pending war between France and Austria, the latter might nearly balance the power of the former. At any rate, as war actually was begun, every preparation and facility ought immediately to have been adopted and in readiness, to take instantaneous advantage of any opportunity that might have occurred, of throwing on the continent, in whatever part the prospect was most favourable, a powerful diversion in favour of our ally. We have a large and expensive army; but a very small part is necessary for our internal protection and safety: no small portion of it indeed, at the commencement of the war between France and Austria, was either employed abroad, or suffering from the unfortunate expedition to Spain; but still there remained, scattered over this country, nearly the whole body of troops which were at last sent on the expedition to Walcheren; and certainly such of these as were in this country, and were fit for actual service, ought, at the very commencement of the war in Germany, to have been disposed and prepared in such a manner as to have been ready to embark at the shortest warning. All our experience respecting the wars of the French revolution, and especially of those conducted by Bonaparte, abundantly proves that the moment in which the fate of the enemy is doubtful or suspended, the interval between their reverse of fortune and their regainment of success and victory, is short indeed; —and that their opponents, if they wish to profit by it, ought to proceed with even more rapidity to take advantage of the prosperous moment, than the French do to retrieve their disaster.

We have hitherto been arguing on the assumption that a large body of troops—larger than we had at our immediate disposal at the time when they might have been most useful in the north of Germany—alone could have been beneficial on that service to the cause of the continent and of our allies. But if we recollect that at one period of their bold adventure, the insurgents were nearly, if not quite, a match for all the troops Bonaparte could spare to oppose them; that in

spite of these troops they gained strength, and spread themselves over a large tract of country, we have good grounds for believing that even the small reinforcement of 5000 or 6000 men, and a large quantity of clothing, ammunition, and stores, would have turned the scale in their favour, or at least enabled them to hold out, and to countenance and protect those who were disposed to join them, till we had time to send out further reinforcements. Had 5000 or 6000 men been the total number we could have spared to their assistance, the attempt would have been most probably rash and hopeless; but as it is certain that in a short time we could have collected and dispatched nearly four times that number, and that, in the mean time, the reinforcement already dispatched would have kept alive the insurrection, there seems no ground for the assertion made in the evidence before the house of commons, that we had not sufficient troops to aid the insurgents at the time they were likely to offer an effectual resistance to Bonaparte.

The next argument adduced against employing the army sent to the Scheldt on an expedition to the north of Germany, rests on the opinion and evidence of Mr. Huskisson, who, as the financial secretary of the treasury at the time arrangements were making for the expedition, was examined by the house of commons respecting the possibility of obtaining the pecuniary means necessary to support an army in the month of July landed in the north of Germany. He expressly states, that at that period the quantity of bullion in the possession of the bank was so small, after allowing for the supply of the military chests in Spain and the Mediterranean, and the exchange was so extremely unfavourable to this country—that the pecuniary means, absolutely requisite for a large force in the north of Germany, could not have been obtained, except with the greatest difficulty, and at a very great expense and loss. He was asked, whether he conceived that any extension of intercourse with the continent, that could have resulted from the arrival of a British army in the Elbe, would have produced such an increased facility in point of exchange, as would have justified the undertaking an expedition to the north of Europe, in contemplation of such a scale of expenditure as would have required 500,000*l.* before operations were commenced in the field, and an after-monthly supply of 250,000*l.* In reply, he stated it as his opinion, that considerable facilities would undoubtedly have been derived, if the result of the expedition had opened a direct and convenient intercourse with the continent, and put us in secure possession of Hamburgh, or any other great market of exchange; but that he apprehended the uncertainty of the final result of our expedition, and of our occupation of Hamburgh, or any such place, would have prevented the exchanges from becoming more favourable, at least during the first movements and operations of our army. These remarks are certainly entitled to considerable weight; but it must be recollected, that they apply to the support of an army of 40,000 men; and that they do not allow sufficient operation to the great demand and desire for English goods on the continent—to the wonderful spirit of speculation,

lation, which is active and successful, even where there appears no chance for gain. Nor does Mr. Huskisson sufficiently advert to the fact, that, under the most discouraging circumstances, British goods forced their way into the continent: and certainly if such were the case when we had not a single port on the continent, when its shores were lined and defended by armed vessels, custom-house officers and soldiers, a very great increase must have taken place when we gained possession of Hamburgh, and facilitated the landing of our manufactures and colonial produce. The great difficulty is to land the goods; not, when landed, to get them up the continent. If, therefore, a small body of men, not exceeding 5000 or 6000, had been sent to the reinforcement of the insurgents, they certainly might have been paid by remittances from England, till, by their successes, they had opened a channel for English goods, which, of course, would in all probability not only have contributed to their future pecuniary resources, but also have enabled our government to have dispatched a larger force; and they, in their turn, extending their operations, and gaining possession of a larger tract of country, or rendering that already acquired more secure, would have lessened the difficulty of pecuniary support.

Before we proceed to consider the evidence on which the probability of more easy accomplishment and greater success, in respect to the expedition, which was actually dispatched, is supposed to rest, it may not be improper briefly to sum up what has been already stated. As every opportunity of checking and restraining the power of Bonaparte must, in the present circumstances of Great Britain and the continent, be an object of infinitely more moment and advantage than the securing the mistress of the seas from the very remote and trifling danger which might possibly result from all the ships which the French emperor could possibly equip and send out, no inferior and foreign object ought to have been suffered to interfere with any plan which offered the slightest promise of effectually assisting our ally, and turning the scale decisively in his favour: much less ought that inferior and foreign object to have been permitted to point out and determine the part of the continent to which the expedition was to be sent, unless that part was the most favourable to its paramount purpose. As a diversion in favour of Austria, the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, where the insurgents were in force, was a much more proper spot than the vicinity of Antwerp; and to have assisted them was much more likely to have drawn aside the attention and the reinforcements of Bonaparte, than a meditated attack on a town difficult of access, and strongly fortified, and in the approach to which much time must necessarily be consumed; during which the obstacles already existing, and the force already assembled, might be greatly increased. —In reply to these observations, it is contended, that there was no chance of sending out, in due time, such a force to the assistance of the insurgents in the north of Germany, as could have been of essential service; and that the Scheldt was chosen, not merely because it offered the accomplishment of both objects,

objects, but because it was the only spot to which a British force could be sent, with a certainty of being regularly supplied with pecuniary resources, and a fair chance of ultimate and essential success. Before this defence can be admitted as valid, it will be necessary to examine the evidence that was given in favour of the probability of success, and the nature and value of that evidence.

CHAPTER IX.

Inquiry respecting the Expedition to the Scheldt continued and concluded—Second Branch of Evidence—How far the Objects were attainable—Comparison between the Value of the Evidence of those Naval and Military Characters who thought the Expedition would succeed, and those who doubted of its Success—The former trusted almost entirely to Information collected in 1794-5 *—Reasons for thinking this totally inapplicable—Conduct of Ministers in the Selection of a Commander-in-Chief—Amount of the Evidence in Proof of Lord Chatham's Suitableness—Extraordinary Memorial of his Lordship—Remarks on his Mode of presenting it, and its Contents—Reply of Sir Richard Strachan—Evidence respecting the Retention of Walcheren—Reasons for it examined—Shameful Negligence in providing and furnishing Medicines and Medical Assistants—Concluding Remarks.*

IF we examine and compare the evidence of the different military and naval officers who were consulted by ministers before they finally determined on the expedition to the Scheldt, we shall find that some were confident of its complete success: others thought that it might succeed in some of the first and minor purposes it had in view; such as the capture of Flushing and the possession of the islands at the mouths of the river, but that it would fail in the grand and ulterior objects—the forcing its way up to Antwerp, and the destruction of the docks and arsenals there, along with the capture of the ships which were lying near that town; while others expressly stated that very great risk and difficulty would certainly attend the expedition, while the chance of success was very distant and problematical. It was expressly stated by more than one of the military officers who were consulted by ministers, that nearly the whole disposable force of the kingdom would be put to hazard by this expedition. Thus it appears, that though the evidence, in point of numbers, leaned towards the success of the expedition, yet many military and naval men were very doubtful on this head; and actually foresaw and pointed out many of the difficulties and obstacles which, in fact, rendered it unfortunate and disastrous.

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If, however, we advert to some circumstances in the opinions and evidence that were given, we shall be convinced that those who doubted of success were entitled to more attention and confidence than those who predicted the full and complete accomplishment of the objects of the expedition. Of course ministers consulted those military and naval officers who had been in that part of the continent to which the armament was to be sent; but it is to be remarked, that, with scarcely a single exception, they all spoke to the state of the fortifications, and the degree of resistance and opposition likely to be expected, not from what they knew it to be a few months before the time when they were consulted, but from what they had witnessed 14 or 15 years before. Now whoever has attended to the wars arising from the French revolution, and more especially to the whole system and plans of Bonaparte, must be convinced that it would be absurd, and productive of disappointment and disaster, to act against him in any country, on the supposition that the natural and artificial strength of that country would not, in his hands, be rendered much more effectual and formidable than it ever had been before. This supposition ought to have been admitted in a still greater latitude, when his eager desire to possess a navy was taken into the account. It might surely have hence been inferred, that no means of protecting his arsenals and ships would be neglected; and that a picture of the fortifications on the Scheldt, before Bonaparte obtained the chief power in France, and especially before he selected Antwerp for his great naval depôt, would present a very faint and inadequate resemblance to them after that period. When ministers, therefore, had heard the opposite opinions of military and naval men respecting the chance of succeeding against Antwerp, all grounded on their knowledge of the country before it had become of such consequence and moment to Bonaparte, they undoubtedly ought to have considered this circumstance as detracting from the weight of the opinion of those who were advocates for the expedition, while they should have regarded it as strengthening the opinion of those who doubted of its success. It by no means followed, that what was easy or practicable in 1794 or 1795 was a fair and justifiable object of attack in 1809; nor that the knowledge which was applicable and accurate at the former period was to be depended and acted upon after the lapse of 14 most momentous years. But the very same circumstance, the lapse of so many years, most of which had been years of the power of Bonaparte, which ought to have weakened the confidence of ministry in the opinion and knowledge of those who were advocates for the expedition, ought to have induced them to have given more than its intrinsic and real weight to the knowledge and opinions of those who expressed doubts respecting its success. If in 1794 or 1795 there was room for difference of opinion and for doubt—and that there was, appeared from the evidence given—it ought to have been inferred that in 1809, when Antwerp had been for some years the principal naval arsenal of the French emperor, nothing short of the positive testimony of skilful and impartial men, who had lately been on the spot, should be put in com-

competition with the opinion of those who at the former period thought Antwerp unassailable.—Every year that Bonaparte possessed the country, and every addition which he made to his navy or his arsenals, added force to the objections that were urged against the expedition; while it weakened, in the same proportion, the arguments that were advanced in support of its probable success; unless our knowledge of the character of Bonaparte had given us reason to believe that he did not protect and secure every object, in proportion to the value he placed upon it.

As far as the equipment of the expedition was concerned, every thing appears to have been complete and ready when wanted; if we except a sufficient number of boats for the purpose of landing the troops in South Beveland: for want of these it appears in evidence that the enemy were enabled to throw succours into Flushing, and thus the defence of that place was greatly protracted. But when it is stated that every thing necessary for the expedition was provided, the assertion must be confined to military and naval stores. We shall shortly have to advert to the lamentable and most culpable inattention, with respect to the regular and full supply of medicines for the troops, when they laboured under the pestilential disease of Walcheren.

In every joint operation where naval and military forces are employed, the success of the measure depends in a great degree upon the commanders of the respective forces having their particular duty clearly sketched out; upon their possessing a complete and accurate knowledge of the times and occasions when mutual co-operation may be requisite and necessary; and, above all, upon a hearty zeal and good understanding between them.—From the evidence adduced before the house of commons, it appears that there was some failure in this respect; which, if the expedition had proceeded to more intricate and difficult operations, might have been productive of serious mischief; but which, from the ultimate and great object being abandoned, led only to some trifling mistakes and delay.

Hitherto we have considered the question as affecting ministers directly and alone; in pointing out the blunders and mismanagement that occurred in executing the plan, and endeavouring to attain the object, ministers had in view, the commander-in-chief must be regarded as the responsible person; unless it can be shown that an improper person was chosen for this high and arduous office; and, in that case, ministers must divide the blame with him.

All the military and naval men who were consulted by ministers respecting the practicability and the arrangement of the expedition, agreed that the utmost promptitude, alertness and vigour, would be indispensably necessary in carrying it into execution. Even those who were most sanguine and confident of a prosperous and glorious result, deprecated in the strongest terms any delay; either in dispatching it from the British shores, or any tardiness in its operations when landed at the mouth of the Scheldt. As, therefore, the utmost alacrity and vigour were stated to be essentially necessary, it certainly became the most imperious duty of ministers to select a commander-in-chief who was well known

known for making use of his military faculties and skill in the most comprehensive and decisive manner; on whom both they and the nation could depend, for devoting his whole time and thoughts on the accomplishment of the object committed to his care; and on whom no imputation of deficiency, either in respect to experience, talent, and skill, or to his fixed and regular habit of calling these into regular and constant action, rested in the opinion of those best qualified to judge and decide on such subjects.

At the commencement of our observations on this topic, we remarked, that we should have to take notice of some causes of the failure of the expedition, to which little or no attention, or evidence, had been called in the house of commons. The qualifications of the earl of Chatham were once incidentally introduced: sir David Dundas, the commander-in-chief, during his examination on other points, was asked, if he had ever witnessed the military skill and talent of lord Chatham. His reply cannot go further in their commendation than by asserting, that he had seen him put 10,000 men through their manœuvres. Here then was ground and reason for further investigation, as it was indisputable that great delay had taken place in the operations of the army; and as it must be evident that all the successes which the most powerful and best equipped force is capable of achieving, even when directed against an object easily and completely attainable, may be speedily and entirely blasted by the unskilfulness or inactivity of the general;—on no point might ministers, who selected such a general, have been more clearly and satisfactorily convicted of gross and culpable misconduct. No delicacy towards the general ought to have restrained investigation into his fitness, and the exposure of his want of all the requisite qualifications:—delicacy in such circumstances was treason to the country. And that lord Chatham was recommended to the command by no one requisite qualification, few will doubt, who will consider his notorious habits of indolence and inactivity; setting aside all consideration of the total absence of proof that he possessed military experience and skill, if he had power to call them into action. In all expeditions, indecision and inactivity are to be guarded against in the choice of a commander: in such an expedition as that to the Scheldt, no person ought to have been selected as commander, in whom a spark of them was supposed to exist, however latent or small.

It may be urged, that there was no proof exhibited in evidence before the house of commons of lord Chatham's unfitness: those who brought forward the charges against ministers, certainly did not make the selection of him as one of them; and for this the country deemed them censurable. But if ministers thought themselves justified in appointing lord Chatham, they ought, out of regard to their own character as well as to that of their chosen commander, to have repelled the very damning commendation contained in the opinion of sir David Dundas, and to have wiped off the strong public belief entertained of his *unmilitary* talents, by bringing forward those proofs of his merit, on account of which they had selected him for his high and arduous office. They must have

have known, that till his military character was established by indubitable evidence, they would be charged by those who did *not give credit* to the accounts of his habitual and unconquerable inactivity, with having selected a man not proved or known to be possessed of the requisite military qualifications; and by those who *did* give credit to the indolent character that lord Chatham bore, they would be accused of having chosen a man, not known or proved to be possessed of the requisite military qualifications; and the confirmed habits of whose disposition must have rendered those qualifications useless, even if they did exist.

Proved, as it has been, that the expedition to the Scheldt was planned and undertaken without the requisite knowledge of the obstacles and difficulties, as they *then* existed, but on the belief that every thing would be found at Flushing, on the banks of the Scheldt, and at Antwerp, nearly as it was in the years 1794 and 1795;—the fact having been established in evidence, that neither ministers nor the commanders were in possession of a plan of the fortifications of the latter town; and that, when the expedition actually arrived at the mouths of the Scheldt, several of the channels of the river were found to run in a different direction from what had been previously supposed; and the distances between the forts on its banks were found to be very erroneously marked in the charts, according to which they had arranged their operations: and, above all, when the character of the commander is considered,—is it to be wondered at, if the operations were carried on in a languid and confused manner; if Flushing opposed a resistance infinitely longer than it could have done against an active and enterprising general, while the great body of our troops were kept cooped up, useless and exposed to disease, on board the transports, and actually returned to England without ever having landed on the shores of the enemy? The result was disastrous and disgraceful in the highest degree; but it certainly was not more so than any well-informed and impartial person would have predicted before the departure of the expedition, if he had known the vague and inapplicable information on which ministers proceeded, and the character and habits of the commander whom they had chosen.

Before proceeding to the detail and examination of that portion of the evidence which relates to the causes and reasons for the retention of Walcheren after the ulterior and grand objects of the expedition were abandoned; and which unfolds to the public the incapacity, ignorance, and gross inattention, which greatly aggravated the pestilential effects of the climate of that island; it may be proper to notice a very extraordinary circumstance, which was brought to light during the inquiry in the house of commons.

Lord Chatham, sensible that his want of capacity was generally deemed one of the principal causes of the failure and disgrace of the expedition, was very naturally anxious to clear himself from the charge: he was, however, more anxious to satisfy his majesty than the nation on this point; and preferred a mode of doing it which, even if his vindication respecting his military character and proceedings had been completely satisfactory, must have exposed him to the impu-

imputation of unfair and underhand dealing. He drew up a memorial, which was dated the 15th of October 1809, but which was not presented to the king till four months afterwards, in the middle of the investigation before the house of commons. Had this memorial been confined to a simple statement of facts, or had it commented on these facts, only with a view and tendency to clear the author's character from the imputations cast upon it and to set it in a fair light, lord Chatham would have been censured only for having endeavoured, in a secret and clandestine manner, to gain his majesty over to his side; and this at a time when his *trial* was in fact going on before another tribunal. But the memorial endeavoured to defend the noble lord at the expense of sir Richard Strachan, the naval commander; and when considered in this light cannot be too strongly or pointedly reprobated, as a mean attack upon the conduct of the latter, who could not repel it, because he did not know of its existence. The opinion which the house of commons and the nation at large entertained of this proceeding of lord Chatham was so unequivocally expressed, that he thought proper to resign his situation as master-general of the ordnance.

In this memorial, among other charges against the naval commander, lord Chatham complains that the fleet never blockaded Flushing; that it did not advance to Batz, as had been promised and agreed upon, till the 24th of August, when it could be of no use. On account of these dilatory proceedings, lord Chatham says that he wrote a letter on the 4th of August to sir Richard Strachan, which was not answered till the 8th of that month; but from the 8th till the 24th, at which period, he contends, the ulterior objects of the expedition were impracticable, he does not appear, even by his own showing, either to have renewed his remonstrances to the naval commander, or to have written to government respecting his alleged delay.

The composition of official letters published in the London Gazette is so well known, that it would not be proper to oppose the statements given there as from lord Chatham, respecting the co-operation of the navy, with the charges preferred in his memorial; but it would be perfectly fair and proper to contrast the memorial, with the evidence given by lord Chatham before the house of commons; and from this it might justly be concluded, that he preferred bringing his charges where they could not be known to exist, and consequently could not be repelled, to boldly and honourably coming forward with them before a tribunal the proceedings of which were public, and before which the person he accused would also be examined.

But as it is of much more consequence to examine into the truth of the allegations brought forward by lord Chatham against sir Richard Strachan, than to enter into a minute detail of the difference of opinion expressed in the official letters and evidence of the former, and in his memorial, we shall proceed to the reply of sir Richard Strachan. This brave man, over whose professional character, either for activity, zeal, skill, or courage, not even the slightest breath of calumny had transiently passed, felt indignant at the secret attack

attack made upon him; and demanded leave from the admiralty instantly to show how completely destitute of foundation and truth it was. This was granted; and he accordingly drew up "Observations on the Earl of Chatham's Statement of his Proceedings, dated October 15, 1809; presented to the King, February 14, 1810." In these observations, sir Richard Strachan completely repelled every direct accusation, as well as every indirect insinuation, which had been advanced against him. On the most indubitable evidence, and from a reference to established facts and dates, he proved, that, so far from any delay having arisen from the navy, every thing was done by it to push forward the operations and advance of the army. When lord Chatham gave it as his opinion, that further success was unattainable, the admiral, not being competent to appreciate, and therefore not presuming to discuss, the reasons for this opinion, as being of a purely military nature, of course acquiesced in it; not, however, without assuring the earl of Chatham, that, as a naval man, he thought further success still attainable; the fullest assistance and co-operation of the ships under his command might be depended upon, and was always ready to be given. —In reply to the charge, that no assistance was afforded by the navy in the attack on Flushing, as had been distinctly agreed upon, sir Richard Strachan positively asserts, that he can find no instructions, orders, letters, or communications, either previous or subsequent to the departure of the armament from the Downs, alluding to such agreement; and that from the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances which occurred, no such agreement could have been in contemplation; or, if made, could have been carried into effect, in the manner, and at the time, lord Chatham stated. Sir Richard Strachan did, indeed, prepare for co-operating with the army in an attack upon Flushing, if the assistance of the navy should be thought desirable; but this he did, not in consequence of any previous arrangement; and the first spontaneous offer of co-operation on his part was actually passed by, without any immediate notice by lord Chatham.

In a manner equally direct and satisfactory does sir Richard Strachan reply, both to the expressed and insinuated charges against him contained in the memorial of lord Chatham. In the memorial, the charges rest solely and entirely upon the assertions of his lordship: he does not even condescend to show, that what he complains of as left undone by sir Richard Strachan was practicable, or, if practicable, would have facilitated or assisted the objects of the expedition. He charges the admiral with having failed in the performance of what had been previously agreed upon, without producing any proof that co-operation, in those points, had been either previously suggested by sir Richard Strachan, or proposed to him.—The observations of the admiral on the memorial of lord Chatham are quite of a different character: they express throughout, it is true, a calm and dignified sense of the injustice done him by unfounded charges, not openly made, where they could have been openly met and refuted, but clandestinely conveyed to the mind of the sovereign, to whom sir Richard had no privileged access. While

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the brave admiral repels the attacks upon his character, he does not indulge either in asperity of language, or in hostile remarks on the conduct and capacity of his adversary: he is content with showing that he deserved not the blame which was attempted to be thrown upon him; that every thing the service required, and which was practicable by the force under his command, was either actually performed, or most cordially and promptly offered by him. After the delay occasioned by the protracted resistance of Flushing had rendered, in the opinion of lord Chatham, the progress of the armament up the Scheldt and the attack on Flushing eminently hazardous, sir Richard Strachan offered to expose himself, and the ships under his command, to any peril which might lie in the way of the further progress and success of the expedition. In short, he did every thing that a British fleet led on by a British admiral could effect.

There is another striking point of dissimilarity between the memorial of lord Chatham and the observations of sir Richard Strachan. The latter makes no assertion, without referring to authentic documents in support of it: either the evidence of the officers who had been examined by the house of commons, and, among the rest, of lord Chatham himself; or to official papers, which existed in the different public offices. Besides, the observations were borne out by the internal marks of truth and consistency which they contained; they spoke in favour of a cause, the cause of the British navy, which had scarcely ever been charged with avoiding danger, or shunning their share of duty and difficulty; and they proceeded from an officer of known and tried capacity and zeal; against charges brought forward by one whose capacity was yet to be proved; and whose zeal, however pure, was suspected, upon too good grounds, of being unequal to the temptations and strength of an indolent habit.

We now come to the second branch of the investigation:—the retention of the island of Walcheren so long after the ulterior and principal objects of the expedition were given up; the reasons on which this step was justified by ministers; the causes of the great mortality and sickness; and the measures that were taken to guard against these effects of the climate.

The vacillating intentions and conduct of government, with respect to the retention of the island of Walcheren, have been noticed in our former volume; and it was generally supposed that the weakest and least satisfactory part of their defence would be that which attempted to justify this measure. The charge against them was twofold. First, for having retained Walcheren so long, at such an unhealthy season of the year; when the retention could be of no possible service, and must, notwithstanding the utmost medical skill, precaution, and care, be attended with great mortality and sickness: and, secondly, for having neglected to take those measures which might in some degree have prevented, or mitigated and weakened, the well-known pestilential effects of the climate.

The defence of ministers against the first part of the charge rested on two grounds: in the first place, that by the retention of Walcheren,

almost all the objects proposed by proceeding further up the Scheldt, and destroying the docks and arsenals of Antwerp, might have been secured; since, by keeping possession of an island which commanded the mouths of the river, no ships could possibly proceed to sea; and thus all those which were already built at Antwerp, as well as the preparations and materials for building more, would be rendered completely useless. This ground, however, it is plain, is not tenable, unless it could be shown that the enemy could not drive us out of Walcheren; that we could retain it against any force that Bonaparte would collect, even when the winter compelled our fleet to leave the channel between the island and the main land, or the frost formed a communication between them. That this was deemed impracticable, appeared from the evidence of many naval men; and was, indeed, confessed by ministers declining the attempt; and it certainly did not require two months consideration to determine, whether we could or could not retain the island effectually and permanently. Ministers, therefore, must either allow that it was retained so long, not because they had determined to retain permanent possession of it, or plead guilty to the charge of having required so long a space of time to convince them of the impracticability of defending it.

The other ground on which the retention of it was defended, is rather at variance with any settled purpose of permanent possession; and says more for their wish to preserve to their country the character of a faithful nation, who would grudge no sacrifices in favour of their ally, than for their regard to the lives of their countrymen, their policy, or their knowledge of the character and habitual conduct of Bonaparte. It was asserted, and indeed proved, that Austria, being about to negotiate a peace with the French emperor, was extremely anxious that we should retain Walcheren, under the idea that thus more favourable terms would be granted her. But in the first place, it is very improbable that our retention of Walcheren would have made any difference in the terms granted by Bonaparte to Austria; and, in the second place, the terms actually granted were, if all things are considered, more humiliating and hard than Bonaparte, in similar circumstances, has usually granted. We can hardly suppose, that when the French emperor knew that sickness and death were making dreadful havoc among our troops in Walcheren, and that no plan or object of his could be thwarted or impeded by our retaining it till our eyes were opened to the ruinous price it cost us, he would give up one iota of what he meant to insist upon; or hasten to conclude a less advantageous peace, merely that he might march to drive us out of his territories. The longer time he took to impose severe terms upon the emperor of Austria; the greater his delay in proceeding from the Danube to the Scheldt; the more easy he knew disease and death would have rendered his attempt to regain possession of Walcheren. We may suppose that he would feel so indignant and insulted at having his territory violated by the presence and possession of British soldiers, that his usual policy would desert him; but a slight attention to his conduct must convince us, that however violent his temper, it never interferes with his schemes

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of ambition, or leads him to sacrifice what will satisfy and please his mind in his cooler moments, to what may gratify or appease a transient passion. But the terms which he imposed upon the emperor of Austria were actually more humiliating to the latter, and more beneficial to himself, than those which, under similar circumstances, he forced his conquered adversary to submit to in former wars. When it is stated that the ancient and proud house of Hapsburg was compelled to unite its daughter with a Corsican adventurer; to join that adventurer in his war against Britain, and to co-operate in all his schemes of enmity against the commerce and maritime prerogatives of this country; surely we cannot say that by our retention of the island of Walcheren we rescued our ally from disgrace or disaster, or gained him better terms than he otherwise would have procured.

If we examine the evidence for the purpose of discovering what precautions were used, in order to guard our soldiers against the pestilential effects of an unhealthy climate, in the most sickly season of the year; whether, when disease actually invaded them, the medical assistance was of the best kind, promptly administered, and amply sufficient for the duties required; and whether the supply of medicine was regularly and completely adequate to the demand for it: proofs of inattention, negligence, and carelessness, will every where meet our eye. Although the unhealthy nature of the climate, particularly at the time of year when the expedition sailed, was notorious to every smuggler who ever sailed from Flushing; and had been particularly stated and illustrated in a publication which sir John Pringle had given to the world nearly half a century before; a publication which, as proceeding from a medical man of great general repute, and whose professional life and experience had been principally connected with the army, ought to have been familiar to, and consulted by, the medical board, as soon as they were informed of the destination of the armament: yet neither the number of medical men nor the quantity or kind of medicines were proportioned or adapted to the certain kind, and most probable extent and malignity, of the disorders to which the troops would be exposed. When, therefore, the fever of the country actually commenced its ravages, there were no adequate means to stop it: information of the mortality, and of the inadequate supply of medical men and medicines, was transmitted to England; but no relief came till some weeks after the sickness had commenced, and nearly 3000 men were suffering under it: then the supply was partial and inadequate. The application for it passed through five or six public offices before it reached the medical board; and before the assistance deemed requisite by this board could be dispatched, it was again necessary that the same tedious and formal steps should be gone through. Nor was this all: in more than one instance, the supplies of bark, the most indispensable medicine, were transmitted in such an irregular manner, that, when they arrived in Walcheren, they remained unopened and unused for some days, because it was not known to whom they were consigned; or the person to whom they were consigned happened not to be there when they

arrived. Hence, partly from too scrupulous an attention to the minutiæ of form, and too little regard to order and dispatch, the supplies of the necessary comforts and medicines for the sick were tardy and irregular; and the ill effects of the climate and season of the year were greatly heightened and extended. At last, when the sickness became alarmingly fatal, the medical board was applied to, to send one of its members to investigate the nature, the causes, and the most effectual cure, of it, on the spot: but, strange to tell, they severally declined the task; either because such an undertaking was not within the line of their duty, or because their skill and experience did not extend to diseases of the army.

Such is a summary of the evidence on the two great branches of the investigation, on which a vote of censure was moved against ministers in the house of commons. We have already stated and examined the reasons they assigned for the retention of Walcheren so long after the attack on Antwerp was abandoned. The charge respecting inattention to the cure and comfort of the sick, they seem to have admitted: for, soon after the termination of the inquiry, the old members of the medical board were dismissed, and the board itself was put upon a different footing. —In reply to the charge, that they had set on foot the expedition without any rational prospect of success, and that the information on which they had acted was vague and imperfect; they contented themselves with maintaining, that at the time the armament first assembled there was every probability of its gaining complete success; and that to the unfavourable direction of the wind, which detained it upwards of a fortnight in the Downs, after every thing was ready, ought to be ascribed its failure. How far this defence is well grounded, and especially what probability of success an armament could have, under the command of lord Chatham, however unprepared the enemy had been, has been already discussed. The defence of ministers, however, was deemed so satisfactory by the majority of the house of commons, that they not only acquitted them, but voted them worthy of commendation, for having planned and executed the expedition to Walcheren.

CHAPTER X.

Circumstances which drew off the Attention of the Nation from the Walcheren Investigation—Mr. Yorke's Motion to exclude Strangers—Remarks on it—His Unpopularity in consequence—Loses his Election for Cambridgeshire—His Conduct discussed in the Debating Societies—Character of these Societies—Complains of a Breach of Privilege—Mr. Gale Jones committed to Newgate—Analysis of Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to his Constituents—Speaker's Warrant issued against him—Delay in executing it—Doubts of the Sergeant-at-Arms—Disturbances in the Metropolis—Attorney General's Opinion—Remarks on it—Sir Francis Burdett arrested and conveyed to the Tower—Remarks on his Conduct.

IT might naturally be supposed that the nation at large would be moved with indignation at the proofs of imbecility and incapacity exhibited in the investigation, respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, and that this indignation would have spoken in such strong and dreadful terms, that the ministers who planned and executed it would no longer have deemed it prudent to retain their situations. A knowledge of the British character, as it displays itself in the interest the nation takes in public concerns; in applying to themselves, more than any other nation, the glory or disgrace of their military transactions; and especially a recollection of the unusual interest they had taken in the inquiry respecting the duke of York, certainly appeared to justify this supposition; and there can be little doubt that the consequence of the investigation into the expedition to Walcheren would have terminated in the removal of ministers, either by the direct or indirect means of the public indignation; either by leading many of those who voted for them to have absented themselves, or to have voted differently in consequence of the strong and general expression of the public sentiment; or by inducing his majesty, in consequence of that expression, to have dismissed them, even though they were applauded and fenced by a majority of the house of commons. But, as has been already hinted, means were found, in the first instance, to deprive the people of that regular supply of information respecting the proceedings as they went on, which was necessary to keep alive their interest, and to let them into the knowledge of all the blunders that had been committed, and into the detail and particulars of the disgrace, expense, and loss of lives, which had followed from those blunders: and afterwards, when they were likely to have fixed their attention on the summing up of the evidence; on the weakness of the defence of ministers; and more especially on the vote by which their representatives were about not merely to acquit, but to applaud the authors of the disgrace, expense, and loss of lives; an occurrence was eagerly seized by the friends of the accused, which

most completely absorbed and drew off the public attention and interest.

As soon as the house of commons had determined to enter on the investigation respecting the expedition to the Scheldt, Mr. Yorke, the member for Cambridgeshire, put in force the standing order of the house, by which strangers were excluded during the examination of the several witnesses. His reason for this measure was plausible and specious: he contended, that in consequence of the public receiving the evidence respecting the duke of York in detached portions, they formed their opinion against him from a narrow and partial view of the subject; that in consequence of this, his royal highness's case and statement never received a fair and full investigation by the nation at large, who were in fact his judges; since from the strong and universal expression of their opinions, he had found himself compelled to resign his situation; and that, therefore, a regard to the cause and ends of justice, and to the character and fate of ministers, demanded that the public should not receive the evidence on this case, till they received it complete, and bearing both on the accusation and defence of those whose conduct was arraigned. In reply to this, it may be remarked, that by publishing detached portions of the evidence on any accusation brought before the house of commons; it is as likely that favourable as unfavourable circumstances should first come before the public; and it might with more propriety and force have been contended, that the speech of the member who summed up the evidence against ministers should not have been printed, because it appearing first in the newspapers, might prejudice the mind of the nation before they read the reply. But while we consider Mr. Yorke's motion as originating from a regard to the cause of justice, and tending, as it is maintained, to secure the accused from rash and violent invective, and ultimately from ignorant and undeserved condemnation; let us examine it in another point of view. It is too evident that the expression of public opinion is too often necessary, even under our happy constitution, to keep the representatives of the nation, and much more ministers, strictly to their duty. But by depriving the people of the means of judging of the causes and the authors of the calamities anddisgrace at Walcheren, (and the great majority of the nation were most effectually deprived, by having the evidence presented to them in one mass, so that they had no opportunity or leisure to read and digest it,) the fate of ministers was left entirely to the house of commons: they were no longer responsible to the nation, but to the members of that house. Had the members been chosen in a different manner, most probably the voice of the nation and the voice of the parliament would have coincided: but as it is constituted, it is all the better for occasionally hearing the opinion of the public, especially on a question where the character and fate of ministers are implicated. If it then be said, that by moving the standing order Mr. Yorke prevented the nation from forming a partial and unjust opinion on the merits of the investigation; it may on the other hand be urged, that by so doing he removed the check and guidance of the public voice, and left the decision of the question to men who were at least as likely to incline

incline towards the accused, as the nation would have been to have passed an unjust sentence upon them.

Mr. Yorke's conduct on this occasion was justly appreciated both by ministers and the public. The former were so sensible of the benefit they had derived from his seasonable enforcement of the standing order, that he soon obtained from them the situations of teller of the exchequer and first lord of the admiralty.

In consequence of these appointments, he necessarily vacated his seat for Cambridgeshire; and in the popular indignation that was roused against him throughout the kingdom, as well as in the defeat of his attempt to be re-elected, the sense of the nation was unequivocally pronounced on the merit and motives of his services to ministry. It was expected by himself and his friends, that, however unpopular he might be in other parts of England, still in Cambridgeshire he would retain influence enough to be re-elected. In this county, his brother, lord Hardwicke, possessed considerable property and sway; and in one part of it, (the district of Ely,) respect and veneration for the memory of his uncle, who had been bishop of that diocese, remained in considerable force. But all these favourable circumstances were unavailing; and from the reception he met with in Cambridgeshire, where he possessed so large a portion of influence, might easily be collected the idea that was formed of his late conduct by the nation at large.

He was opposed in his election by lord Francis Osborne; and so decided and general was the sense of the freeholders of the county at the meeting which was held to nominate a representative against their late member, and in favour of the new candidate, that Mr. Yorke thought it proper to decline a poll. At this meeting, the whole of his political conduct was canvassed with the utmost freedom. He was accused of having lent himself a ready and zealous supporter to those measures which had aimed at the liberty of the subject;—to have opposed all attempts to introduce œconomy, or to restore the constitution to its original purity. The part which he took during the investigation of the charges brought against the duke of York, and the imputation of jacobinism and conspiracy which he had cast on those who questioned the innocence of his royal highness, were not forgotten. Perhaps no candidate, during a poll, ever heard all that could be said, justly or unjustly, against his character and conduct so openly and strongly brought forward. In vain he attempted to defend himself: he was indeed partially heard; but he spoke to men who would believe nothing good, nothing patriotic, nothing principled, to have proceeded from one who had invaded one of the privileges of Britons, by depriving them, as far as in him lay, of the melancholy consolation of knowing who were the authors of their calamities.

Mr. Yorke was destined to become the origin of proceedings which rendered him still more unpopular; and which, while they freed ministers from public indignation respecting the issue of the expedition to Walcheren, exposed them to it on another account, and for some days shook to its centre the tranquillity of the metropolis. There are several debating societies in London, where questions,

chiefly of a political nature, are discussed. Soon after the commencement of the French revolution, the proceedings and speeches of the members of these societies outraged so completely the necessary restraints of order and good government, that by the operation of the acts (usually called the Pitt and Grenville acts) they were silenced. They were not opened again till several years afterwards: and, for some time after their reopening, the subjects discussed in them were of a nature little connected with politics, so that government did not put in force the law against them. By degrees, however, they resumed, in some degree, their old character; suited indeed to the altered sentiments and views of the times, which no longer were interested in discussions on the abstract points of politics, or would endure the open avowal and defence of republican doctrines and principles. Of one of these societies John Gale Jones was the chief supporter, and the most popular and able orator. This man had been known during the most violent days of admiration for the French revolution; and his political conduct, at that time, had exposed him to much trouble. Either for the purpose of securing a numerous attendance at the debating society, which he supported, and thus making it a more profitable concern; or because he thought the public attention ought to be called to the character and most prominent actions of public men; or from a mixture of both these motives and reasons,—he never failed to propose for discussion the most popular political topic or event of the day. Nearly at the same time that Mr. Yorke enforced the standing order for the exclusion of strangers from the gallery of the house of commons, Mr. Windham indulged himself in a violent attack on the character of those gentlemen who report for the newspapers, and on the liberty (or, as he termed it, the licentiousness) of the press. As the members of the debating societies not only discuss but come to a decision, questions that admit of comparison or contrast are always selected. The motion of Mr. Yorke, and the consequences it had and was likely to have on the pending investigation, were the common topic of conversation throughout the metropolis. The speech of Mr. Windham was not calculated to excite such general attention; but the general character of that gentleman, his known aristocratic principles, and especially the contrast between his behaviour to the newspaper reporters and the picture he drew of them, and between the anxiety he always expressed to have his speeches well heard and faithfully given in the public prints, and the total indifference which he asserted in parliament that he felt on those points had drawn upon him no small share of the attention and conversation of the inhabitants of London. Mr. Gale Jones therefore, in conformity to his usual plan, proposed for discussion in the British Forum (for such was the name of his debating society): "Which was most deserving the censure of the public,—Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order of the house to exclude strangers from the inquiry into the Walcheren expedition, or Mr. Windham's late attack on the liberty of the press?" The subjects for discussion, with the decision of the preceding night, were always placarded in different

parts

parts of the metropolis; and this, of course, was exhibited in the same manner.

Mr. Yorke considering himself aggrieved, and that through him the privileges of the house of commons were invaded, made a formal complaint on the subject. In consequence of this, Mr. Gale Jones, whom the printer of the placard pointed out, and who confessed himself to be the author, was brought to the bar of the house, and after considerable discussion was committed to Newgate. The grounds of Mr. Yorke's complaint were undoubtedly just; and the defence set up for thus bringing the characters of individuals before these debating societies was futile in the extreme. No person who has attended them, or knows how they are composed and conducted, can possibly believe that impartiality and justice are either the result or the object of their decisions. Where a partial and highly exaggerated picture is drawn; addressed to people little accustomed to cool and comprehensive views; and where the language is chosen more for the purpose of inflaming the passions than of enlightening the judgement; and, above all, where a patient hearing is given only to speakers on one side of the quetion;—the consequences must be not merely injustice to the persons whose characters are discussed, but the heightening of political ignorance, prejudice and violence, in the minds and behaviour of those who frequent them. If it were possible that in such societies the truth respecting either public men or public measures could be calmly and fully brought out, and exposed in a calm and dispassionate manner to impartial and well-informed hearers, the good proceeding from them would be great: but as they are constituted, and as indeed they necessarily must be constituted, they must be regarded in any other light than as the origin or nurse of political knowledge and liberty.

But though we agree with Mr. Yorke in censuring the choice of topics for discussion in these societies, and the manner in which the debates are conducted, we question very much the wisdom and policy of the steps he took to vindicate his character and assert the privileges of parliament. It would have been not only more dignified, but more politic and wise, to have passed it over in contempt and silence. If his object were to clear his own character, he should have considered that such a mode of proceeding as he adopted would only confirm the prejudice entertained against him;—and if his object were to assert the privileges of parliament, that vindication would have come with a much better grace from a member not personally concerned.

Although several members of the house of commons expressed their doubts of the policy of committing Mr. Gale Jones, or wished more lenient measures to be pursued against him, yet none of them denied or doubted the power of the house to proceed against him, as far as it actually did, as a punishment for his breach of privilege. This was reserved for sir Francis Burdett,—a man who never passes unnoticed and unemployed an opportunity, his friends say, of defending the liberty and securing the property of the subject:—his enemies assert, of shaking the foundations of government, and inspiring discontent and dissatisfaction among the people.—He happened to be absent from the house on the day when the committal of Mr. Gale Jones to Newgate

Newgate was ordered: but as soon as possible after his return to his duty he moved for his liberation, and grounded his motion on an attempt to prove, that the house of commons had exerted a power which the constitution did not give them, and of which no precedent could be found. In the speech which he made to this effect, great research and knowledge of the law and practice of parliament was displayed:—for it we shall refer to our Parliamentary Debates.—Not content with denying the rights of the house to commit a person not a member for a breach of privilege, in a speech delivered to that house in support of a motion which he regularly made, he afterwards published it, and prefixed a letter addressed to his constituents.—As this letter is highly interesting and important, not merely on account of the sentiments it contains, but as having given rise to the commitment of the author to the Tower, and to a very ample discussion of the powers and privileges of parliament, it requires to be analysed and considered at some length.

Sir Francis Burdett begins his letter by stating to his constituents, that the question he was about to discuss was one of the utmost importance,—a question on which their characters as freemen and even their personal liberty and safety clearly depended. He then in his accustomed plain-spoken language states the question to be, "Whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary for him to describe."

In order that this subject may be canvassed and decided upon in the most impartial and cool manner, he declares his intention of viewing and treating it in a general point of view, without any special or direct reference to the particular case which had called forth the discussion. But at the same time, by considering it in this general manner, he desires his constituents not to imagine that any or all of them are not interested in it; since, if the house of commons had a right to act as they did against Mr. Gale Jones, "it is impossible for any one to conjecture how soon he himself may be summoned from his dwelling, and be hurried without trial and without oath made against him from the bosom of his family, into the clutches of a jailer."

He then lays down the question in a very narrow compass, —but in words which, it would be contended by those who were of an opposite opinion, did not convey it fairly and clearly;—"either the house of commons is authorized to dispense with the laws of the land, or it is not." In case it is so authorized, he contends that our boasted constitution may indeed form the theme of panegyrical declamation; but it is of no practical utility: magna charta must no longer be regarded as the bulwark of English liberties: it exists only as a piece of antiquity; as a melancholy proof of what our ancestors obtained and enjoyed, and what their degenerate posterity have lost. But if the constitution still exists; if it still possess an animating influence and a practical effect over the whole administration of our laws; if it is still applicable to the grand and beneficial purposes for which it was formed; and is still worthy to be taught our children, as the pride and safety of Britons;—it is impossible the

house

house of commons can legally possess the privilege and power which they have claimed and exercised.

Having thus put the alternatives in this loose and declamatory way, he proceeds to disclaim any wish or passion for what is new. All he contends for is the constitution of our ancestors: but that constitution not in letter and form merely, but in spirit and substance; not mutilated and impaired, but in all its youthful strength and vigour;—that constitution which was purchased with the blood of our forefathers, and which they bequeathed to us, as the birth-right of the people of England.

That he is contending for no innovation; that he is opposing those who would introduce innovation, and who wish to destroy the grand and sublime maxim proclaimed to kings of old—"The laws of England shall not be changed;"—a reference to the charters of their liberties; to the laws of the land; to the practices of their ancestors,—will clearly and abundantly testify. Having already raised his voice in behalf of the individual whom the commons have imprisoned—but raised it in vain,—he calls upon his constituents to lend the aid of their voice, which may command greater respect, and which, he is not without hopes, "may prove irresistible."

He then illustrates and proves the position he had laid down,—that nothing new was sought,—by tracing the principle, for which he wishes his constituents to "contend," through some of the most interesting and instructive periods of English history; from the time the barons obtained magna charta, and the resistance made to the payment of the ship-money in the reign of Charles I., and the consequent dethronement and death of that ill-advised and unfortunate monarch. It again was acted upon during the measures which compelled James the Second to fly the kingdom and abdicate the throne; and it was fully recognised by the monarch whom the nation called upon to succeed him.

"If then our ancestors possessed such a pure, ardent, and daring love of liberty, as to oppose with firmness and success the exercise of unjust and enslaving prerogative; shall their sons be afraid to enter the lists with undefined privilege assuming the powers of prerogative!"

Sir Francis Burdett then adverts to the observation that may probably be made, "that there is not much danger of this power being very frequently exercised;" and replies, that "every kind and degree of power may be apologized for or defended on the same grounds. If the house of commons actually possess the right which they have exercised in the case of Mr. Gale Jones, and if they deem that right given them or assumed by them for the purpose of protecting their members and their deliberations, it is to be supposed that they will exercise it whenever they consider their privileges invaded. How often, therefore, they may or will exercise it, depends rather upon the people, as they are deterred or not deterred, by the proof of its existence and use, from expressing their opinion of the members and proceedings of the house, than upon the house itself. If then the unfrequent exercise of this power arises from a single example of its having deterred the people from expressing their opinions of the conduct of those who have the power to punish them; the observation that there is not much danger of this power being very

very frequently exercised amounts merely to this: that, having effected the purpose for which it is given or assumed, it will not be called into action without an object. To suppose that it will not be exercised as often as cases similar to that of Mr. Gale Jones occur, is to suppose that the commons will virtually acknowledge they acted rashly and unjustly in his case; or that, still being of the same opinion with respect to the right and utility of their privilege, they will nevertheless waive the exercise of it."

A more fair and natural mode of arguing would be to infer, that as "it is the nature of all power, and especially of assumed and undefined power, to increase as it advances in age,"—so the privilege claimed and exercised will be extended instead of curtailed; that it will be called into use and exercise against men who may whisper a doubt of the purity of parliament, or state their opinion respecting rotten boroughs, or placemen or pensioners sitting in the house. Mr. Gale Jones was imprisoned for asserting that Mr. Yorke's conduct was an outrage upon public feeling. This was declared to be a libel on the house; but certainly the vague and comprehensive meaning of the expressions *libel* and *breach of privilege* might easily and with as much justice be made to embrace every petition which prayed for reform, or questioned the justice or utility of the proceedings of parliament.

Towards the conclusion of his letter, sir Francis Burdett adverts to the kind of punishment which, if the house of commons possess this undefined privilege, they may, if they see fit, inflict on those they declare to have invaded it. If the will of the house is to be law; if the power they possess is not marked out and limited by the constitution; but depends solely on their own pleasure; they may not only comprize under the head of *breach of privilege* every reflection on the mode in which the members are chosen, or on the proceedings of parliament, but they may inflict on the persons who so offend them whatever punishment they deem proper. If they possess the right of committing to Newgate for one month, how can the people be sure, that they do not also possess the power of imprisoning for life, in a solitary cell, in the most dreary and remote jail of the kingdom?

Such is the substance and purport of the celebrated letter which sir Francis Burdett addressed to his constituents, as an introduction to the speech which he had delivered in the house of commons when he moved for the liberation of Mr. Gale Jones. In consequence of its publication, it was moved and carried in the house, that sir Francis Burdett had been guilty of a libel on the house; and he was ordered to be taken into custody of the sergeant-at-arms and committed to the Tower. The sergeant-at-arms, as soon as he received the warrant from the speaker, went to sir Francis Burdett's house; but not finding him at home, he wrote to inform him, that having a warrant against him, he wished to serve it with all possible delicacy, and perform his duty as quietly as possible. Soon afterwards the sergeant-at-arms had an interview with sir Francis, who informed him that he had written to the speaker; and led the sergeant to conceive that if he called the next day in the forenoon he should be ready to accompany him. The sergeant-at-arms then returned to the speaker, who advised him to go back and execute the warrant without further

further delay. In compliance with this advice, he returned to the house of the baronet, who, however, told him he disputed the legality of the warrant, and that nothing but actual force should remove him.

On the very evening of the day on which the house of commons directed the speaker to issue his warrant for the apprehension and committal of sir Francis Burdett, the populace began to collect before his house in Piccadilly. On Saturday forenoon the concourse of people was so great, and resistance on their part to the execution of the warrant so highly probable, that ministers thought proper to call out the military who were actually in London, and to send orders for several regiments, who were within a day's march, to proceed with all dispatch to the metropolis. The populace who were collected before the baronet's house compelled all who were on horseback or in carriages, as they passed, to pull off their hats: if they refused, they assaulted them with mud and stones. In the evening they paraded the neighbouring streets, calling for lights, breaking the windows of such houses as did not illuminate, and more particularly venting their fury on the houses of most of the ministry, and of such members of the house of commons as had taken an active part for the committal of sir Francis Burdett.

Under these circumstances the sergeant-at-arms was at a loss how to act. When sir Francis Burdett informed him that he would resist the execution of the warrant, and when he saw that the door of the baronet's house was barricadoed, he was convinced that with his usual assistants he could not prudently or with any chance of success attempt to execute the warrant, even though there had been no mob collected in Piccadilly. Besides, it was necessary to send notice to the lord mayor, since no civil or military force the sergeant might take with him from Westminster could enter the city without the permission of that magistrate. To all these causes of delay on the part of the sergeant-at-arms, was added a doubt, which sprung up in his mind as soon as he perceived that he must force the door of the baronet in order to take him into custody, whether the warrant under which he was bound and authorized to act, was legal to that extent. In this dilemma he submitted a case to the attorney-general, whether in the execution of the warrant of the speaker of the house of commons he would be justified in breaking open the outer or any inner door of the private dwelling-house of sir Francis Burdett;—whether he might take with him a civil or military force for that purpose, such force acting under the directions of a civil magistrate;—and whether such a mode of procedure would be justifiable in the night as well as in the day-time.

The opinion of the attorney-general is singularly indecisive, and bears too much the appearance of grounding on supposed and very distant analogies a mode of procedure, which from its nature ought to have been shown to rest on the most indubitable authority, and the most direct and applicable precedents. He acknowledges that no instance has been stated to him, and he presumes none exists, in which the outer door of a house had been broken open under the speaker's warrant. He then cites several authorities and cases to prove that, where the king is a party, the sheriff may break open the defendant's house; and reasoning from hence, he states his opinion, but in a very guarded

guarded and cautious manner, that as the greater power of a warrant in this case arises from "the greater importance of enforcing the process of the crown for the public benefit, than that of individuals for the support of their private rights; so the warrants issued by the speaker, being in support of those privileges which are given to the house of commons for the benefit of the public only, ought to possess the same means of execution." The attorney-general however expresses no doubts about the defensibility of the act, if it were done; though, with perplexity and unaccountable inconsistency, he gives no decided opinion whether it could be legally done. He advises the sergeant-at-arms to take a military force with him, under the direction of a civil magistrate; but not to execute the warrant in the night.

It it evident that an opinion so expressed was by no means calculated to remove the doubts of the sergeant-at-arms respecting the legality of executing the warrant by force. On this opinion, however, he was obliged to act. Accordingly a little before 11 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 9th of April, the sergeant-at-arms, accompanied by messengers, police officers, and a large military force, broke into the house of sir Francis Burdett in Piccadilly. The baronet had the day before called upon the sheriffs of Middlesex in their official capacity to free his house from the armed force which paraded before it, and to secure him against the violent execution of the speaker's warrant, which he apprehended. They had accordingly obliged the military to remove further from his house; and one of them had assured him that on the Monday he would collect the *posse comitatus*, dismiss the soldiers, and take upon himself to protect the city from the violence of the populace,—for which purpose the armed force had been ostensibly called out; and the house and person of sir Francis Burdett from the execution of any illegal warrant. But before the sheriff arrived to perform his promise, the sergeant-at-arms had served the warrant on the baronet. He made merely a show of resistance; professed his willingness to obey the warrant, if it were executed in the name of the king; but positively denied the legality of it, as proceeding from the house of commons.—He was then put into a coach, which, preceded and guarded by a large body of cavalry, went by such a route to the Tower as was least public, and did not lead them at all within the limits of the city. At the time when the sergeant-at-arms broke into the house of sir Francis very few people were collected in Piccadilly; but the report of his seizure spread rapidly: the streets through which it was supposed he would pass were crowded with people, who, as they learnt or suspected that he had been conveyed by a different route, proceeded forward to Tower-hill. Hence, before he could arrive there, the multitude was immense. As soon as they perceived the carriage in which he was conveyed, their heads were uncovered, and the air rang with acclamations in favour of the man whom they regarded as about to become a prisoner for his defence of their rights. The populace refrained from attacking the military till they began to return; but scarcely had they entered East-Cheap, when their rear was attacked with a shower of stones and mud. For a considerable time the military bore the assault with coolness and patience,—but at last, finding the mob

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grew more daring, they fired several shot, by which unfortunately two or three lives were lost.

We shall not pretend to assign or to scrutinize into the motives by which the baronet was actuated throughout this transaction; nor shall we enter at length into the inquiry whether his conduct marked the patriot or the incendiary. One or two remarks, however, we deem it necessary to make. It has been triumphantly urged by those who totally condemn the conduct of sir Francis Burdett on this occasion, that if proof were wanting of the badness of his views and principles, it was abundantly to be found in his exposing the tranquillity of the metropolis, and hazarding a repetition of the dreadful scenes of 1780, by his resistance to the speaker's warrant. Unless the legality of the warrant is here not only taken for granted, but considered as beyond a doubt, and resting as plainly and firmly on the known and acknowledged law of the land as the warrant of a magistrate or the king, this mode of arguing will strike at the foundation of resistance to the most despotic and unlawful authority; and will involve in condemnation not only sir Francis Burdett, but Hampden when he resisted the payment of the ship-money, and those who opposed the tyranny of James the Second. It becomes every man to examine impartially, deliberately, and fully, before he decides on the legality or illegality of any measure in which he is concerned; but if he is convinced it is illegal, neither justice to himself nor his country leaves him at liberty to yield to it, without endeavouring to set it aside, or at least putting his countrymen in possession of the opinion he has formed respecting its illegality, and of the grounds on which that opinion rests.

But it is contended, sir Francis Burdett might have brought the legality of the speaker's warrant to a trial, without having offered so violent and protracted a resistance. The reply to this remark is simple, obvious, and conclusive. It was of the utmost importance to try not only the general legality of the warrant, but the extent of that legality; whether it justified the breaking open the doors of a house, so that no doubt might remain on any point of this most important question. But it is self-evident that the extent of the power and legality of the warrant could not be tried, unless sir Francis Burdett had closed his doors against the sergeant-at-arms. That a few days elapsed before he was actually apprehended, did not originate with him, but with those to whom the execution of the warrant was committed. The same force which took him on the Monday, might have taken him a few hours after the speaker issued his warrant.—To assert that he made a protracted resistance, implies that he ultimately surrendered himself; whereas he neither made more resistance, nor yielded himself up more easily, on the day he was taken, than he would have done at any time after he had determined to try the extent of the power and legality of the warrant.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

Public Attention and Interest engrossed by the Imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett—Opinions respecting it by his political Friends—by more impartial People—Observations on the Privileges of the House of Commons—Difference between a despotic and free Government: the latter sometimes obliged to adopt the Forms of the former—These Cases should be well defined, and supported by absolute Necessity—These Remarks applied to the present Question—Inquiry into the Difference of the Case of Sir Francis Burdett from that of Mr. Gale Jones—Petitions to the House of Commons—their Language reprobated—Counter-Meetings—ill-managed—Addresses to Sir Francis Burdett—His Reply to the Livery—His Liberation from the Tower—Nature and State of the Actions he has commenced.

THE publication of sir Francis Burdett's letter to his constituents, and the proceedings and consequences to which this gave rise, which terminated, as we have seen, in the committal of the baronet to the Tower, took place exactly as the evidence respecting the expedition to Walcheren was finished, and the decision of the house on the conduct of ministers was about to be pronounced. On this point the attention and interest of the nation were fixed, though, from the operation of Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order, not so powerfully or generally as might have been expected. The inhabitants of the metropolis, who from obvious causes always take a more lively interest in the proceedings of parliament than people at a distance from it, had watched the progress and tendency of the evidence, and the conduct and votes of the different members, on the preliminary and intermediate points; and were steadily directing their thoughts to the approaching issue, when the circumstance of sir Francis Burdett's arrest and imprisonment called off their attention from it; and the acquittal of ministers was received as if it had been a matter of no moment or interest.—For what it had done and was doing in the case of sir Francis Burdett, the house of commons was branded with every epithet of contempt: they were no longer, now, merely represented as under the influence of ministers, but the nation was called to protect themselves against them, as a body of men who wished to set themselves up above all law, and on whose will and pleasure, unknown till it was pronounced and proceeded to punishment, the liberty of the subject depended.

There were several causes which operated to call off the attention of the nation at large, and particularly of the inhabitants of the metropolis, from the proceedings relative to the expedition to Walcheren, and to fix it exclusively and more deeply on the imprisonment of sir Francis Burdett. In the first place the baronet was a great favourite with a vast number of people, both in the metropolis and throughout the nation at large:—in the city which he represented in parliament, he

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was almost adored, principally indeed by the lower orders of men, but also, though not in a manner so likely to call them forth in his defence, by the more wealthy and respectable classes. It is no wonder, therefore, that the imprisonment of such a popular character should call off the attention of the people even from the acquittal of the authors of the most extensive and disgraceful disaster which had tarnished the annals of the country. The man, whom his constituents had chosen because they believed him uncorruptible, and that he would watch over their interests and the interests of the whole nation, in the house of commons, with unremitting jealousy and zeal; to whom they looked up as the main spring of a reform in parliament, a more rigorous œconomy, and the removal of all the evils under which they suffered; was deprived of his seat, and thus rendered for a time incapable of performing his duty; and not merely deprived of his seat, but committed to prison. Their indignation on this account was greatly increased when they considered the men by whom these things had been done, and the eagerness with which many of the leading members of opposition had stepped forward to support ministers on this occasion.—But, in the second place, the interest of the people in behalf of sir Francis Burdett was increased, by the reflection that he had thus been deprived of his seat and committed to the Tower, solely because he had spoken out in defence of what he conceived to be the rights of British subjects, and against the violation of those rights by what he deemed an illegal and usurped power. They regarded him as a martyr in their cause; they therefore felt themselves bound by every tie of gratitude, independently of their previous esteem for his character and attachment to his person, to let no other public thought enter their mind; they had no room for it, no desire to cherish or admit it, till they had expressed their sense of his merits and used their endeavours to procure his liberation.

It is evident that these two causes were very considerably composed of personal considerations for sir Francis Burdett, and they accordingly operated principally, though not exclusively, with those who admired his general principles and conduct, and were of opinion that throughout the whole of this transaction he had conducted himself not only properly, but in strict conformity to those general principles and that conduct. But there was a very large class of well-informed and impartial people, who, though they did not admire the avowed principles and established character of sir Francis Burdett, and thought him highly and particularly blameable for the whole of his conduct on this occasion, yet felt themselves deeply interested in the case on general grounds. It brought before them, more fully and openly than had ever been done before, the privileges claimed by the house of commons; and led them to reflect deeply and seriously on a question which, though of the greatest moment and closely connected with their constitutional liberties, had never before engaged their attention. In comparison with the inquiry thus forced on their attention, they deemed the guilt or innocence of ministers in the Walcheren expedition as of very temporary and limited importance. The utmost that could be proved against them was, that in the planning and execution of the expedition they had displayed most

culpable mismanagement, and a total want of the requisite ability:—but even though they escaped uncensured, yet, allowing them the common feelings and policy of men, there was not much reason to dread that they would again engage in an enterprise of such serious magnitude and consequence in such a rash and incapable manner. Besides, if the consequences of a repetition of the disgrace and loss experienced at Walcheren are compared with the consequences which must result from the frequent and unchecked exercise of an unknown, undefined, and unlimited power, claimed by men who contend that they are the sole judges of its legality and extent,—they must be deemed as dust in the balance.

On some or all of these grounds, the admirers of sir Francis Burdett, and the inhabitants of the metropolis in particular, and those who were jealous of any invasion of the rights of Englishmen, or any infringement of the principles of the constitution, throughout the kingdom in general, found themselves impelled, or deemed themselves called upon, to turn their attention from the Walcheren expedition to the recent conduct of the house of commons. The question respecting the legality of the proceedings, so far as it rested on precedent, authority and usage, was argued in the house itself with considerable ability and learning:—but, as too often happens where an appeal on disputed points is made to this mode of decision, no regular and established uniformity was found in the precedents, authorities and usages, brought forward on this occasion. Those succeeded better who opposed the proceedings of the house of commons on the ground that they were directly and unequivocally at variance not only with the spirit of the British constitution, but with many express acts of the legislature; acts which, of course, had received the assent and sanction of that very branch which now claimed an authority to dispense with them. But even on this ground the defenders of the privileges of the house of commons made a firm stand; they contended, that as by the constitution the house formed part of the legislature, to which certain important duties belonged, every thing necessary for the due, faithful and undisturbed performance of those duties was virtually given it; and as the full security of such performance was not only paramount to any particular law, but absolutely necessary for all the purposes of government,—to maintain that these privileges were contrary to any act of the legislature, was to maintain the absurdity, that the constitution had empowered the house of commons to act as a deliberative and legislative body, while particular acts of parliament declared it unlawful for them to take those measures which were absolutely necessary for the due discharge of their high and important duty. Another absurdity, it was alleged, also followed, still greater if possible than the one just stated; namely, that the house of commons itself had given its assent to, and been assisting in passing, acts, the object of which was in fact to injure themselves. This mode of arguing evidently had a tendency to bring the question to another and a different test, by which several of the most intelligent of those who questioned or denied the right of the house of commons to act, as they had done in the cases of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, thought that it ought alone to be determined.—As the consider-

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ation of the question viewed in this light was not extensively gone into in the debates to which the proceedings gave rise,—and indeed scarcely touched upon,—it may not be improper to enter upon it briefly here; referring our readers for the more learned and legal discussion of it to our Parliamentary Debates.

It may at first sight seem that we are commencing at a great distance from the immediate subject of investigation: but it is absolutely necessary to state in few words the radical and essential difference between a free and a despotic government. The application of this statement to our present question will soon appear.

In the first place, in a despotic government the will of the sovereign is law; of course the community there must be entirely ignorant of the particular actions that will lead to punishment; nor can they foretell, from having seen certain actions punished, that similar actions will for the future meet the same fate: they have no fixed and known rule by which to regulate their conduct. In the second place, such a government, though written laws may exist in its statute-book, never permits the execution of them to proceed in an impartial manner, which in fact reduces the condition of the people to the same state as if they had no laws; or rather, till they experience that the laws will not be executed in a regular manner, their condition must be worse. Thirdly, in a despotic government, wherever the sovereign happens to be a party concerned, he is judge in hi own case, either directly or by the influence he possesses over those who administer the laws. And lastly, a despotic government differs from a free one, in not affording any opportunity to the accused of proving his innocence. The ground of all these differences, and indeed the essential distinction between the two forms of government, is, that a free government has no object and no tendency but the happiness of the subjects; —a despotic government, depending solely on the pleasure and will of the sovereign, is directed exclusively to the accomplishment of his wishes.

But in the freest governments cases must occur, where a regard to the very object such governments have in view,—the security, liberty and happiness of the whole community,—necessarily obliges them to assume some of the features of despotism. As different forms of government are valuable only so far as they promote in a greater or less degree these objects, to brand any government as despotic merely because in cases where the attainment of these objects is otherwise impracticable it has recourse to particular acts at variance with its general and fundamental principles, would be to discover a preference for the means above the end, and a willingness to sacrifice the reality to the shadow of liberty. But it must be clearly and satisfactorily made out, that the great objects of a free government cannot be obtained by the ordinary and regular course of its established laws, and that the anomaly which they are compelled to introduce and to act upon, is strictly confined to such cases where it is imperiously called for by the paramount considerations, of the security, liberty and well-being of the community.

To apply these general and abstract observations to the question now under consideration.—The house of commons, by the constitution of this country, have certain

duties to perform: they are bound to meet, deliberate on legislative and other measures that may come before them; and in some cases they are empowered to call for and examine witnesses. In order to the due and full performance of these duties, and to the free and beneficial exercise of those powers vested in them by the constitution, not the least doubt can be entertained that they have a right to compel the attendance of their own members, or of such other persons as they may wish to examine upon any subject. Did they not possess that right, they would exist but in name; they could not possibly discharge any of their duties. But another right must likewise be given them; they must possess the power of preserving peace and order during their deliberations, that each member of the house may have an opportunity of delivering his sentiments without fear and interruption, and that their proceedings may go on without delay or interruption. All agree that they have and ought to possess these rights; and that for the exercise of these rights their own power and authority are and ought to be sufficient. It would avail them little to possess these rights, if they were constantly obliged to call in the assistance of the civil magistrate to compel the attendance of their members, or to remove any person that might interrupt their proceedings. —But beyond this much doubt and difference of opinion arise. Those who maintain the privileges of the house of commons as they were exercised in the case of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, would comprise under the same necessity a power to commit for libels on the house, or on any individual person, in their character of members of that house; or, generally, a power to punish not only such as directly interrupt or delay their proceedings, but such as by any thing they may say, publish, or do, bring the house or any of its members into contempt, or endeavour to intimidate them, by calling forth against them the public indignation, from the conscientious discharge of their duty.—Those who hold a contrary opinion do not deny that the members of the house of commons should be protected from all endeavours to silence or bias them, by exciting against them the contempt or indignation of the public; but they contend that the regular operation of the law is fully equal to this, and that the same necessity for having recourse to it in these cases, as in the cases of compelling attendance or preserving order, by no means exists.—In the latter cases necessity, or in other words the impossibility of otherwise gaining from the house of commons those public benefits for which it was established by the constitution, compels recourse to be had to one of the characteristic measures of a despotic government,—the passing of judgement and inflicting of punishment by the party aggrieved: but this measure, thus had recourse to solely because in a few particular and special instances it is unfortunately necessary for the good of the community, ought in no instance, being itself an evil, to be employed where that necessity does not indisputably exist, or, to speak more plainly, where the objects of a free government can be secured by the usual and regular operation of its laws.

When the proceedings of the house of commons are delayed or interrupted by non-attendance or by noisy and disorderly behaviour, the culpability of the person can admit

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of no doubt, and the effect of his conduct is such, that, unless immediate punishment were inflicted upon him, the functions of this branch of the legislature would be at an end. In punishing therefore, in these cases, they do not decide on what is uncertain, or admits of delay; they must either do so, or cease to meet. But if it is inquired, what mischief would arise if they referred every other case of what is called breach of privilege to the ordinary course and due punishment of the law; it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to point any out. We should always remember, that the constitution, and indeed the very nature of things, vests in the house of commons, and every other public body which forms part of the established authorities of the land, a power and right to punish summarily and of themselves, without having recourse to the law, the cases of non-attendance and noisy and disorderly behaviour; because, if in these cases they had recourse to the law, their proceedings could not go on, and the community would thus be injured. They possess the right and power generally, not because the crimes are committed against the house of commons, but because they are such crimes as must be put down immediately,—to which the slow hand of the law cannot be applied,—and in the punishment of which the house of commons cannot from their very nature go wrong. To give the power of punishing to the aggrieved person, especially in a summary manner, ought always to be avoided in a free government. When the good of the community requires that it should be given, it should be carefully confined to cases that necessarily demand it: the nature and limits of these cases should be clearly determined and known; and on no pretext should it go beyond them.—One of the principal mistakes of those who defend the privileges of the house of commons as exercised in the instances of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, appears to arise from supposing, that where the houses of parliament or the courts of judicature (for their privileges are deemed parallel and equal) proceed summarily, and themselves inflict punishment, without a regular trial, in cases of non-attendance or interruption, they do, and have the right to do so, *because the crimes are committed against them;* whereas, as has just been observed, their right does not rest on this foundation, but on the ground of necessity, consisting in this, that they are *such crimes* committed against them, as, unless they possessed this right, would render the due discharge of their public duties impossible.

But would the due discharge of their public duties be impossible, if, where a libel were published against them, they had recourse to the law for their own protection, and the punishment of the offender? Let us put the strongest case possible: let us suppose the libel to be of the most violent and inflammatory nature, and to be intended and calculated to rouse the mob against the members of either house, so that it would be dangerous for them to attend in their places; or, when there, to vote contrary to the wishes of the populace. Let us first inquire how the house of commons have acted under similar circumstances:—it will no doubt be found that in some such instances they have exercised their privileges; but in other instances, where the

danger has been equally great and imminent, and the proceedings of the populace equally atrocious, they have had recourse to the law. And this very fact, of their having pursued these two modes under circumstances the same, or nearly the same, proves that they had an alternative, and of course that there was no necessity for the exercise of their privilege. It is indeed contended that the houses of parliament have a right to proceed either by course of law, or summarily by the exercise of their privilege; and that the choice rests on their own pleasure or judgement, and not on the necessity of the case:—but if this were the fact, the ground on which alone their privileges can be defended is virtually given up.

The reasoning from analogy on this point must be very loose and inconclusive. Even supposing it to be proved that the courts of law proceed summarily in cases of libel, still the right, the justice, or, more strongly, the necessity, for the public good, of their so proceeding, is not yet established. But there are strong instances in which the courts of law,—and an institution to which the liberty of this country owes its greatest security and protection, namely juries,—have had recourse to the established and regular mode to defend themselves and punish their libellers. A very few years since, a libel was published against the judge and jury for having acquitted a captain of a ship, accused of having murdered one of his seamen. The libel had a manifest tendency to fix the public odium and indignation both upon the judge and jury; and consequently to lead future juries in similar cases, in giving their verdict, to look more to popular opinion and expectation than to the merits and justice of the cause. But in this case recourse was had to the law; and the law was effectual. It might very plausibly have been urged that the libel was a contempt of court; that it ought to be punished summarily by the court; since, if the punishment were delayed and rendered uncertain by having recourse to the law, judges and juries, during the interval, would be deterred from the impartial performance of their duty!—The danger, however, was remote and uncertain; the evil of thus proceeding summarily, by which the aggrieved person would have been judge in his own cause, or at least the accused person would have been punished without the benefit of a trial, was certain and great.

The power and means by which the sovereign protects himself may also be cited. He has no protection but the laws, either in cases of libel against his person or authority, or on the stronger case of an assault upon him while proceeding to the exercise of his royal functions. The recollection of an assault upon him, some years ago, as he was going through St. James's Park to the house of lords, is still fresh. His life was certainly in imminent danger; but the assailants were delivered over to the law, and by the law were tried and punished. It is contended that if the house of commons did not possess the privilege of punishing summarily in cases where the members were assaulted in their way to the house, they would be deterred from the impartial performance of their duty. But the sovereign has also similar duties to perform; and in the instance just alluded to, it might with equal force be maintained that the assailants, offering violence to him as he was

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proceeding to the house of lords, ought to have been punished in a summary manner by his majesty's orders, without the intervention of the law.

The particular and special arguments which are brought forward in support of the privileges of the house of commons,—as they do not go to establish them on the unassailable foundation of the public welfare, but on the inferior considerations of the supposed impracticability or evil which would attend having recourse to the law,—deserve and require but a slight and cursory notice. By some it is contended, that the house of commons, being composed of enlightened men, conversant in detecting and eliciting truth, and in deciding upon difficult and abstruse questions, are more likely than a common jury to decide impartially and according to justice. But it ought to be considered, that the circumstance of being a party concerned is at least as formidable a bar to just decision, as want of habit or penetration. And moreover, if the most momentous questions, of life, property, and liberty, are committed by the constitution into the hands of juries, surely the house of commons need not be afraid to intrust them with their concerns. —Every view of human nature will lead us to expect an impartial jury, even where the question is directly between the people and the house of commons, more frequently and certainly than an unbiassed house of commons in the same case; since, the class of people from which juries are selected being more numerous, and less closely and uniformly connected in interests and opinion, than the comparatively few members of the house of commons, the chance that the decision will rest with impartial men is much greater. Besides, when a question comes before a jury, their decision is very much guided by the weight of evidence and the opinion of the judge: and the accused has every advantage that can be given him by the assistance of counsel. When the house of commons proceed summarily, the circumstances are the reverse; there is not only too much probability that, as being parties, they will lean to their own side, but the accused is cut off from every assistance and advantage which would make out his case even to the satisfaction and conviction of judges not interested.

But it is said that the house of commons, being a public body, and not possessing a law officer of their own, must be indebted to the king for the assistance of his attorney-general, if they were to have recourse to law. To this the replies are numerous. In the first place, if it be necessary, let the constitution give them the command of a proper officer, rather than from their want of one they should act contrary to the spirit of the constitution. Secondly, the same train of argument would prove the propriety of their having a military force at their immediate disposal, in order that they might not, as in the case of sir Francis Burdett, be obliged to solicit the aid of the king's soldiers. If they cannot, it is said, punish a libel against themselves, without having recourse to law, and for this purpose petitioning his majesty to order his attorney-general to commence and carry on the requisite action,—they cannot protect themselves without the aid of the sovereign; and a sovereign ill-disposed to the house of commons might refuse the aid of his attorney-general. This mode therefore would place their privileges entirely within the power of the sovereign.—But the mode they

do follow is equally objectionable on this score:—if resistance is made so as to render a military force necessary, they must ask aid of the king.

It is strangely contended by some, that the privileges of parliament should remain unknown and undefined; and the reason assigned is still more strange than the doctrine itself:—because, if every case of breach of privilege were stated and clearly marked out, human ingenuity might discover a method of libelling the house, which not being laid down as a breach of privilege could not be punished. In reply to this doctrine and this mode of supporting it, it may be asked, Under what designation should we distinguish the government of that country where this principle prevailed;—where no known and fixed code of laws existed, lest some crime might be committed and go unpunished, if the laws declared what was criminal?

Whatever therefore may be deemed cases of breach of privilege, punishable summarily by the house itself, they ought to be publicly made known, and accurately and clearly defined. Nothing should be hidden, nothing ambiguous or doubtful. The public should be informed for what crimes committed against parliament they were to be amenable to the laws of their country, and on what cases the parliament itself would decide. And it would be still more desirable, and render any necesary deviation from the spirit of the British constitution less objectionable and injurious to the public liberty and welfare, if not only the cases were defined, but the nature and degree of the punishment, which the parliament had a right to inflict, distinctly stated and limited. Where the forms of a free constitution are departed from for the purpose of preserving the essence and object of it, too much jealousy cannot be shown, too nice and discriminating attention cannot be paid, in order that nothing but the forms are given up, and these only where it is absolutely necessary.

It will be observed that throughout this discussion (the importance of which will we trust excuse its length) we have not separated the cases of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett. In fact, it does not seem that their cases are radically different. The latter indeed is a member of the house of commons, which the former is not; but we cannot perceive the force of the reasoning, which would ground on this difference the right of the house to commit the one, while it would deny its right to commit the other. It is said the houses of parliament must have power over its own members, otherwise they could not go on. So far as to compel their attendance, they must have that power: and, in a similar manner, if the presence of any person, not a member, were necessary to their proceedings, they have, and must have, the right to compel his attendance. But if they have no right to punish a person of the latter description, in the case of libel, they can, on the same principle, have no right to punish one of their own members so offending. When a person becomes a member of the house of commons, he does not divest himself, nor can he be divested of, his rights as a member of the community, except so far as those rights interfere with the duty he has taken upon himself, and which a regard to the public welfare calls upon him to discharge. The only difference therefore between the privileges of the house of commons, as they apply to a member and to a

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person not a member, is, that the former is necessarily much more frequently exposed to their action than the latter; both on the same grounds—the insurement of the due and beneficial discharge of the functions of the house in cases where the operation of the law would be too slow.

By such a train of reasoning as that which we have detailed, fixed on the plain and firm basis of the liberty and well-being of the subject, the only proper end and object of all government,—and therefore more especially the end and object of the free government of this country,—were many intelligent and well-disposed persons induced to question the assumed and exercised privileges of the house of commons, and to regard their conduct towards Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett as at variance with the spirit of the British constitution, and the just cause of regret and alarm, although they were by no means disposed to accord with the general principles or to approve the conduct of those individuals. But while such persons thought that the house of commons had gone beyond their just and legal powers, they did not think themselves justified, nor did their opinion of the members of that house collectively and individually lead them, to trace this stretch of power to a wish, much less a settled plan, of invading the rights of the people and setting themselves above the laws. Besides, as they looked for the reform of this abuse, as they deemed it, as well as of every other defect in the composition of the house, from the house itself, they reprobated in the strongest terms the spirit which was manifested, the charges which were brought forward, and the language which was used, in most of the petitions to the commons, praying for the liberation of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett. That these petitions were rejected by the body to whom they were addressed was to have been expected, unless more meekness and moderation entered into its composition than into the composition of mankind in general. But not only did the natural spirit and indignation of insulted men dispose them to reject such petitions; but if they had otherwise acted, they would indeed have fallen into general and well-merited contempt and disrepute. It is not being harsh and uncandid to allege, that those at least who drew up those petitions had for their object, either the degradation of the house of commons if they received them, or the exciting the clamour and indignation of the public against their representatives if they rejected them. They could not possibly expect that the objects they professed to have in view,—the liberation of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, —and the prevention of such exercise of privilege for the future,—would not be obtained from the commons, unless they terrified the commons into a compliance with their wishes. And how would the nation have been bettered?—would it not be placed in an infinitely worse situation, if the house of commons had yielded out of fear?—It is urged that these petitions only expressed what the petitioners felt towards the house; that they merely contrasted the conduct of the house in the cases of lord Castlereagh, the duke of York, &c. with its conduct towards sir Francis Burdett, to prove that in the latter case they could not be influenced solely by a regard to their own dignity and privileges. But the reply to this mode of defending the petitions is obvious:—No man ought

ought to express what he does not feel; but, at the same time, no man ought to express all that he feels, and defend himself on the plea that he has merely spoken the truth; unless the *truth thus spoken* will benefit the cause he espouses. That in the case of the petitioners it would not, must appear to every reflecting and impartial person; and certainly the spirit which the petitions breathe has too much the appearance of that spirit which would obtain the desired reform by force, rather than not at all; and if so carried, it would not only produce the most dreadful evils, but end in a despotism, compared to which, what is now complained of would be longed for as a most desirable blessing.

As might be expected, Westminster was the first place the inhabitants of which met for the purpose of presenting a petition to the house of commons. As the imprisoned member was one of their representatives, and as popular as any they had ever returned to parliament, and as the meeting took place a very few days after he was committed to the Tower, while their minds were yet warm with the recollection of what they had just witnessed in the metropolis, and with the sense of the indignity and punishment inflicted on their beloved member for standing up in defence of their rights, which, in his person, they conceived had been again violated, —it is not surprising if the sentiments and language of the petition they agreed to present were full of bitter contempt to the house of commons. At the same time justice requires that it should be stated, that the meeting, though perhaps as numerous as any ever assembled in Palace-yard, behaved with the utmost order and moderation; so that their conduct while assembled, and the tone and tenor of the petition to which, while thus orderly and moderate, they had agreed, formed a very striking contrast.

The example of Westminster was soon followed by the county of Middlesex, the common-council and livery of London, and the county of Berkshire: but the language of these petitions, as the minds of the people began to cool, and they perceived that the house of commons was determined to reject all such as were wanting in respect and decorum, gradually subsided into that which they found would be received; while, at the same time, it expressed or implied the unchanged sentiments and feelings of the petitioners. To draw a line between such petitions as the house of commons ought to receive, without compromising their dignity on the one hand, or checking and curtailing unnecessarily the right of the subject to state his grievances and his wishes, was extremely difficult. A strong temptation, opportunity, and excuse, was held out to ministers, by the unguarded tone of the petitions that were first presented, to shut the door of the house to all petitions; and of this they were accused by the opposition. But of this accusation they proved themselves guiltless, by not opposing such as preserved decorum and moderation of language; even though opinions respecting the conduct and privileges of the house, equally unfavourable and decided, were expressed.

Amidst these violent attacks on the privileges and conduct of the house of commons, those who arrogated to themselves exclusively the title and honour of being friends

friends of government, stepped forward to oppose the popular clamour, and to exhibit to the nation at large a proof that ministers might rank on their side the most respectable, intelligent, and impartial part of the community. But, unfortunately both for themselves and for ministers, the counter-meetings both in London and Middlesex were convened and attended principally by men who had fattened and risen to opulence by the system they came forward to defend. Respectable they certainly were, if respectability consisted in, or was derived from, the possession of wealth merely. Of intelligence, neither their conduct nor their resolutions bore any very great and indisputable proofs; and impartiality was hardly to be looked for from any body of men, at this time, in their decision on the question that was agitated; and certainly not from men who would have found it difficult to have pointed out a measure of government which they ever censured.

But a more serious objection to these meetings—an objection, however, which a knowledge of the members who composed them must have anticipated—arises from the very submissive doctrines which they promulgated. The friends of sir Francis Burdett had declared the house of commons to be unworthy the confidence and respect of the nation. Those who convened and attended the counter-meetings ran into the opposite extreme: they not only expressed the fullest reliance on the wisdom, justice, and impartiality of parliament, in deciding on all cases where its privileges were concerned; but in the fullness of their confidence, in the ardour of their loyalty, and in the warmth of their indignation against the partisans of sir Francis Burdett, they appeared disposed to surrender some of the most valuable rights of Britons.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the counter-petitioners, and the secrecy with which, in order to prevent the presence and interruption of the opposite party, they conducted their proceedings, their numbers were comparatively few, and they were driven from their own ground. As these counter-meetings were professedly to consist either of the livery of London or of the freeholders of Middlesex, those who had signed the petitions against the privileges of the house of commons considered themselves entitled, under one or other of these characters, to attend and deliver their opinions. Being both more numerous and more active, they gained possession of the chair; and from it, which was meant to have proclaimed sentiments and professions of the purest loyalty and the warmest and most cordial approbation of parliament, issued a strong reprobation of the character and conduct of the counter-petitioners, and a repetition of the doctrines they had met to denounce.

At the regular meeting of the livery of London it was resolved, besides presenting a petition to the house of commons, to send a deputation to sir Francis Burdett in the Tower, for the purpose of communicating to him the resolutions they had passed approving of his conduct in parliament, and of assuring him that his release could not be a triumph for the people of England, unless obtained by the vindication and legal establishment of those principles of the constitution which they considered violated in his person. Addresses to him were soon afterwards sent from different parts

of

of the kingdom; to all of which he returned answers expressive of the satisfaction he felt in finding that his conduct had met the approbation of his countrymen, and of his determination to persevere with zealous and unshaken steadfastness in the cause of the people. As in his reply to the deputation from the livery of London he expressed himself with more than his usual moderation, and at the same time very fully on the views he wished the nation to entertain, and the conduct he thought they should pursue in order to regain the possession and the advantages of the constitution in its ancient purity and efficacy, it may be proper to state the substance of it.

After adverting in a neat and expressive manner to the satisfaction he derived from finding his conduct approved, and assuring the livery that he regarded his personal inconvenience and sufferings as amply repaid by their thanks, and that, for the sake of the cause in which he had embarked, he should deem no sacrifice too great; he called upon them to recollect, and constantly to hold forth both in their language and in their conduct, that they wished for nothing new—that they were the advocates of no new doctrines and principles—that what they had set their hearts upon was the constitution of their ancestors, that constitution which they had been taught and accustomed from their childhood to venerate and to prize above every thing. He had been censured for the line of conduct which he had pursued; he might be mistaken in what he had done; but he had done it from the purest motives, and from a well-considered opinion that by acting as he had done he should benefit his countrymen. He certainly had always kept aloof from all party. It made no difference to him by what set of men the government was conducted, whether by whigs or tories; he looked to their measures, not to their names: and provided their measures were such as he could approve, and such as would restore the constitution, they should find in him a willing and zealous supporter. He was an enemy to no one, who was not an enemy to the constitution; and whoever hated or injured it, he thought himself called upon to oppose. It was particularly necessary that the people should be upon their guard against the watchwords of party; and that, instead of inquiring who were whigs or who were tories, they should try public men by their measures. It was time to throw aside all invidious distinctions; and to join and invoke the assistance of all honest men in defence of the king and country.

Although the warrant by which sir Francis Burdett was committed to the Tower expressed that he was to continue imprisoned during the pleasure of the house of commons; yet, as it had always been customary to liberate persons thus committed when the prorogation took place, that period was anxiously expected by the friends of the baronet in the metropolis. Although his liberation, merely in consequence of the prorogation of parliament, could not with any propriety or in any light be deemed a triumph, it was determined to celebrate it as such: accordingly preparations were made to conduct him in great state from the Tower to his house in Piccadilly: and so anxious were many of his admirers in different parts of the kingdom to join in the proposed procession, that they actually

ally came to town for that purpose.

In expectation of this event, government had thought it prudent to keep all the military in or near the metropolis, who had been summoned when he was arrested. The magistrates swore-in an additional number of constables, and every measure was taken to preserve the peace of the city. The friends of sir Francis also, apprehending that the slightest commotion or violence manifested by the populace would draw upon them the collected and prepared military and civil force, impressed, by every means in their power, on them the prudence and propriety of guarding against every appearance of tumult. All the streets from Piccadilly to the Tower, through which the procession was to pass, were crowded with those who meant either to witness or to join in with it. The hour at which it was known parliament would be prorogued was anxiously looked for; the most effectual methods were taken to communicate notice of this event with the utmost expedition from Westminster-hall to the Tower. At length the expected intelligence arrived: parliament was prorogued; and sir Francis Burdett was again free. The immense multitude on Tower-hill pressed forward to catch the earliest glimpse of him. Several minutes elapsed after the prorogation had been made known to the governor of the Tower, but the baronet did not appear:—such of his friends as were nearest the gates inquired respecting the cause of his delay. They were informed he had left the Tower, and proceeded by water. At first they were incredulous; and some were inclined to suspect that it was meant still to detain him. At last they were reluctantly convinced that of his own accord he had crossed the river, and was probably by that time far advanced on his road to Wimbledon. Discontent and dissatisfaction began to appear among the multitude: they had assembled in the expectation of a show and a procession, in which their favourite public character was to appear; they had been led to understand that the procession was planned and arranged with his knowledge and approbation, and that he had consented to proceed in this public manner from the Tower;—no intimation had been given to them that sir Francis had changed his mind: the disappointment came upon them quite unawares:—that it did not lead them to acts of violence and fury, says much for their moderation and good sense; that it did not make an impression permanently disadvantageous to sir Francis Burdett proves the strong hold he had on their good opinion. Had it not been strong, it must have given way to the feelings excited by such a great and sudden disappointment, which could not be traced to any rational cause.

Sir Francis Burdett offered an explanation and defence of his conduct, which was not perfectly explicit and satisfactory. Few of his thinking friends will censure him for not demeaning himself by becoming the puppet in such a ridiculous piece of pageantry as the procession was; but, for not hazarding the peace of the metropolis he can lay in no claim. There was much greater probability of disturbance from a disappointed multitude—(many of whom suspected that some foul play of government was the cause of their disappointment)

ment)—than if he had joined the procession. With respect to that part of sir Francis Burdett's explanation, which rests on the necessity which he supposes to have existed of giving the popular opinion an opportunity to display itself, it is very futile, and wears much the appearance of an after-thought. The popular opinion was sufficiently well known—it did not require to be brought forward again. Besides, this explanation does not unfold his reason for not joining in the procession: he wished the popular opinion to be made known, and therefore he acquiesced in the plan of a procession in which he would appear; but when the people were collected, as the object of his wish was accomplished, he did not consider himself bound to perform his promise! Surely this is weak, and not very creditable. But the strongest ground of blame is still to be stated. In order to show how popular he was, he acquiesced in a plan, by which an immense concourse of people were assembled: his popularity being thus shown, he disappoints the multitude, and thus runs a risk, both of lessening his own popularity and of endangering the lives of his partisans. It is said, that on reflection his friends approved of his behaviour:—they might, and probably did, so far as regards his not joining the procession: a little reflection would convince them that the dignity of their representative was thus maintained; and it is not unlikely that by pursuing the same train of thought they would see the whole plan of the procession in its true light: but it is not easy to see how any reflection could applaud or justify him for holding out the promise of doing that which they were convinced would have been wrong if actually done.

As the actions which sir Francis Burdett brought in consequence of his arrest and imprisonment are not yet decided upon in the courts of law, it does not properly fall within the province of our present volume to enter into any detailed account of their nature, or of the pleadings which have already taken place. It may however be proper to state briefly the nature of the actions, and the point to which they were brought at the close of the year 1810.

Sir Francis Burdett has brought three actions:—one against the speaker of the house of commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment:—one against the sergeant-at-arms, for executing the warrant generally, and for breaking open the outer door in the execution of it:—and the third against earl Moira, as the person who kept him in custody in the Tower. When sir Francis sent formal notice to the speaker and sergeant-at-arms of the actions he was about to commence, the house of commons, after a good deal of deliberation and discussion, ordered the attorney-general to defend them. The plea of defence in the cases of the speaker, earl Moira, and the sergeant-at-arms so far as the action against him is generally for executing the warrant, is, that the warrant being issued by the authority of the house of commons was a legal warrant, and therefore rendered the arrest and imprisonment legal. But it is evident that, supposing the legality of the warrant to be proved, the legality of the mode of executing it remains to be decided. The first, or the general

general question must be decided by the judges, after hearing the pleadings on both sides:—the particular question must probably go before a jury. Sir Francis Burdett's counsel, therefore, were anxious that the question respecting the mode of executing the warrant should come on first. The attorney-general, on the other hand, contended that the general question ought to be decided before the particular one.—Lord Ellenborough and the other judges coincided with the attorney-general, upon the obvious and strong ground, that as the quantum of damages (if any are given) against the sergeant-at-arms for breaking open the outer door must greatly depend upon the legality or illegality of the warrant he was executing, the general question of the legality or illegality ought to be decided in the first instance.—Here at present the case stands.

CHAPTER XII.

Remarks on some other Proceedings of Parliament—Bill brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly to amend the Criminal Law—attempts no Innovation; but only to bring back the Practice to what it was—The Laws objected to enforced when first made and long afterwards—Statement of the Number of those convicted and executed under them, from the Year 1749 *to* 1772; *from the Year* 1802 *to* 1808—*Absurdity of the Principle on which the present Practice rests; its bad Consequences—Examination of the Ground on which it is defended—Opinions of Earl Grey and Mr. Roscoe on Peace with Bonaparte; on the Terms likely to be obtained; on the Hatred of Bonaparte to this Country—Comparative Danger of Peace and War—Duty of the People and of the Government in this Crisis—Report of the Committee on the Mode of auditing the Public Accounts—General Remarks on the Session of Parliament, and the State and Conduct of Parties—Death and Character of Mr. Windham.*

ALTHOUGH the examination of the evidence respecting the expedition to Walcheren; the charges that were brought forward against ministers, founded on that evidence; and the proceedings relative to the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, involving in them the discussion and consideration of the privileges of parliament, were the most prominent and striking topics of debate in the house of commons: yet there are other points, springing either from motions and speeches made there and in the house of lords, or from the reports of committees, that amply deserve our notice. Some of these affect the character and real welfare

fare of the inhabitants of this country, as much as the subjects we have already discussed, although they passed off with less noise and attention, being more calculated to interest the cool thoughts of the few, whose judgement is stronger than their feelings and passions: others, though of inferior moment and importance, yet from incidental circumstances derive a just claim to our consideration. The first in importance are the clear and judicious views which sir Samuel Romilly opened respecting the imperfection of the criminal law of England. That part of the speech of earl Grey which relates to the possibility of making peace with Bonaparte may be reckoned next in interest. Besides these, the report of the committee on the public expenditure requires to be briefly stated and examined.

The object of the motion of sir Samuel Romilly was to repeal certain acts of William III. Anne, and George II. which make the crimes of stealing privately in a shop, goods of the value of five shillings; or in a dwelling-house, or on board a vessel in a navigable river, property of the value of forty shillings, —capital felonies. The general ground on which he brought forward his motion was, that these acts were very seldom enforced; and that many serious evils resulted from this cause. By many persons it was supposed that these and several other laws were never meant by the legislature to be regularly enforced, but were placed in the statute books merely as objects of terror, the execution of which depended upon the discretion of the judges. As the argument which is derived from the known intentions and established practice of our ancestors has great weight with many, and serves to protect and render sacred no inconsiderable number of foolish and hurtful prejudices, sir Samuel Romilly satisfactorily removes this plea, by proving, that when the acts he objects to, and others of a similar nature, were first made, and indeed long afterwards, they were regularly enforced. The present practice which he wished to set aside is therefore an innovation; and those who oppose him must not only give up their favourite argument about the wisdom of our ancestors, but range themselves on the side of those who, if they do not introduce, encourage and support when introduced, deviations from their laws. It is no difficult matter to explain and trace the gradual softness and relaxations of the severe penal laws: they were enacted against stealing property of a certain value, but this value could not be designated unless by money: in the course of time, however, this money no longer represented nor could purchase that value: unless therefore the thing stolen was actually, and not merely nominally, equivalent to what the act originally intended to protect, it appeared just to exclude it from the operation of that act. But when once acts of parliament began to be construed and applied differently from their literal meaning, greater laxity would arise on other points; till at last they could scarcely be said to form part of the known and established law of the land.

That these were not vague and imaginary speculations and conjectures, sir Samuel Romilly proved by a reference to tables of the convicts at the Old Bailey, and of the executions. These tables begin in 1749, and go down to 1772. During

ring the first part of this period, between two-thirds and three-fourths of those who were convicted were executed; during the latter part, about one-half only were executed. Between 1772 and 1802 nothing certain is known on this subject; but from the latter year till 1808, regular tables have been printed, under the direction of the secretary of state: from these it is seen that a regular diminution in the proportion of those executed to those convicted took place till the year 1808, when, of eighty-seven convicted, only three, or one twenty-ninth part, were executed. The general conclusion is, that at the beginning of his present majesty's reign "the number of convicts executed exceeded those who were pardoned; but that at the present time the number pardoned very far exceeds the number of those who are executed."—Of those who were thus convicted but not executed, it is difficult to ascertain how many were guilty of breaking the acts sir Samuel Romilly wished to repeal: but it may be collected from the tables of the first period, between 1749 and 1772, that 240 persons were convicted at the Old Bailey of shop-lifting and other offences of the same nature, of which number no fewer than 109 were executed; whereas during the latter period, between 1802 and 1808, there were committed for trial (the number convicted does not appear) for the crimes of stealing in dwelling-houses and shop-lifting 1872 persons, and of those only one was executed.

These facts are amply sufficient to prove that the law on these points, as it stands in our statute books, is not the law of the land: and certainly, unless the advantages resulting from thus declaring one law and acting upon another are very evident and considerable, the laws in the statute books should be altered so as to correspond with their execution, and to bring them back to their original meaning and intention. The groundwork and principle of the grand argument of those who approve of the present practice is simply this; that the actions which fall under the cognizance of human laws are so various, and their guilt depends so much upon minute circumstances, that no fixed and regular punishment can be inflicted, though it may be adjudged by law. If the attempt were made, the inevitable and necessary consequence would be, that in some cases of offence, attended with extenuating circumstances, the punishment would be too severe; while in other cases of offence, attended with aggravating circumstances, it would fall far short of the moral guilt of the crime. It is therefore maintained, that the only method of making guilt and punishment commensurate in all cases, is for the law to denounce death, and for the judges to be vested with the power of substituting a milder sentence if they shall deem it proper.

Nothing can be more erroneous and dangerous than the general principle upon which this reasoning rests. If pushed to its legitimate conclusion, it would approve and introduce a most sweeping and comprehensive law, by which death would be pronounced against all crimes which the most uncommon circumstances of aggravation could render deserving it, and leave the relaxation of this severe law entirely to the discretion of the judge. A still more striking proof of the erroneous nature of this doctrine will appear, when it is considered that it would justify fixing by law

the lowest degree of punishment for any crime which the most favourable circumstances would admit of, and give to the king or the judges the power of raising the punishment to death, if the crime were committed under circumstances of great aggravation.

But it is by no means necessary to push to extremity the principle on which this mode of legislating and of administering the laws rests, in order to point out its most absurd and mischievous consequences: they will be abundantly manifest and striking, if we merely reflect on what must actually happen, as the laws which sir Samuel Romilly wished to repeal, or modify, are at present administered. As the judges have no general rules laid down by which the discretion vested in them may be directed; and as precedent, which serves as rule in other cases, is not generally or strictly adhered to here, it is impossible that there should be any uniformity in the execution of these laws. The benevolence and humanity of our judges, understood in a more confined and limited sense, will lead one to pardon and another to punish. Nay, it is not merely possible, but it has actually happened, that the very same circumstances which by one judge have been deemed matter of extenuation, by another judge have been viewed as a high aggravation of the crime.

The effects of such uncertainty on that portion of mankind who are deterred from transgressing the law only by the fear of punishment, are evident. Beside the chances of escaping, which must exist in spite of the greatest vigilance of the officers of justice and the strictest attention in conducting the trial, they calculate upon receiving, if actually found guilty, the lowest degree of punishment ever inflicted on the crime they have committed. Even though it has generally been punished in a severe manner, yet if there have been instances where the judge has remitted the punishment in a great degree, they eagerly dwell upon these instances, and calculate, however erroneously, that their fate, if actually condemned, will be similar. This miscalculation is encouraged from their being probably ignorant of the different circumstances which led the judges to inflict different degrees of punishment: for it must be remembered, as another evil resulting from the present mode of administering these laws, that though the general fact, that persons have been found guilty under them and punished, some with the utmost severity and others in the slightest manner, is sufficiently known; yet the particular circumstances which induced the judges to allot such different punishments to the same crime, are not and cannot be so generally and clearly known and understood by that class of the community who are most likely to be interested in them.

But there is uncertainty, and consequently an evil, not only from the different punishments inflicted by the judges, but also from the repugnance of the prosecutor, witnesses, and even jury, to partake in inflicting a punishment they deem disproportionate to the crime. They all know that these thefts are made capital by law; and though they also know that death is seldom pronounced except where the circumstances are very aggravating, yet as the judge has the power to pronounce death, and as they are ignorant whether circumstances which

which they regard as highly extenuating and favourable to the prisoner, may be viewed by him in the same light, they do all in their power to prevent a verdict of Guilty from being given. Here then is another ground of uncertainty on which criminals will not fail to build their hopes of escaping: and here also we may perceive that the evil of the present mode of administering these laws is by no means confined to the criminal, but extends itself to the prosecutor, the witnesses, and the jury; and it may even be suspected that it may be traced in the judge himself. The law expressly declares, that if a person steal privately in a shop goods of the value of five shillings; or in a dwelling house, or on board a vessel in a navigable river, property of the value of forty shillings, —death shall be the punishment. When therefore a person is brought to trial for any of these offences, if there be no aggravating circumstances, if the crime has been committed simply and strictly as it is denounced worthy of death by the law,—all concerned, the prosecutor, the witnesses, the jury, and the judge are convinced that it would be unjust to apply the law in this case; and all of these, in their different characters, are employed not as they ought to be, in putting the laws into force, but in endeavouring to evade them. If there is confidence in the judge, from his known character and usual practice, that he will mitigate the punishment, the prosecutor, witnesses, and jury will probably do their duty; but if they have doubts respecting the sentence which the judge will pronounce, they will endeavour, each in their province, to acquit the prisoner. And need it be pointed out, how highly desireable it is, that in our courts of law every person concerned in the administration of justice should preserve their oaths inviolate, and not allow themselves, even from merciful motives, to do that which they have sworn not to do?

It is justly the boast of our constitution, that no person can be punished who has not been found guilty by the verdict of a jury: but the present system deprives juries of their most important functions, that of deciding upon facts on which the lives of their fellow-subjects are to depend. This is undoubtedly the case where a criminal is punished with death, not for having stolen privately in a shop goods to the value of five shillings, but for circumstances attending the theft. The robbery is what the jury are bound alone to consider, and on which they must pronounce their verdict; but it is not the robbery, but some other accusation, with which the jury have no concern, and have given no opinion, on account of which the judge sentences the prisoner to death. If the law had made a distinction between the simple theft and the theft attended by aggravating circumstances specified and defined, it would have been the province of the jury to find whether the prisoner was guilty of the former or of the latter; and consequently *they* would in that case have pronounced a verdict on the crime, for which the judge afterwards awarded the punishment. But as the law is administered, the aggravating or extenuating circumstances are not brought before them; and consequently, whenever the punishment pronounced by the judge depends on the consideration of them, the jury cannot justly be said to have given any verdict.

Such a system must certainly have numerous and great advantages, not problematical and obscure, but certain and manifest, to counterbalance the serious and alarming evils with which it is attended. If the statute book is consulted, death is denounced as the punishment of certain crimes: if the administration and execution of the law be examined, these crimes are seldom so punished: if the cases where death actually is inflicted are examined, it is found that it is the punishment not of the crime which the statute book says shall be so punished, and for which the accused was professedly tried, but of a crime not recognised by the statute book, not officially before the judge or jury, and on which the latter have pronounced no verdict.

The ground on which this mode of procedure is defended is by no means firm and tenable. It is maintained by its most able advocates, that "the selection of proper objects for capital punishment principally depends upon circumstances which, however easy to perceive in each particular case after the crime is committed, it is impossible to enumerate or define beforehand, or to ascertain, however, with that legal exactness which is requisite in legal description." It is therefore argued, that it is not only proper but absolutely necessary to leave a large discretionary power with the judges: but if the judges can exercise this discretion according to any fixed rules; if they always inflict the punishment denounced by the law when there are certain circumstances of aggravation, these circumstances might be stated in the statute book, and there made to regulate and define the punishment. If, when the judge pronounces sentence of death, he enumerates the reasons which lead him to inflict that punishment in one case, while for the same offence as designated by the law he had, for reasons also specified, sentenced the offender only to a few months imprisonment, surely the same distinction might be pointed out prospectively and particularized in written laws. When it is objected to the present system that it produces uncertainty in the laws, and that criminals are led to hope for mild punishment, because, looking simply to the crime, and not to the circumstances attending the commission of it, they generally perceive a mild punishment inflicted, it is generally answered, that there is in fact no uncertainty; for that the same or nearly the same punishment is always pronounced against the same offence, considered with relation to all the circumstances attending it. If then the circumstances attending privately stealing in a shop goods of the value of five shillings, which uniformly in the opinion of the judges render it proper to pronounce the full punishment of the law, are so clearly known, that they can be pointed out after the act is done, it certainly cannot be difficult to express them in words before the act is committed.

The judges indeed may differ with regard to the attending circumstances which render the crime deserving of death; but there can be no difficulty in learning what they are in the opinion of each judge. The legislature therefore have only to weigh them well, to select such as they think deserve this punishment, and to pronounce by the law that such will be inflicted, instead of leaving it to the discretion of the judges. If there were no written law respecting the crimes

crimes now under consideration, the law of the land would be collected from the practice of the courts. In this case, a great deal of the evil now complained of would be done away: for, when the punishment inflicted was stated, every part of the crime which in the opinion of the judge rendered that punishment necessary and just, would also be stated; and consequently the crime and the punishment would be more clearly and accurately connected than they are at present, from the variance between our statute book and the practice of our courts of justice.

The principle upon which the present system is defended is sound and good, when not pushed too far. It assumes that there must necessarily be great variations in the degree of guilt, arising from circumstances too minute and numerous to be entered in the statute book; and that therefore a discretionary power must be lodged with the judges. There are undoubtedly two evils to be avoided if possible; or, if one must be encountered, the lesser must be chosen. On the one hand, the filling the statute book with all the shades of guilt; which in many cases it would be impossible to express, and where possible, it would tend to create obscurity and confusion. On the other hand, the making the law uncertain and undefined, and dependent upon those who execute and administer it. But it certainly does not follow, because minute distinctions of guilt ought not to fill the statute book, that therefore those distinctions which vary the punishment from a few months imprisonment to death may not properly find a place in it; nor, because the judges are intrusted with a discretionary power, which ranges between the different degrees of the same *kind* of punishment, that they ought therefore to be left at liberty to pronounce either the slightest or the highest punishment. Every thing relating to crime or punishment that can be clearly expressed and defined by words ought to be fixed, and form part of the laws of the country; only minute shades of guilt or punishment should be suffered to remain unfixed and unknown.

We have been induced to dwell thus long and fully on this subject: its importance is great; and though sir Samuel Romilly unfortunately did not succeed in rendering our criminal jurisprudence more consonant to common sense, justice, and sound policy; yet it is to be hoped that the arguments he brought forward (a brief sketch of which we have attempted) will ultimately triumph over all opposition; and that the reproach so tauntingly urged by foreigners, when we boast of our constitution, will ere long be done away.

Of the various topics which formed the speech of earl Grey on the state of the nation, towards the close of the session of parliament, some have been already incidentally discussed in the observations we offered on the privileges of the house of commons; and others would lead us into too long a digression. One part of it, however, deserves our serious attention. It is that which relates to the possibility of making peace with Bonaparte; —on this part, therefore, we shall offer a few remarks.

There can be only two substantial and good reasons for a nation prosecuting a war in which it may be engaged;—one, from the well-

founded expectation that the object for which it engaged in it may be attained;—the other, because the enemy will not accede to a safe or honourable peace. If it is asked, Why are we at war with Bonaparte? few people now will be found who will reply, Because we hope to obtain any of the objects for which we first commenced it. There can be no doubt that the interest of England would be promoted, if the French could be stripped of their conquests and driven within their ancient limits; if Europe could be placed in that situation in all respects in which she was prior to the French revolution: but of this who now can entertain the slightest hope? must not most who reflect on the events of the last twenty years be convinced that, by continuing the war against the French, we are more likely to extend and establish than to narrow or weaken their power? If we look to the prospect or chance of wearing out her finances, the hope is nearly equally weak. At one time, indeed, she was pronounced to be in the very gulf of bankruptcy; but this prophecy, like those which were indulged in respecting the defeat of her armies and the subjugation of her territories, has vanished into air.

Of injuring her then by war there is little probability. Let us inquire whether, during the continuance of it, we are likely to suffer from her power acting either against our finances or our territory. It is plain that our expenses must increase as the contest is prolonged, and that consequently our taxation and burdens will be augmented. Although it would be impossible to foretell how much the industry, capital, and skill of this country can enable it to bear; yet there certainly must be limits to its powers of endurance; and these limits must as certainly be reached if the war continues: that these limits may be much contracted by the efforts of the enemy to exclude us from the continent, there can also be no doubt. Leaving, however, for the present, the consideration of the question in this point of view, let us turn to the examination of the probability of the power of France injuring us by acting directly against our territory. It may be said, that as we cannot strip her of her conquests on the continent, neither can she encounter us at sea; and that while we are superior to her there, our territories are safe: but it should always be remembered, that to reach this country, a naval victory is not absolutely necessary; that the end of the French will be answered if they can elude our fleets. We by no means suppose that if the French were landed in any part of the British dominions they would succeed in establishing themselves; they would undoubtedly be expelled or destroyed by the valour of our soldiers and of the nation at large. But a little reflection will convince us that much mischief—mischief that would not be soon or easily remedied—would inevitably result, even if they gained a footing for a very short time on British ground. We are now inquiring into the probable and also the possible events that might result from a continuance of the war. We can entertain little or no hope of essentially injuring France, of driving her within her ancient limits, or even of preventing her from executing her future plans of ambition and conquest. We may rest assured that she will unite the continent against

against our commerce at least, even if she should fail in gaining its assistance in a more direct and inveterate system of hostility. She has already injured our commerce, and consequently weakened our ability of supporting and continuing the war; and she may succeed in her attempts at invasion to such a degree as to shake that credit and confidence on which, from our paper circulation, our commerce and prosperity are mainly founded. Such then is the state of the case:—the war in which we are engaged, like all wars, is an evil; and it is an evil which promises to be counterbalanced by no good; which can hardly injure our enemy in an essential degree, but which must injure us more than it has done, and which may be attended with fatal consequences. Why then do we continue it? Because, it is contended, although it holds out no prospect of good, although it is felt as a serious and growing evil, and may *possibly* ruin this country, yet peace with France would be a still greater evil, and would in all probability be followed by that subjugation which has been stated as merely the possible consequence of the war.

This train of reasoning rests on what few will be disposed to question;—that the hatred of Bonaparte to this country is always active, paramount to every other passion or consideration, and so deeply rooted that it will sink with him to the grave. Whatever, therefore, he does;—whether he continues the war, or consents to make peace; whether, in the latter case, the terms he grants be favourable or otherwise;—all is directed to the furtherance of his grand object—towards the gratification of his master passion. It may be urged, that all governments are alike; that they keep the peace they have made no longer than it is their interest to keep it; that as soon as they think they shall be benefited by the renewal of war, some plausible pretext is laid hold of to recommence hostilities. But there is this great difference between former governments and Bonaparte:—in their wars with each other, neither their malice nor their ambition looked so high as the ruin or absolute conquest of their enemy. Besides, it seldom happened that any particular government had only one antagonist against which it directed its schemes and powers; and above all, while it was thus employed, there were other states against which in its turn it was necessary to guard. But Bonaparte now can hardly be said to have any grand and ultimate object in view, but the ruin of this country; all that remains for him to accomplish on the continent is with that end, and he lies under no necessity to guard his own power, while he is aiming a blow at the existence of Britain. In all these respects, therefore, the relative situation of this country and France at present is very different from what it ever was before, or whatever existed between any two inimical states.—The interest of a nation may change, or may be viewed in a different light by its rulers; even the ambition of its sovereign may be directed to a different object: but it is seldom that malice and hatred change or forget their object; and when ambition and supposed interest, whetted and inflamed by these passions, have compassed all but the object that excites them, it is not to be supposed or expected that they will die away or forsake their purpose.

Here then the two parties are at issue. They both agree in the dangers of a continued war; in the total want of probability that it will reduce and curb the power of Bonaparte; and in his deep and persevering hatred against this country: but they differ on one essential point. Earl Grey in his speech maintains that we shall be more secure by being at war than at peace with France under her present government:—in this sentiment he is probably joined by the greater part of the nation. Mr. Roscoe, a name dear to liberty, to patriotism, and to literature, strenuously opposes this opinion: he does not deny the hatred of Bonaparte against this country; that in all he does, in all the plans he forms, he looks to the accomplishment of its ruin; but he maintains that there is still less danger from peace than war.

Earl Grey's opinion is grounded on this;—either that Bonaparte will not make peace with this country, unless the terms are not only dishonourable but fatal to our interests; or that, if he does accede to more favourable terms, a period of peace will enable him to raise such a navy, as on the breaking out of a new war—which when this grand object is effected he will immediately provoke,—will be fit to cope with the navy of Britain. In support of the first point—that Bonaparte will not make peace unless the terms are dishonourable, and even fatal to our interests,—the constant language and all the decrees that have proceeded from the French emperor are appealed to. The freedom of the seas he has regularly declared to be the object of his war with Britain: he has called upon and compelled the continent of Europe to join with him in those measures which he judges will accomplish this object; and he has repeatedly declared that he will make no peace till it is secured. His language is not here ambiguous:—by the freedom of the seas, he means that neutral vessels should in time of war protect the cargoes they carry, and thus that our superiority at sea should be of little avail. Let us consider for a moment what would be the consequence, in case of a new war, if the freedom of the seas, in this sense of the words, were established. Bonaparte, indeed, does not go so far as to contend that the navies of neutral powers should assist in fighting his battles; but he demands that the means of carrying on the war should be conveyed to France by their merchant ships;—that, while he should have it in his power to harass and cripple our trade and commerce, the trade and commerce of his subjects should sail under the sacred flag of a neutral ship:—but are there now, or can there be, any neutral nations in Europe? Bonaparte during this or any succeeding war may declare that Denmark, or Sweden, or Russia are neutral states, and that therefore their flags ought to protect all cargoes, to whomsoever belonging: but would not the fact be, if this were granted, that the trade and commerce of France would be carried in ships actually, though not nominally, French? It is sometimes urged in defence of the proposition, that neutral ships should have the liberty of conveying the goods of belligerents, that each belligerent party would then be benefited. To this it is very properly answered, that as Britain can convey and protect her own goods, she would reap no benefit from this plan:—and now it may

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be added, that in the present circumstances of Europe, the plan would protect part of Bonaparte's ships, under the denomination of neutrals; and as they were his, Britain could not, even if she wished it, employ them for the conveyance of her goods. Nearly the same train of argument will apply to another article, on which it is supposed Bonaparte will insist if he makes peace,—that neutrals shall convey to enemy's ports the produce of their own soil or manufactures, of whatever kind it may be. As far as Europe is concerned, as there are in fact no neutrals, it could not be admitted:—with respect to America, this article with some modifications might be granted:—the former certainly could not.

If, therefore, Bonaparte should insist on these or other terms, the object and consequence of which would be to deprive us, even in part, of that maritime power and those maritime privileges which we now enjoy, certainly no peace could be made with him. But it is said that the terms on which he or any other belligerent would be willing to make peace cannot fairly be judged of by the language held during war; and that no peace would ever be made or attempted, if it was not taken for granted that such language was not more the language of form, circumstances, or menace, than of fixed and unchangeable purpose; and that, even when sincere at the time it was held, it was frequently and necessarily changed when the belligerent powers came to treat for peace. It would be wrong, therefore, it is said, to forswear all attempts at negotiation, because our enemy, a man of violent temper, had declared he would make no peace, unless on terms to which this nation could not accede. The attempt at least should be made: if these terms are then brought forward and insisted upon, the attempt must be given up; but the nation will then be convinced that there is no alternative but war, and consequently submit to its privations and burdens with cheerfulness.

So far those who oppose earl Grey appear to have the strongest ground. It is difficult to see what harm would result from negotiation. It would certainly fail, it is said. But a nation must be benefited in every respect, and better prepared for war, which takes frequent opportunities of proving that it is desirous of peace. When, however, we come to the other supposition, that peace would be dangerous, even if more favourable and honourable terms than have been hitherto supposed were granted; those who prefer war, as placing us further without the reach of Bonaparte than peace would do, stand on the firmest ground. It should always be recollected, in considering and arguing this most momentous question, that the whole train of reasoning, on both sides, proceeds on the supposition that Bonaparte is set upon the destruction of this country. Keeping this consideration in view, let us state and examine the arguments and reasonings of the opposite parties.

By those who advocate the cause of peace, it is contended, that war is the element most favourable to the power and most consonant to the wishes and the plans of Bonaparte; that in this element the martial spirit and skill of the French have been produced, nurtured, and brought to their present tremendous state; and that it is not to be expected

expected that they will cease to be warlike or dangerous, while the same causes which produced that spirit and skill continue to exist and operate. Allow them but for a few years to taste the repose and blessings of peace, and their thoughts and habits will turn aside from their present direction and bearing:—they will gradually lose the desire and the ability to engage in martial achievements, and resume the character which they possessed before the revolution. The indolence, the favouritism, and all the corruptions of an old government, will gain a footing among them; so that, even if they should recommence hostilities, they will no longer possess those qualities which have procured them success:—it will then be one government opposed to another without any superiority on either side, in point of ability, enterprise, or skill. At present, the continuance of war has prolonged, much beyond its natural limit of existence, those vigorous powers which the revolution first breathed into the French nation. While Bonaparte has the hope of conquest and victory, he will bring forward none but men of talents and skill: while there is a demand for such, and they are so highly rewarded, they will be produced. But let peace be restored, Bonaparte will neglect talents no longer necessary to him; and circumstances no longer existing to produce and reward them, they will be difficult to be found. In short, if you wish to deprive France of her formidable character; and to reduce, not the extent of her territories, but her power of further mischief, so that she may be more nearly on a level with other governments, make peace with her, and trust to it to do that which war has too fatally been proved incapable of effecting.

To this it is replied, by those who argue against peace with France, that this advice might have been applicable and useful to the continental governments before they were completely subdued; but that it is wholly inapplicable, and would if acted upon be highly prejudicial to Britain. They might have been benefited by peace, if it had reduced and weakened the martial spirit and power of France; and as, if they were at peace with her, she would have had no opportunity of employing her armies, it is probable that these effects would have followed. But it is otherwise when the question is between Britain and France;—they may be at peace, and still the French armies may be employed: they may be at war, and the French military spirit may languish for want of employment. The continental powers might have benefited by peace, because peace would have sent the French soldiers to their homes, would have converted the greater part of them into industrious agriculturists or manufacturers, and thus would have gradually worn away their warlike habits: but it may well be questioned whether Britain would benefit by peace, when it is considered that without peace Bonaparte cannot train up sailors or establish a marine. In the former case peace would have rendered France less capable, and perhaps less desirous, of renewing the war; in the latter case, the reverse would take place. Bonaparte can do nothing against Britain without a navy;—he can do nothing against her commerce, which he knows is the source of her power; against her dominion of the seas, which is the object of his ambition

ambition and envy; towards the invasion and destruction of these islands, which are the passions that lie nearest his heart. If, therefore, peace is made, it must be made with this belief, that it will be sedulously employed by the enemy to train up his sailors and establish a navy:—it may be a period of relaxation, a breathing time from hostile feelings, and fears, and schemes, for us; it will be none to Bonaparte. Where then would be the advantages that we should reap from peace?—The soldiers of France might be disbanded, but his sailors would be more numerous; the former might forget their discipline and skill; but the latter would become more expert. Even if we look to a diminution of our expense, this would necessarily be trifling: we must be in peace, as if we every moment expected war: blind would be the policy which should dictate a reduction of our expenditure to the peace establishment, while that peace was with Bonaparte.

The prospect is indeed dreadful; but it is one to which we ought to make up our minds. It is now useless to inquire by whose fault we were brought into this awful predicament; but it will be advantageous to examine it in all its danger, to accustom ourselves to view it with steady and undaunted eye, that we may see clearly where our hopes of safety lie, and what sacrifices will be required of us if we expect to come out of the contest victorious. On the part of the government, are requisite the most rigid and systematic œconomy, and the adoption of such measures as will gain and ensure the confidence and support of the people, and induce them to arm themselves for the forthcoming sufferings and contest with a spirit worthy of Britons. Nothing can be accomplished while the nation is filled with apathy, or distrustful of its rulers: every people will fight against a foreign yoke, though their own government be inimical to liberty, and possess no hold upon them but that which springs from its being their own; but how much more bravely and perseveringly will they fight, if the government they fight for is not only their own, but that in which they delight and feel confident—that which they know they have reason to bless for all the happiness they enjoy!

Of the reports of committees that were laid before the house of commons this session, there are two which deserve attention;—the fifth report from the committee on the public expenditure; and the report presented by the committee who were appointed to inquire into the state of the bullion in the kingdom. The subject of the latter is of such great consequence; the facts it develops, the arguments and opinions it holds forth, and the plan it recommends, are in themselves so intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, and gave rise to such extensive and elaborate discussion; and the subject, besides, is so intricate and so little understood, that we shall reserve the abstract of it, and such remarks as we may deem it necessary to offer, for a distinct chapter. The report of the committee on public expenditure, though important, does not require such detailed analysis or examination.

This report is divided into two parts. In the first part several instances of default and delinquency, in the misapplication and embezzlement of public money, are laid open; and the committee express their

their opinion that great temptation and opportunity to the commission of similar offences are afforded, by the very loose, inaccurate, and irregular manner in which the accounts were audited. This naturally directed their attention to the constitution, the duties, and the practice of the board of commissioners, who were appointed to audit the public accounts, and to examine them in a speedy, regular, and effectual manner.

In the second part of the fifth report, the committee proceed to point out the principal defects which appear to them to exist in the mode of examining and auditing accounts in the audit office. They justly remark, that as much inconvenience and injury to the public service and interests, as well as hardship to individuals, had arisen from the examination and audit of the accounts by a variety of separate and unconnected offices, without any superintending and controlling board, it is obviously just and necessary that every practicable improvement should be introduced into these offices, to remedy as much as possible this radical defect; and especially that the principal office—the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts—should be put upon the best and most useful footing in every respect.

The principal defects they state, in their opinion, to be the three following:

1st, The adherence to forms tending to no useful purpose, but evidently productive of great inconvenience. While, in the common business of the merchant, every practice which impeded the progress of business has given way to more expeditious, and at the same time to more clear and satisfactory methods, in the public offices the old forms are still adhered to; and a dislike to innovation has been allowed to operate, where it could operate only to the disadvantage of the community. Forms, it may be said, are absolutely necessary: —they are so, however, merely because by adhering to them the reality is obtained and secured; but where they retard and perplex, instead of expediting and simplifying business, they should be given up. In the mode of transacting business which our merchants follow, there is no want of order; no disregard to any necessary or useful form; every thing is clear and orderly, and works together to one end. In our public offices, as far as forms are concerned, the same observation may be made; but there is much reason to apprehend the parallel will not hold in other respects.

2dly, The limited nature of the powers vested in the commissioners of audits, in consequence of restrictions, imposed upon them by the legislature and the executive government, tending to confine the exercise of their discretion within rules more rigid than any other great department intrusted with similar duties.

3dly, In the imperfect constitution of the office, and the nature of the regulations by which it has continued to be governed.

On this last point, the committee notice the very great number of commissioners and officers of a higher description, and the deficiency of inferior clerks. By this constitution, the audit office cannot admit any speedy or great improvement, while it is evident that its progress must be very tardy, and by no means such as can keep up with the constant accession of

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new accounts, much less such as can materially reduce the number of those which have accumulated. Another obvious and material defect in its constitution arises from the want of an efficient and superintending authority: and this defect is so completely inherent in the audit office, as at present constituted, that to remove it the office must be entirely new modelled. This the committee strongly recommend to the attention of the house of commons: and as the benefit which the nation ought to derive from the audit office must be very partial and confined, and very inadequate to the expense at which it is maintained, while it remains on its present footing,—while the losses the nation may sustain may be very serious,—it is to be hoped that parliament will attend to the suggestions of the committee. But it is a lamentable truth, that committees are appointed for objects of the highest importance; that the members do their duty with all diligence and impartiality; and that they lay the result of their inquiries and deliberations before parliament in the most explicit and full manner;—but here the matter ends. The report is printed, laid on the table of the house, and given to such members as choose to apply for it; and it is forgotten and never acted upon. How popular and beneficial to the nation would not that minister be, who should adopt all the wise and practicable plans for conducting public business, and saving the public money, which lie hidden and neglected in the various reports of the committees of both houses of parliament!

The sessions of parliament, upon some of the proceedings of which we have remarked at considerable length, will principally be distinguished and remembered by its decision on the expedition to Walcheren; and by the opinions that were expressed, and the measures that were proposed or adopted, respecting the privileges of the house of commons, in the cases of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett. In the former instance, the opposition entertained the most sanguine expectations that the ministers would be left in a minority, and that their disgrace and retirement from office would inevitably and naturally follow. But Mr. Perceval has given a lesson to future ministers, by which from his example and success they will learn not to be appalled by being left in a minority, nor from that cause to throw up their situations. On more than one point, connected with the inquiry into the expedition to Walcheren, he was in this predicament: the opposition almost fancied themselves in power: but he possessed too much firmness and reliance on his own strength, and the adherence of his political friends, to be dismayed; and when the main and decisive question came to the vote, the issue proved that he had not reckoned in vain. Mr. Perceval, however, appears to have judged the trial, to which the stability of his power was about to be put, to be so perilous and doubtful, that he applied to lord Melville, who since his impeachment had never been brought publicly forward, for his support, offering to advance him in the peerage, but stating his opinion that the prejudice of the people was still too strong against him to make it prudent or proper that he should be placed in any official situation. His lordship declined the proffered rank; and from the tenour of his conduct when he afterwards appeared in the house, he seems not

not to have forgiven the minister for alleging the existence of popular prejudice as a reason for not reinstating him in office.

When the letter of sir Francis Burdett to his constituents was first brought before the notice of the house of commons, many of the whig party, from fear or principle, deemed it proper to rally round the ministers. Afterwards the leading members of that party pursued a singular line of conduct: they contended that ministers had acted inconsistently in not following up to their full and natural consequences the doctrines they had maintained respecting the privileges of the house of commons. They blamed them for not committing for breach of privilege every person connected with the action which sir Francis Burdett brought against the speaker. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the motives and object of the whig party in adopting this line of conduct: in common and ordinary cases they might have injured ministers in the public estimation, by pointing out inconsistencies in their opinions or conduct; but in this case, by urging them to consistency they rendered themselves unpopular:—they might perhaps convince the nation that ministers were inconsistent only because they were afraid; but by the method they took to do this, they undoubtedly proved, either that, for the sake of a plausible ground of attack on their opponents, they proclaimed doctrines and principles they did not believe, and recommended a line of conduct they themselves would not have followed; or that they actually thought it right to carry the privileges of parliament to a greater extent, and support them with a more determined and a higher hand, than those who were branded with tory principles. It is possible indeed that, in all they did and recommended, the whig party may have had no wish to embarrass ministers, and that they really were convinced that the welfare of the nation would be secured by the measures they proposed:—the first of these suppositions few will be disposed to credit, who know to what shifts party will have recourse, in order to gain even a momentary triumph over its opponents; and the other supposition will hardly gain credit, when the general complexion of the doctrines they are known to espouse is considered. In another point of view their behaviour on this occasion merits remark:—if their parliamentary conduct be traced since they retired from power, certainly with much less of popular confidence and reputation than they possessed when they entered into office, it will be found, that sometimes they have appeared desirous of presenting themselves to the people as the friends and fellow-labourers of sir Francis Burdett, as if by these means they might regain what they had lost; while at other times they attacked his principles and opposed his measures, as if they hated him because he had advocated the cause they had deserted, obtained the favour they had lost, and thus at once reminded them of their apostasy and its consequences.

Of the behaviour and conduct of sir Francis Burdett and the small band who usually support his measures, during this session of parliament, it may be proper to say a few words. The most suspicious, or, to speak more candidly, the most blameable trait in their public character is, that they are too fond of laying hold only of those abuses which admit of popular declamation,

tion, and which have a tendency rather to irritate both the public and those who are accused of having perpetrated or protected them, than to bring about any radical and permanent good. It is no doubt proper that abuse of every kind should be exposed, in order that it may be remedied, and a stop put to it in future: but a calm and cool exposition is much more likely to answer both the particular and general object, than violent and intemperate language: and it ought never to be forgotten by those who are real patriots, who aim at benefiting their country without the aid or intervention of popular indignation and tumult, that the worst abuses are those which are not calculated to catch the attention or rouse the clamour of the multitude. Sir Francis Burdett deserves great praise for his exertions in the case of Jeffrey the seaman, and he probably has prevented the repetition of such shocking cruelty; but why was he silent and withholding of his support when sir Samuel Romilly brought in his bill to amend the criminal law? Was it because the one was a subject calculated to catch the multitude; while the latter would have secured him only the calm and untumultuous applause of the thinking few?

During this session of parliament Mr. Windham died, a man whose name, in the history of literature and politics, will be joined with those of Johnson, Burke, Fox, and Pitt. The following character, drawn with considerable force and skill, with a little softening or withdrawing of those features which were not so popular, is given by one who knew him only as a member of parliament; who often differed from the opinions he entertained; who had no personal habits with him, and who therefore could not be influenced by those amiable private qualities which gave so much delight to those who enjoyed his society.

"The loss of Mr. Windham to the public is the more to be deplored, as the formation of such a character requires the concurrence of so many contingencies beyond the common course of nature, that its re-appearance is more to be wished than shortly expected. In addition to an organization of mind which penetrated into the abstruser regions of human science, and at the same time embraced all its ornamental parts, nature endowed him with a retentive memory, quickness of conception, and a readiness of expression, which enabled him to draw from such a store whatever was applicable to his purpose. She gave to him also a robust and active frame of body, which made him equal to any mental or corporeal exertion, and inclined him to feats of manly hardihood. He came into the world, the eldest son of an ancient family, and heir to a considerable landed property, handed down through many generations. Son of a father enlightened by education, and distinguished in his country, his dawning talents were cultivated with care and skill. Heir to such a patrimony, he was not bred to any profession, but was educated for the attainment of all human accomplishment; and, in consequence, acquired an expansion of mind which would probably have been fettered by professional habits. Had he been a younger son, or had his fortune been inconsiderable, he must have been distinguished in whatever line he adopted; but he would not have been *the Mr. Windham*, who, by the ingenuity of his arguments,

arguments, and the illustrations of the subject he handled, drawn from an intimate knowledge of all the liberal and mechanic arts, delighted the house of commons. These qualifications form the ornamental part of his character. As an official and as a party-man, from a chivalry of sentiment inseparable from his nature, he occasionally let out a dissonance of opinion from those with whom he acted, but his intentions were always pure. He was not made to belong to any set of men: he moved in his own orbit. Nor was he made for office: more refined than practical, and not having an adequate tact of the various arts of men, (his own nature being artless,) he was perhaps sometimes their dupe. By no word or act of his life did he court popularity. Amidst the storms which agitated the public mind, and the '*ardor civium prava jubentium,*' during his parliamentary life, he shrunk from no unpopularity or personal risk to which the declaration of his opinions exposed him. His unshaken mind was influenced only by what he conceived to be the spirit of the British constitution; and, amidst the wreck, he would have been found erect and at his post. Having no personal views, no man was in his way; and he waged war against opinions—not against persons; in consequence of which, those whom he opposed gave him credit for his good intentions; and admired, though they were not convinced by, his ingenuity. The nice shades which distinguished his character from the eminent men of his time, may be attributed to the concurrence of fortunate circumstances which nature accumulated on him. If he had had a fortune to make, and a family to provide for, he probably would not have been the man he was. Born to a fortune which made a further pursuit of it unnecessary, his high mind was not to be gratified by an addition of wealth, or by titles. The civic crown, to be conferred on him by the reflection of his countrymen, seems to have been his object. In this he certainly has succeeded; and he must live adorned in their recollection, as long as genius, erudition, and disinterested patriotism retain their value in the minds of the British nation."

CHAPTER XIII.

Commercial and financial History of Britain during 1810—*Introductory Observations—Commerce at the Close of the American War—its Increase till the Beginning of the French War—checked at that time—revives and extends—Circumstances in the War which were advantageous and prejudicial to it—Causes which produced a speculative Turn among our Merchants—Licenses—The Opening to Trade in South America—Discounts at the Bank—Effects of these Speculations—Bonaparte's Enmity to our Commerce—his*

—his Plans to destroy it—their Effects—Commercial Embarrassments—their Causes, Extent, and Effect—Speculations in the Funds—and Loans—Loan of 1810—*Death of Mr. Goldsmid—Consternation produced by it.*

ONE of the most singular features in the history of this country, by which it is most eminently and conspicuously distinguished from all other countries both ancient and modern, is the immense load of taxation which it is able to bear; the abundance, wealth, and luxury, which are generally diffused over its inhabitants, notwithstanding this pressure; and the protracted and expensive wars in which it is almost constantly engaged, which, while they add to the taxation, have, till within this very short period, scarcely appeared to diminish its wealth, or exhibited any signs of bringing it down from that height of prosperity on which it has so long stood. To those who dwell in it, and have witnessed its gradual advances towards this state; who have experienced as well as observed how easily and successfully the industry and skill, and increasing capital of its inhabitants, adjust themselves to every fresh demand of taxation; and even produce more than that demand requires, so as at the same time to add to their wealth, and give rise to the strange and paradoxical opinion, that taxation has made us rich, and is a blessing rather than an evil: to those who have experienced or observed these things, they do not appear extraordinary; and we, the inhabitants of Britain, rather wonder that other nations should be so poor, and so little able to bear the pressure of taxation, than that our own country is so rich and flourishing in the midst of it.

But although we now know that we can endure the load of taxation at present pressing upon us, yet our ancestors were disposed to doubt it: and men by no means apt to despond, or ignorant of the powers and resources of human industry and skill, boldly foretold, that a national bankruptcy must ensue long before the amount of taxes should arrive at the point where it now stands. Till within this very short period, the men of the present generation were disposed to adopt a directly opposite opinion; and from beholding the nation flourishing in despite of hundreds of millions added to the debt, and of an embarrassing, unsuccessful, and protracted war, they thought themselves justified in maintaining that no assignable limit could be placed to the pecuniary resources of Britain; they boldly asserted that war, instead of being the bane, was the nourisher of commerce; and that as our wealth and our taxation had increased together, and, as they thought, nearly in the same proportion, they were connected as cause and effect. These extravagant and unfounded notions,—which could find support and belief only with men fond of paradoxes; or who, when they talked of the advantages of war to commerce, meant to the particular traffic in which they were engaged; who, when they asserted that taxation made a people rich, were conscious that no small portion of their own wealth was derived from this source;—could never find admission into the minds of disinterested and intelligent men: they were indeed convinced of the futility of that kind of prophecy which would fix

the time when our expenditure would exceed our resources. But beholding the former constantly increasing very rapidly, while they knew that there must exist limits to human industry, and they saw no attention paid to œconomy, they silently watched the progress of events, and sorrowfully anticipated the misery in which their country would be involved whenever those limits were reached.

In common times they knew that no immediate danger could exist. Great as the expenditure of Britain was; lavish and wasteful as were her rulers; yet they were convinced that while her commerce could force its way, her industry, skill and capital would supply it with materials equal in value almost to any expenditure. But these were not common times: the war in which Britain was engaged was no common war; it not only required immense sums of money to carry it on, but it struck at the spring of that industry by which those sums must be raised. It had been strenuously maintained that no human power could prevent commerce from reaching its market; that the wants and the desires of man on the one hand, and on the other his love of wealth, would always find means to elude the vigilance and relax the opposition that was exerted against them. Of this doctrine Bonaparte was ignorant, or a disbeliever: he knew that Britain existed by her commerce; at her existence he resolved by every means to strike a fatal blow: he experienced to his mortification that it was proof against the common shocks of war; that it rose superior to them, and actually enabled the British government to enlist in its pay the sovereigns of the continent. For a long time his plans and efforts were unavailing; but as his power was without bounds, and as in the exercise of it he was restrained by no considerations of policy and humanity, while he was directed and animated by his hopes of Britain's destruction, he persevered; and at last began to perceive what he deemed unequivocal proofs that he had shaken the foundation of her greatness. In what respects, and in what degree, the embarrassments in commerce and the other symptoms of a decline of national wealth, which marked the history of the year 1810, arose from the successful execution of the plans of Bonaparte, and how far they may justly be attributed to our own ignorance, mismanagement, and rashness, it is well worth our while to investigate.

The period from which British commerce first advanced with rapid strides towards the astonishing and unparalleled height at which it lately stood, may be fixed a few years after the termination of the American war. The primary and principal causes must be sought in those improvements in machinery, which, by saving labour, enabled the manufacturer to sell his goods cheaper: hence capital was accumulated, which further enabling him to buy his raw materials at the best market upon the most advantageous terms, and to dispose of them, when worked up, either at long credit or at still lower prices than before, secured to him a regular demand for them. From the great gains obtained by a few, industry and invention were stimulated to greater exertions and improvements; and the short space of ten years saw Britain rise from the comparative poverty produced by the American war, to a state of great

great commercial prosperity and wealth.

At the breaking out of the first French revolutionary war, a sudden check was given to commerce: the usual channels through which it flowed were stopped; vast quantities of manufactured goods and colonial produce either lay in the warehouses undisposed of, or were prevented from making a regular return by the intervention of the war: embarrassment followed: partial ruin in many cases occurred: where capital could be recovered, it was found difficult to employ it: the merchant and manufacturer found themselves for a season compelled to break in upon it, and an immense number of work-people were deprived of the means of subsistence. Soon, however, things returned to their usual state: at first the shock was relieved by the government taking part of the unemployed capital as loans to defray the expenses of the war, and recruiting their armies with the destitute and idle labourers; afterwards commerce and manufactures, forming for themselves new outlets, absorbed and increased the remaining capital, and took into employment such labourers as the army had left. In former wars, when commerce had once adjusted itself to their first operations, it experienced scarcely any further check. It might indeed be banished from that country which happened to be the immediate seat of war, and not be able to regain its seat there for some time afterwards, on account of the poverty and embarrassment which the war had occasioned. But these were trifling and temporary inconveniences. During the French revolutionary wars it was otherwise: in the beginning of them indeed the produce of British industry found its way to new markets, which had formerly been supplied by those countries whom the pressure of the war had reduced to idleness or want. France lost her colonial possessions, and Europe could no longer obtain those articles of necessity or luxury to which she had been so long habituated, without the aid of Britain. But these benefits to British commerce were either temporary, or were counterbalanced with serious and increasing disadvantages. France extended her conquests over the continent of Europe; and not only were the countries which she conquered rendered incapable, while occupied by the armies of the enemy, and afterwards by the consequences of that occupation and of their conquest, from purchasing the commodities of Britain, but they were compelled to unite with France in her attempt utterly to root out the commerce of these islands. This plan, which at any other time than that which had witnessed the French revolution, and if attempted by any other power than that which had at first resisted and then conquered the continent of Europe, would have been deemed chimerical, appears to have been imagined and partially acted upon early in the war between this country and France. But it was finally and completely matured, reduced to a system, and backed by irresistible and unrelaxing power by Bonaparte. It is highly probable, that when he first issued his decrees he aimed them principally against what he deemed the maritime tyranny, and what he severely felt to be the maritime empire of Britain. Without a navy, almost without a ship, he declared these islands in a state of blockade; and denounced vengeance against

all neutral powers who should trade with them, or even suffer their merchant-vessels to be visited or searched by the ships of Britain. We in return declared that no neutral vessel should visit the ports of France, unless she first paid tribute to our naval supremacy, by visiting our ports and purchasing the continuance of her voyage by a small transit duty. The professed object of our orders in council was to deprive France and the countries under her sway of our manufactures and colonial produce: she maintained that she could and would do without them; but that the ruin of this country must necessarily follow our commercial exclusion from the continent. The real object of our orders in council is said to have been,—and certainly their effect, for a time, was,—to compel Bonaparte, not only to receive our goods, but to receive them in British instead of neutral vessels. But from their literal and obvious meaning it was impossible that the trade between this country and France could be regularly or openly carried on. On our side it either assumed the character of smuggling, or was purchased and protected by license: on the part of Bonaparte also, for some time after he thundered out his threats of destruction against our commerce, he permitted our goods to be imported, and the produce of France to be exported, by license.

A trade of this kind, it is evident, must assume the character of speculation, enticed with the hope of enormous profits, with a considerable risk of utter ruin. Such character it soon did assume. As licenses were generally suddenly given and suddenly withdrawn, for any particular part or kind of goods, all were eager to partake of the short-lived opportunity of enriching themselves: those who by good fortune or favour obtained their licenses first, gained an enormous profit; while those who came afterwards were frequently great sufferers. But it is plain those sudden gains or losses would not be confined to those who exported the goods; they extended to the manufacturer also. At one period his warehouses were full; his machinery stood still; and his workpeople were dismissed for want of employment: suddenly licenses are granted for the kind of goods in which he deals; he gains a large profit, with which, his warehouses being now empty, he again sets his machinery and labourers to work. Scarcely, however, has he invested his newly acquired gain in the purchase of the raw material, when the licenses are withdrawn, the demand for his goods ceases; and he perceives himself nearly in the state in which he was before, with his capital sunk in useless, unemployed and unprofitable stock. It is needless to trace the effects any lower down in society, or to a greater extent:—the labourer must be affected in the same manner as his employer; and setting out of the question the bad consequences in a political and commercial point of view, every person who knows the pernicious effects produced on the morals and habits of the labouring part of the community by alternate employment and idleness, want and superfluity, will lament and deprecate such a state.

But when we consider the trade of this country with the continent as carried on, not only in the varying and sudden manner to which the system of licenses necessarily gives rise, but as a smuggling trade, its effects in producing a speculating

culating and gambling habit in our merchants, and in relaxing their principles of honour and probity, will be much more evident. It often occurred that an enormous profit might be obtained, if a certain description of goods could be introduced into the countries under the power of Bonaparte: but for these he would grant no licenses. They could therefore only be introduced by fraud; by supplying the vessel which carried them with forged papers; and by backing and supporting these forgeries by the oath of the master. It is impossible that men engaged for a long time in such transactions can long preserve their honour clean and untainted; they are certainly such as British merchants in former days would have shrunk from, as tending to debase their character and profession. But our business with them at present is rather as they affect the commerce of the country than the morals of mercantile men. Undoubtedly they were attended in many instances with great profits; but they also often produced utter ruin: and it is not by a commerce where the profits and losses are enormous, precarious, and varying, and dependent more upon chance and speculation than upon the judicious employment of capital, skill and industry, that a nation can become permanently prosperous, or gain possession of that species of wealth which, by being equally diffused, evinces and secures its strength.

Unfortunately the temptations to speculation, produced by the prospect of sudden and unprecedented gain, were not confined to a trade with the continent of Europe. About the time that our warehouses were full of British manufactures, Buenos Ayres fell into our possession. The certainty of purchasing goods cheap at home, and the great probability of disposing of them to the inhabitants of our newly acquired territory, roused the spirit of mercantile speculation to its highest pitch: every one who had money, or could procure credit, freighted vessels for South America: those who first arrived, sold them for a profit even beyond their most sanguine expectations; and still further increased that profit by importing into Britain the produce of La Plata. Even those who came to a market already nearly stocked, obtained after a short delay a lucrative sale. A melancholy reverse, however, soon took place: every day witnessed the arrival of fresh vessels. Those who had gained so largely by their first adventure, forgot that before they could reach the country a second time the market would be overstocked much beyond the wants and abilities of a comparatively small number of poor and idle people. Ignorant and rash, as all speculators are, they however came a second time, and lost all or nearly all they had gained. Such in general, with a few exceptions, is the history of our commerce to South America;—a commerce which never could have been very lucrative; but which, if it had been conducted by men of experience and capital, who by possessing these would have been guarded from foolish and rash speculation, might in time have greatly improved, and certainly never would have become a loss instead of an advantage to the nation.

It is plain that this speculating kind of commerce, as it requires sudden and unexpected investments of capital to a large amount, could not have been carried on, unless

money or credit could easily be obtained. This remark will apply, even if we suppose that only men of real wealth embarked in it; since their capital would be too closely locked up in their regular business to be employed on these sudden speculations: but it applies much more strongly when we consider the real state of the case,—that the persons who chiefly engaged in them were men of no substantial wealth, who were therefore more easily tempted to engage in commercial enterprises, which might place them by one fortunate stroke, and in a very short space of time, on a level with those who had plodded to riches by the more slow and laborious means of industry, application, and knowledge. If then this speculating commerce which we have been considering, is really an evil to the country, and a very doubtful good even to those who are successful, it will be proper to state not only the circumstances of the times which produced the temptation or the necessity to engage in it, but also the source from which the credit or pecuniary means, without which it could not have been carried on, proceeded.

The bank of England was the principal source of those pecuniary means. Provided they guarded themselves against loss, by refusing to discount any bills but such whose payment was secured by undoubted and substantial security, they willingly advanced money to such as were anxious to begin or to extend their commercial concerns. Of course, when any new channel for commercial speculation suddenly opened; when the prospect of enormous gain tempted the merchants to venture on large exports, they had recourse to the bank. It may, indeed, be urged, that since the security which they offered for the payment of their bills was in every case undoubted, and such as the bank approved the latter was perfectly justified in its transactions; and in fact only supplied the place of the person who guarantied the regular and full payment of the bills. There can be no doubt that, as the latter lent his name, he was willing to have supplied the pecuniary means, had he been able, or had it been convenient to him: but besides that it was not so, there is a wide difference between lending capital already in existence, and enabling another person to borrow it, and becoming security for his bills, which are to be discounted at the bank of England. In the latter case an increase is made to the circulating medium, which would not otherwise have existed;—in the former, a part of the circulating medium already in existence and employment is merely transferred from the possession and use of one person to another. If therefore the bank of England had not come forward so freely with its discounts, few of these speculations could have been engaged in; since capital only to a small amount could have been borrowed at a time, when all were eager to increase it, and when the same opportunities which called forth new adventurers, would absorb whatever portion happened to be then unemployed.

But it was not the bank of England alone which encouraged these rash speculations: the country banks, which had increased in number to an extent which we shall afterwards notice, were even more forward in their assistance. As a rivalship existed among them, from which the bank of England was necessarily free, each was eager to push its notes into circulation, and extend them

them over a tract of country before supplied by other banks. Where there was so much competition, and such great gain from extending their issues, it is easy to imagine that the same spirit of speculation would exist in the country, among the manufacturers and merchants of our provincial towns, which distinguished the metropolis. These speculations were not confined to manufacturing or exporting goods for a market suddenly opened, which promise immense profits, and which might as suddenly be closed:—many of them aimed higher: they endeavoured, on the support and by the means of the paper money which the banks so liberally supplied, to draw within their power the greatest part of any commodity, which at the time might be of heavy and low sale, but which they expected would hereafter meet with a better market. In short, they calculated upon remote and very slender probabilities; and they engaged in traffic, trusting more to chance to render it lucrative, than to regular industry, accurate knowledge of the nature of the concern in which they had embarked, or the slow but certain operation of real capital.

The consequence was, that a great proportion of mercantile capital was afloat on rash speculations, the success of which depended on other things; on the relaxation by Bonaparte of his plans against our commerce, or on the practicability of eluding his vigilance. The state of this country and America also still further increased the rage for speculation. In consequence of disputes between them, all commercial intercourse had either been suspended, or carried on in such a manner as to be inadequate to the supply of either nation. This uncertain and inadequate supply, of course gave rise to great profits; while the prospects that the differences would be accommodated, having appeared more than once very near and certain, tempted our merchants to prepare for a trade so long interrupted, or so inadequately supplied. But the disputes between this country and America still continued: the time for paying the bills, with which they had purchased their goods in the hopes of an adjustment, arrived; and the merchants found themselves with their capital locked up, and their circumstances embarrassed if not completely ruined.

Those who trusted to a renewal of the trade with the continent,—or at least to its being still continued in the same manner, either by license or by eluding the vigilance of Bonaparte,—met with a similar disappointment. The French emperor compelled all the powers in Europe (with the exception of the Peninsula) to enter into what he called the continental system. And perceiving that the mere confiscation of English property was not effectual, he decreed that it should be burnt wherever found; and took effectual care that his decree should be carried into execution by appointing the military for that purpose. One of the principal places from which English property had been smuggled into the continent was Heligoland. As Bonaparte could not wrest this island from us, he annexed Holland, the north of Germany to the confines of Denmark, to the French empire, and guarded the coasts in such a manner that all intercourse from Heligoland was cut off.

In the furtherance of his plan Bonaparte had much to struggle against. The people of the conti-

nent had been so long accustomed to British manufactured goods and colonial goods, that they willingly paid an advanced price and ran great risks to obtain them. The latter Bonaparte attempted to raise: but his success was very incomplete; the quality was inferior and the expense very great. Unsettled as the continent was, it was impossible to establish manufactures which could vie in quality with those from Britain; or be sold, with all the advantages of a home-market, of low-priced labour, and light taxation, nearly so cheap as British mechanism, skill and capital, could afford them. But Bonaparte was resolved that the people under his power should not encourage the produce of Britain. Provided he succeeded in this, he cared little for the misery he occasioned, or the murmurs and insurrections he excited. Sometimes indeed he relaxed; either because he despaired of success, or because he had need of the money which the licenses procured him: but about the middle of the year 1810, the intelligence of the distress and embarrassments of the merchants in Britain gave him fresh hopes, and induced him not only to persevere, but to be more rigorous in his perseverance.

If we merely compare the commercial embarrassments which took place about this time with those which occurred in the years 1793 and 1797, in point of pecuniary extent and consequences, we should be disposed to look forward to their termination as speedy, and to their effects as merely partial and temporary, in the same manner as trade and commerce regained their former footing shortly after the great failures in the latter years. But when we advert to the causes which produced the embarrassments in the year 1810, and the shock they gave the commercial credit and confidence; and compare them, in these most important points, with the embarrassments which occurred in the years 1793 and 1797, we shall be convinced that we are by no means justified in inferring or expecting, that, because in the latter periods commerce soon began again to flourish, and all traces of embarrassment vanished, therefore the same events will now take place.

We have already noticed some of the most important causes which produced the commercial embarrassments in 1810: the interdiction of our commerce on the continent, and even the partial suspension of that interdiction, which, holding out great profits, tempted many to embark in speculations ultimately ruinous; the access which we gained by our conquests in South America, and afterwards by the revolution in the mother-country of Spain, to a people eager after our manufactures, and who had hitherto obtained them only in an inadequate supply, and at a very exorbitant price. Here again the spirit of speculation was at work: some it ruined or greatly embarrassed immediately;—others, who were excessively fortunate in their first adventures, it led, through the temptation of that very good fortune, to hazard all their gains, and to raise all they could on credit; and thus, by pushing their adventure too far and by aiming at too large a profit, to lose all they had previously gained, and to involve those who had lent them money in their own ruin. But another very striking difference between the embarrassments in 1793 and 1797, and the year 1810, was, that at the former periods not only were they partial and momentary, as arising from a state of things which

which necessarily soon reverted to their usual courses, or at least adjusted themselves to a new direction of trade; but also as falling on men whose capital was undoubted, and who, though the check commerce had received had for the time prevented them from selling the merchandize in which that capital was invested, or from receiving their remittances if it had been sold, had not traded much beyond that capital, and therefore in their embarrassments involved but few in difficulties or ruin. In the year 1810, on the contrary, there was little or no prospect that commerce would revive: the causes which had struck at its prosperity not only continued to exist, but to increase in strength and permanency; whilst the want of confidence and credit, created by the embarrassments to an unusual degree, extent and duration, would even have prevented the merchant from taking advantage of the revival of trade. The paper system had been carried to such an extent, not only by the bank but by individuals, that men of the most substantial property found themselves possessed principally if not entirely only of bills, as the representative and security of that property. As all were nearly in the same state, no mercantile man knew what he was really worth, or how far he could depend upon the bills he held: those from whom he had taken them he might indeed believe to be secure; but they in their turn might be connected with others, either by giving or accepting bills, and thus the ruin of one might bring down destruction on many. In such a state of things the merchant could have no temptation, even if he had the ability, to engage again in trade to any great extent. If his property was principally vested in bills of which he was doubtful, it is evident he could not: and what property he might have engaged in commerce, he would be anxious to put into the shape of money, in order that if the bills he held proved not good, he might have wherewith to support his credit.

While things were in this state, consternation and suspicion struck still deeper among the mercantile men by another occurrence. Another distinction, besides those we have already marked, between the merchant of the present day and the British merchant half a century since, is, that the former draws much of his gain from speculating in the funds, and in the loans which government annually need. This also proves, what has been already observed, that the merchant of the present day prefers in his pursuit of gain that path which can be pursued with the least industry and knowledge; and in which wealth is reached rather by good fortune, chicanery, and the arts of gambling, than by perseverance in more slow but more honourable methods. The loan for 1810 had been taken by the houses of sir Francis Baring and A. Goldsmidt, at a very advantageous rate for the public. Probably, if commerce had flourished, the contractors for it might have disposed of it with a small profit, or at least with little loss: but commerce being almost annihilated, and money of course in great demand to meet the existing and threatening difficulties, the omnium fell to a considerable discount. Even then little of the loan could be disposed of. About this period sir F. Baring died; and though not the slightest suspicion was entertained of his wealth, yet his death still further depressed omnium. Mr. Goldsmidt, the other holder of the loan, found himself

himself involved in difficulties: they preyed on a mind little prepared or accustomed to meet them, and he put an end to his life. Perhaps no event ever shook the commercial world so much; happening, as it did, in the midst of their embarrassments. Omnium fell to nearly 10 per cent. discount; and though by strong efforts the discount was reduced to about 4 per cent., confidence and credit by no means rose in the same proportion.

Such was the state of the commercial world about the middle of the year 1810; and such it continued, with little variation, at the close of the year. Commerce has been so often seen to rise up with renewed and increased strength, after it appeared to have received nearly its death-blow; it possesses within itself such elastic and invigorating powers, that under common circumstances and difficulties there could be no fear of its revival: but pressed down as it is by the power of Bonaparte, and resting at home not on the substantial basis of gold and silver, but on a paper currency, carried already to a too great extent, and against the further excess of which the law has placed no barrier, while the interest of those concerned in issuing it tempts them to this excess;—under these circumstances, there is much reason to dread that the commerce of Britain has seen its best days.

CHAPTER XIV.

Preliminary Remarks on the Appointment of the Bullion Committee—Charge of Prejudice against its Members examined—of not attending to the Evidence given before them—Facts established by the Committee respecting the high Price of Bullion—the unfavourable State of the Exchange—the great Rise in the Price of Commodities—ascribed by them to an Over-Issue of Paper Money—Progressive Issues of the Bank from 1792 *to* 1808—*Amount of Notes in Circulation in* 1810—*Modes by which the Use of Notes is œconomized—Increase in the Number of Country Banks—Rule by which the Bank of England checked an Over-Issue before* 1797 *now neglected and despised—Consequences—The Doctrines of the Opponents of the Bullion Committee examined—Remedy proposed by Committee considered.*

BEFORE we enter on the analysis and examination of the report which was presented to the house of commons by the committee appointed to inquire into the state of the bullion, it may be proper to notice an accusation which has been brought against those members of it whose doctrines, opinions and advice it more especially contains, and to show how completely unfounded it is. This accusation charges them with having brought to the consideration of the question minds completely made up and prepossessed in favour of certain

certain opinions; so that no weight of evidence or facts was in the least likely to convert them. That this was far from being the case will appear from the speeches of those who took a part in the debate, when the motion for the appointment of the committee was made; most of whom were appointed members of it, and some of whom are more particularly charged with having entered on their office with sentiments hostile to the bank of England, and with a preconceived firm belief in what was afterwards maintained in the Report.

Mr. Horner, who brought forward the motion for the appointment of the committee, and who is believed to have had the greatest share in drawing up the report, expressly declared in his speech "that he had paid particular attention to the subject; and he was of opinion that the excess of the market price of gold was owing *partly* to the very extraordinary emission of bank paper, and *partly* to the market price having risen very considerably above the market price since the year 1797: this rise he believed to be chiefly attributable to an actual demand for bullion, which demand, he understood, arose from certain branches of our foreign trade requiring, absolutely requiring, it. This, he added, seemed to be overlooked by those who thought the evil owing to an over-issue of bank paper." Whoever will compare this speech of Mr. Horner's with the doctrines of the bullion report, will be convinced that, as far as he was concerned in drawing it up, there was no danger that preconceived opinions would be admitted into it. Indeed it is evident that his opinions must have changed; that he went into the committee by no means disposed to lay all the blame on the bank of England: and it is only just and candid to suppose that the facts which were brought to light before the committee induced him to entertain different views of the subject.

Mr. H. Thornton, who certainly cannot be accused of having been hostile to the bank of England, or of having entertained a party view of the question, expresses himself much more decidedly: he maintains that the price of gold was that to which the circulation of the country ought to conform; and that parliament ought most particularly to attend to the bank of England paper, since it was well known that nobody could get gold from it. "It had been said that this evil had a natural tendency to correct itself;—but it had not yet corrected itself." Mr. Marryat feared that all the evil was attributable to the course of exchange, which was universally against us from 25 to 30 per cent.; so that whoever now sent guineas to the continent might receive for each of them 26 shillings: he had no doubt of the cause: it originated from the kind of trade lately carried on, and particularly from licenses. Mr. A. Baring, another member of the committee, thought the real evil would be found in the state of the trade of the country: there were numberless articles brought from Russia and the Brazils, for which we were obliged to give bullion. Situated as we now were with America, we took cotton from a country whom we were obliged to pay in bullion, whilst America would have been glad to have taken our manufactures in exchange.

From this abstract of the opinions that were given when the motion for appointing a committee was first made, it is abundantly evident

evident that the minds of those who were afterward the most active and influencing members of it, were by no means made up on the question, and rather leaned to the opinion that other causes, as well as an over-issue of bank paper, operated to produce the high price of bullion and the unfavourable state of exchange. It may also be proper to take notice of another charge which is brought against the bullion report: that the sentiments of the committee are at variance with the opinions of *those* whom they examined on the different topics connected with the subject of the report. But, certainly, when the house of lords or commons appoint a committee to investigate any subject, they do not mean or expect that the *opinions* of the persons examined should determine those of the committee, unless those opinions appear to it to be well-grounded, and borne out either by general principles or particular facts. Had indeed the bullion committee presented a report at variance with the evidence, not of opinion but of facts, which was produced before it, the accusation would have been just: but it is certainly absurd to blame them for not having adopted the sentiments of men, many of whom could neither explain the reasons on which they maintained them, nor adduce any clear and indubitable facts by which they were supported. Having thus stated and examined the accusations which are brought against the bullion report by those who find it more easy to raise a clamour against it for partiality and unfairness, than to controvert the facts it has established and the doctrines which it holds, we shall proceed to lay before our readers an abstract of those facts and doctrines, with occasional remarks on those points which have been objected to, in our opinion without good reason; which appear to us erroneous, or which admit of further illustration and proof.

The first fact of importance relates to the high price of bullion. At the latter end of the year 1808, the standard price of gold and silver rose to about 15 per cent. higher than the mint price; so that in an exchange between bank-paper and gold, one hundred pounds of the former would purchase only eighty-five of the latter.

The second fact, closely connected in nature and principle with the former, respects the course of exchange between England and other countries. From the evidence given before the committee, as well as from Lloyd's lists, it appears that the exchange with Hamburgh is 17 per cent. below par; or, in other words, the exchange with that city stood at 28, instead of nearly 34.

But the most important and interesting fact respects the great and rapid rise in the price of all commodities; a rise proceeding in a much greater and more rapid proportion within these last 10 or 15 years than within any former period of the same duration.

The bullion committee, from the evidence and facts laid before them, had no hesitation in ascribing all these alarming circumstances to one and the same cause; a cause, the existence of which they affirmed was abundantly proved; and which was sufficiently adequate of itself to account for the excess of the bullion price above the mint price of gold and silver, for the great fall in the exchanges, and for the great and rapid increase in the price of all commodities; this cause is expressed

expressed and explained in the conclusion they thus drew—"A general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall of the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an excessive quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin which is exportable."

It appears from the Appendix to the Bullion Report, that in the years 1791, 1792, before we engaged in the first French war, the amount of bank of England notes in circulation was eleven millions and a half. There appears to have been little or no increase or diminution in their issues till the year 1797, when, in consequence of the great alarm and want of confidence, and the run on the bank for guineas, they found it necessary to have recourse to a rapid diminution of their issues. Government, however, having at that period great occasion for money, on account of the continental subsidies, experienced much inconvenience from these contracted issues; and in order to benefit themselves, and at the same time free the bank from the ruin which appeared to hang over them if they proceeded to pay gold on demand, they relieved it from the obligation to pay in cash. For two years subsequent to this period, no material increase of bank paper took place, except two millions of small notes, which were evidently necessary to supply the place of the guineas which had been withdrawn from circulation. It appears also from the documents printed in the Appendix to the Bullion Report, that during the same period, that is, for two years after the bank restriction bill passed, the bullion price of gold never exceeded its legitimate mint price, or 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; and consequently the foreign exchanges, except where influenced by the balance of trade, remained at par, and the circulating medium of the country suffered no depreciation. This period embraced the whole of the short peace between France and Austria; when, of course, there was no occasion for continental subsidies; but in the following year, 1799, the war broke out between the emperor Paul and the French. We immediately engaged in the contest; sent 40,000 men to Holland, and therefore necessarily required money to send abroad to pay them. It happened also at this time, that our importations were increased to a very large amount, by the failure of our harvest, and our unavoidable dependence on the foreign markets for corn.

These circumstances immediately affected the continental exchanges: they rose rapidly: gold bullion was bought up for exportation; this naturally increased its price; and an increase in the paper currency of the bank to the amount of four millions taking place at the same time, these two circumstances, of a greater demand for gold, and a greater supply of that by which it was to be purchased, necessarily raised the bullion price of gold above its mint price. It accordingly rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* per ounce; or 3 per cent.

From the year 1802 to the year 1808, it does not appear that any increase took place in the issues of bank of England notes; their amount being, during the whole of that period, rather more than seventeen millions; of which sum, rather more than one fourth consisted of notes of one or two pounds. At the end of the year 1808, however, a great change took place;

place; and all those alarming symptoms, the existence of which gave rise to the bullion committee, appeared and continued to spread and gain strength.

From the Appendix to the Bullion Report it appears that the bank increased their issues of small notes, first to five and afterwards to six millions: specie became every day more and more scarce, and at last nearly disappeared altogether: the exchanges with the continent, and the price of bullion rose excessively: still the demand for bank notes increased. The bank enlarged their issue of large notes first to fourteen, and afterwards to fifteen millions; and on the 12th of May, 1810, the whole amount of the bank of England paper in circulation was twenty-one-millions.

We shall, however, have but a very partial and inadequate view of the source of the evil, if we confine our researches to the progressive increase in the issue and circulation of bank of England paper. Formerly, before trade was so well understood, and credit so firmly and generally established, a large proportion of the money of the country, whether coin or paper, lay useless and unproductive, to answer sudden and unexpected calls. But now very little of the money of this country is unemployed, even for the shortest space of time: and a little reflection will convince us that the same effects on the price of commodities will unavoidably result from issuing new money, and from bringing that portion of the old money into constant and rapid circulation, which was formerly employed only occasionally. Tradesmen now, as soon as the business of the day is over, or perhaps before, if their dealings are large, carry the money they have taken to their bankers: there, however, it does not long lie unemployed. If the bankers have more paid into them than they will probably need to answer the checks of their customers or to discount bills, they lay it out in exchequer bills, stock, or some other safe mode, which will make it productive to them. But it is evident that those who by means of exchequer bills or stock purchase the superfluous cash of the banker, purchase it for the purpose of making a profit by it; that is, for the purpose of employing it. In short, from the very circumstance that money is more constantly employed now than it formerly was, it necessarily follows, that the same sum will in a certain degree produce all the effects on prices, which would have resulted from the issuing an additional quantity of new coin or bank notes into circulation.

But not only is money, or the circulating medium, more constantly and regularly employed; but in many cases its place is supplied either by drafts or by actual barter. A curious and striking illustration of the first mode of abridging labour and supplying the use and purposes of money is given in the evidence of the bullion report. At the end of each day, each banker (and there are now 46 in London) finds himself in possession of drafts on the other 45—while they have drafts on him. In order to settle their mutual accounts, they meet in a place convenient for them all, called the "clearing-house." In this place each banking-house has a separate place assigned it; in which the drafts on that house are deposited. In the short space of an hour the distribution is completed. When this is done, the drafts are carried

carried to the banking-houses on which they are drawn; and the balance is there ascertained between each house and the others which hold drafts on it: the liquidation at the clearing-house is then easily completed; not by the use of notes, but simply by each clerk paying the debts of his house by a transfer of its credit balances, and receiving in payment the credit balances of others. By this means there is no use for bank notes, except for the purpose of liquidating the small sum which each house has to pay or receive from the forty-five other banking-houses. In this manner five millions are on an average daily liquidated; and scarcely a twentieth part of this amount is paid in bank notes.

Hitherto we have considered the question principally as it regards the metropolis: it will receive much illustration when we reflect on the great increase in the number of country banks, and also on the great increase which has taken place within these four years in the amount of their notes in circulation. In Great Britain there are now upwards of 700 banks; by far the greater part of whom issue notes. Of course this superabundance of paper must produce the same effects in the country, on the price of commodities, which is felt and complained of in London. The establishment of country banks in districts where the paper of the bank of England formerly circulated, has produced the effect of forcing the latter out of the country into the metropolis, and thus virtually increased the circulation in London.

We have seen that it is the opinion of the bullion committee, that an excessive quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin which is exportable, will produce a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges. The committee contend, not only that the existence of these circumstances proves an excessive issue of bank of England paper, but that the banks not having regulated the issues of their paper by the course of exchange, deprived themselves of the only guard against an excessive issue, and of the only criterion by which they could judge when the home market was sufficiently supplied with their paper.

Before the bank restriction bill was passed, the interest of the bank coincided with that of the nation at large in preventing an excessive issue of notes. Whenever an over-issue took place, in the smallest degree, it instantaneously and necessarily affected the price of bullion and the rate of exchange. The holders of bank notes, therefore, under these circumstances, finding that the $\frac{80}{81}$ parts of a guinea, which the bank on the face of the note promised to pay on demand, was of more value than the note itself, naturally came to the bank and demanded cash. This gave the alarm to the bank; and they immediately lessened the amount of their notes in circulation. This of course lowered the price of bullion and the rate of exchange to their former and usual level; notes and gold became equally valuable, and the demand for cash payments was no longer pressed on the bank. It appears however from the evidence given in the bullion report, that the bank directors, after the restriction bill passed, disregarded this rule. Mr. Pearse, the governor of the bank, expressly

expressly declared "that he could not see how the amount of bank notes issued could operate upon the price of bullion or the state of the exchanges;" and therefore declared his opinion to be, "that the price of bullion or the state of the exchanges can never be a reason for lessening the amount of the bank notes to be issued." And Mr. Whitmore, late governor of the bank, declared that he was so much of the same opinion, that he never thought it necessary to advert to the price of gold, or the state of the exchange, on the days on which the bank advances were made.

It is impossible to suppose that these opinions were grounded on any other consideration than a regard to the interest of the bank: since, if the liability to pay cash on demand were renewed, that interest would compel this rule, derived from the price of bullion and the state of the exchange, to be strictly and constantly observed. When Mr. Raikes, Mr. Darell and Mr. Bosanquet were examined before the committee of secrecy in the house of lords, on the affairs of the bank, in the year 1797, they expressly declared that the state of exchange with foreign countries is a presumptive evidence of the increasing or decreasing demand for cash or bullion from this kingdom: and consequently of the increasing or decreasing quantity of cash or bullion within the kingdom: and in the remonstrance sent to Mr. Pitt in the year 1795, respecting the large and continued drain of bullion and specie which the bank had then lately experienced, the same doctrine is maintained by the bank directors, and expressly admitted by Mr. Pitt.

Instead of this plain and safe rule of limiting their issues of paper according to the price of bullion and the state of exchange, the observance of which would effectually have guarded the nation from an excessive circulation at a time when they could not demand gold for notes, the bank of England adopted a rule which indeed protected them from harm, but afforded not the smallest guard against an over-issue of paper. They take care not to advance money except on good security and at short dates: this they think quite sufficient caution: it secures their own interest; and to the interest of the nation at large they are either blind or inattentive. The committee contend, on solid and good grounds, that an over-issue of bank notes may take place, even though not a single pound is issued except on the most undoubted security; and that this rule, though beneficial to the bank, affords no protection to the country. Before the restriction law the interest of the bank and of the nation, as was before observed, was the same: both were injured by an over-issue of notes: of course the bank, out of regard to its own interest, secured and protected the interest of the nation. Since the passing of the restriction law, the case is reversed: the interests of the bank and the nation are not only separated, but they are become opposed to each other. As the profits of the bank depend upon the amount the notes they have in circulation, it is to be expected that they will issue them to all who can offer good security: but the nation at large, so far from being benefited by an increased amount of circulating medium, is necessarily injured by it. Nor is this injury confined to those whose incomes are fixed; and who consequently experience, as the effect of every addition

addition to the circulating medium, a diminished power over the necessaries and comforts of life: every man of capital finds his profits trenched upon; and those gains which he was accustomed to derive from the use of that capital snatched from him, by those into whose hands the additional quantity of circulating medium was intrusted by the bank. Had the bank, after the passing of the restriction bill, still adhered to their former rule, and paid attention to the price of bullion and the state of exchange in determining the amount of their issues; they would, no doubt, have derived less profit, but they would have been less injurious to the interests of the nation. For the latter to be deprived of payments in cash on demand is in every point of view a serious evil; and as from this national evil the bank derived great profit and advantage, it surely became them not to aggravate and increase it for the sake of adding to their own gains.

The committee contend that bank of England notes are at a discount; a discount arising not from want of credit or confidence in the funds and stability of the bank, but merely from over-issue. In proof and support of this opinion, they instance the case of the Scotch banks about the middle of the last century: their notes were issued on landed security: no person doubted their ability to pay all the notes they issued; and yet from mere over-issue they were at a discount of three or four per cent.: and they were not raised again to par till the banks had contracted their circulation. The case of the bank of Ireland in the year 1804 is likewise referred to by the committee, as bearing a very striking resemblance to the present situation of the bank of England. The solidity of the bank of Ireland was not doubted: yet the price of bullion rose greatly, and the foreign exchanges became very unfavourable. The directors of the Irish bank, with one exception, held the same doctrine as the directors of the bank of England maintained before the bullion committee. They persisted in the opinion, that as they never advanced their notes except on the most unexceptionable security, there could not possibly be an over-issue of them; and that the real state of the case was, not that their notes were depreciated, or at a discount, but that there was an unusual demand for gold, which consequently had advanced in price. The result, however, of the investigation respecting the affairs of the Irish bank before parliament in 1804, was a very material reduction in the amount of their issues, and the return of bullion to its mint price, and of the exchange to par; or, in other words, a rise in the value of the notes.

The bullion committee seem therefore justified in the conclusion they draw, that the bank of England since the obligation to pay in cash on demand was taken off, have issued such large quantities of their notes, as to raise the price of gold in the market, to produce an exchange highly unfavourable to this country, and to enhance the price of all commodities. The fact that their issues of notes is nearly doubled since the year 1796 is established on undoubted authority; while the directors themselves acknowledge that they have neglected and abandoned that rule, which enabled them before the restriction was imposed to detect an over-issue of

their notes. If we add to this, that the interest of those concerned in sending the notes into circulation is served by every addition to their amount, we shall not hesitate to adopt the first part of the conclusion of the bullion committee, that an over-issue has taken place. But even if there were no proof that the amount of paper in circulation from the bank had been doubled; and if it were the case that the bank, instead of deriving great benefit from every addition to their issues, derived little or no advantage from it; yet the state of things, that is, the rise of bullion, to so great a height and for such a length of time, above the mint price of gold; the same great and permanent unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges; and the rapid and alarming increase in the price of all commodities, would direct the attention, the inquiries, and the suspicion of every one who understood the subject, to an over-issue of paper, as the most probable and the only efficient cause of these serious and alarming evils. Unless therefore these evils can be plainly, directly, and satisfactorily traced to some other cause perfectly adequate not only to originate them but to keep them in existence and vigour for such a length of time, the nation must and ought to ascribe them solely to the over-issue of paper money.

Attempts have been made to fix the cause of these evils on other circumstances, and thence to conclude that there is no over-issue of paper money; no depreciation of it; but that, while the country has been greatly benefited by the great increase of capital formed by the liberal discounts of the bank, no serious inconvenience has resulted, or could possibly result. That bullion is exorbitantly high; that its dearness arises from causes not partial and temporary; that the exchange is also very much against this country; and, by having been so long so, must have been brought into this state by a regular and constantly operating chain of circumstances,—are not denied. It is contended, however, that these facts ought not to be ascribed to an over-issue of paper, if they can be accounted for from other causes. Here then the two parties are at issue: but before entering into an explanation of the mode by which each endeavours to show that the causes he assigns will and must produce the evils complained of, while those assigned by his adversary either cannot be, or are not, in existence; we should recollect, what has been already stated, that the presumption is, that there is an over-issue of paper money, because it is the interest of the bank to discount to all who will give good security and take notes at short dates; because they actually regulate their discounts by these rules; and because they have utterly thrown aside all regard to the *high price of bullion and the unfavourable state of exchange*,—two of the evils complained of; and the existence of which, when they were obliged to pay in gold, always led them to curtail their discounts.

Indeed the question appears to us to admit of a very short and easy solution. If we suppose that the present high price of bullion and unfavourable state of exchange continued to exist, but that the bank of England were again obliged to pay in cash on demand, what would be their first step? Undoubtedly to withdraw a great portion of their notes from circulation—and this they would continue to do, unless we

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suppose them totally blind to their own interest—till the market and mint price of gold came to a level, and our exchange with foreign countries was brought back to par. But if their notes flowed back upon them for payment in cash, would not this prove that the issue of them had been excessive? or, in other words, that it had been so great as to raise every thing in price above its proper and natural level?

In examining the question more minutely and with a more particular reference to its different parts, it is not necessary to go much into detail. The doctrines of those who oppose the bullion committee will not bear nor require a very rigid or deep scrutiny to detect their errors: much of what they lay down and maintain may even be granted them, and yet they will be unable to make out their point.

With respect to the high price of gold, this is ascribed by some of the opponents of the bullion committee to a general scarcity of that metal: by others to a great demand for it abroad: and by a third party to the great increase of our foreign expenditure. Now in the first place, it may be remarked that there is no proof of such a scarcity as is alleged. The mines in South America have not indeed been quite so productive for some years as they formerly were; but then, on the other hand, this nation, by adopting a paper currency, has thrown a very large quantity of gold into the market of the commercial world, which must have much more than compensated for the diminished supply from the mines. But, moreover, if it were the fact, that gold was more scarce, commodities would be cheaper; not in this country, because, having issued a paper currency, we have cut ourselves off from that effect, whether good or bad, of this alleged scarcity of gold: but in every country where the currency is still in coin, the price of commodities ought to have fallen: as, however, the reverse of this is the case, we certainly cannot admit that gold is scarcer.

With regard to the second position, That there is a great demand for gold on the continent,—this in some respects resolves itself into the first assertion: but considering it as distinct, it may be asked, in the first place, what has created the demand?—and secondly, as, if there is a greater demand than usual for gold, gold must be dearer,—in what is it dearer? It must be dearer either in commodities, in which case they would be cheap: and this doctrine, as we have remarked, would resolve itself into the one already examined; or in silver, or in the paper currency of the country, where it is said to be dearer. The proportionate value of gold and silver can never for any length of time vary considerably in two countries, the communication between which is open and expeditious. If an ounce of gold in England is worth sixteen ounces of silver, while in Hamburgh it is worth seventeen ounces; gold will pass to Hamburgh, where it can purchase 1-16th more silver than in England; and silver will be sent from Hamburgh to England, where sixteen ounces can purchase as much gold as seventeen could do in Hamburgh, till the proportionate value of the two metals becomes the same or very nearly the same at both places. It cannot be that gold is sent out of the country, because in that part of the conti-

nent to which it is exported, it is dearer in the paper currency: what is this but saying that the paper currency of the place to which it is said to be exported, is depreciated; and if the rise of the price of gold in the paper currency of any country causes it to flow into that country, whence does it happen that it does not flow abundantly into England? It is no answer to this remark to maintain, that gold passes naturally to that country where it will exchange for most of the currency; and that it leaves us and goes to the continent, because, though here it will sell for more than usual of our paper currency, there its price, calculated in the same way, is still higher. For, unless to the unproved assertion on which this theory rests, that the paper currency of the continent is more depreciated than ours, be added the still broader assertion, that the price of gold, calculated in paper currency, is lower here than any where else, those who maintain that gold leaves us from this cause to go to a country where it sells high in paper currency, ought also to maintain, that it will come to us from those countries where it is cheaper than with us in paper currency.

But the truth is, the whole of this doctrine is not only unfounded, but absurd: it is unfounded, because, there is no proof that gold has risen more in value above the paper currency of any country than it has above ours: and it is absurd, because if it had, there would be no inducement to send it to such country. It would indeed purchase more paper-money: but we need only regard the state of our own currency to be convinced that the possession of a greater quantity of paper-money does not put us in possession of the means of getting more commodities. We might indeed expect that gold would pass from one country to another, if in the latter it would purchase 10 per cent. more of the paper money than formerly, while the price of all commodities remained the same; because the effect of such a state of things would be to lower the price of all commodities 10 per cent. to all who brought gold: but if, while the paper money fell 10 per cent. with respect to gold, it fell in the same proportion with respect to all commodities, the holder of gold could have no temptation to bring it to this market.

A more plausible, and in some respects a better founded attempt to account for the evils attributed by the bullion committee to the over-issue of paper-money, is made by those who maintain that the high price of gold and the unfavourable state of the exchange are intimately connected; that they tend mutually to produce each other; and that the ultimate and efficient cause of each must be sought for in our great foreign expenditure, and in the present state of our commerce with the continent.

Before examining in what degree and respect this doctrine is well founded, it may be proper to remark that it cannot completely and exclusively account for the evils complained of, and much less for their long continuance. If we suppose that the circumstances already stated,—a great foreign expenditure, and a state of commerce which impeded the transit of our goods to the continent,—continued to exist, but that the restriction was taken off the bank, we shall soon perceive that the evils would effectually remedy themselves by a very natural and simple process: and

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a little further reflection will convince us, that even while the restriction on cash payments continued, the evil could not have grown to its present magnitude, nor continued so long, unless the removal of it had been prevented by an over-issue of paper money.

The truth of these observations will clearly appear if we consider, first, what would be the consequences of a high price of gold; our actual state now, as the opponents of the bullion committee contend; and on the other hand, what are the natural and unavoidable consequences of an over-issue of paper-money, which is our present condition according to the bullion committee.

If the assertion that gold is high means any thing, it means that it will sell for more of the currency of a country, while that currency will command the same quantity of other commodities as formerly. If this latter be not the case, it is absurd to say gold is high; the fact being, all things are high priced: and if a rise in the price of all commodities be not a proof of the depreciation of the currency of a country, what is a proof of it?

We must therefore examine the doctrine of the opponents of the bullion committee, on the supposition that they mean that gold is high, not merely in the paper currency of the country, but as compared with all or most other commodities. But if this were the case, it is evident, in the first place, that gold would flow into this country as naturally as it flows from those countries where the mines are, and where of course it is very abundant. If wheat or any other article is dear here, and the importation is allowed, it immediately arrives till the price in this country and in those places from whence it is imported are nearly on a level. But, secondly, if the real state of the case were, that gold was dear, not only would other nations come to purchase commodities here, or in other words bring their bullion to this as the best market, but we should be unable to go for any length of time to foreign markets for any commodities, since gold, by which alone we could purchase them, being dearer in our currency, would in the same proportion enhance the price of all our imports. The truth of these observations would be abundantly manifest if our currency still consisted of hard coin: for then the plain statement of the fact would be, not that gold was dear, but that things were cheap. A little reflection, however, will convince us, that to those who possess gold, that is to foreign nations, our commodities are cheap, whether they sell for a smaller quantity of gold coin, or for the same amount of paper currency, which will purchase a smaller quantity of gold. In the first case, the foreign merchant who brings a certain portion of gold procures for it directly more goods than formerly: in the latter case, the same portion of gold will sell for a larger amount of paper currency, which paper currency will procure the same amount of goods in the market as usual. If therefore gold were dear, goods must be cheap; and if goods were cheap, gold would find its way into this kingdom in exchange for them. But as this is not the case; and as, moreover, the price of gold calculated in our paper currency has not risen more than other commodities, calculated in the same currency, the conclusion that ought to

be drawn is, that the high price of gold is one among many other proofs of an over-issue of paper money.

It is unnecessary to enter at any length into the consideration of what are the natural and unavoidable effects of an over-issue of paper money: the opponents of the bullion committee maintain that the present state of things results from a different cause: we have endeavoured to prove that, if that cause really existed, its effects would be very dissimilar to those which are actually produced. This therefore completely sets aside the cause assigned by them: but not only are the effects actually existing, such as could not have flowed from their theory; but they are such as could proceed from no cause, but that pointed out by the bullion committee, that is, an over-issue of paper money. What is the proof of an over-issue? or rather, what is the meaning of the term? What would be the result of doubling the circulating medium of any country, while the commodities to be circulated remained the same? Undoubtedly a rise of price: if the circulating medium consisted of the precious metals, that is, if it were the same as the general circulating medium of the commercial world; the additional quantity would not long be confined to the country where it first appeared, but would gradually spread itself over the whole of the commercial world. This remedy and relief from a super-abundant currency, it is evident, however, could not exist in a country such as ours, where paper cannot be exchanged for gold, except at a rate which would make foreign commodities as dear as those in the home market. In such a country, the super-abundant circulation, having no outlet, must continue to keep up the price of all commodities.

With respect to the unfavourable state of the exchange, while the bullion committee are of opinion that it is caused by the over-issue of paper; their opponents maintain that our paper currency has no connexion with it, and that the fall is attributable solely to the expense of our troops abroad, and to the peculiar circumstances in which our commerce with the continent is placed. The first part of this position, That our paper currency has no connexion with the rate of our foreign exchange, is utterly unfounded, and betrays a gross ignorance of the principles of commercial exchanges. If, as we have attempted to show, the price of gold may be raised by an over-issue of paper; the price of a bill of exchange, or, in other words, of gold in a foreign market where it is wanted, must also be raised. To suppose that a merchant who holds a bill of exchange would sell at the same rate as formerly, when gold had risen 10 per cent., is to suppose that he would forgo the profit which he would derive from bringing the gold to which that bill entitled him, into the market where its price had risen so much: and to suppose that the merchant who needed the bill would refuse to give 10 per cent. more for it, if gold had risen so much, is to suppose that he would prefer discharging his debt abroad, by purchasing gold at the advanced price; and moreover putting himself to the expense of freight and insurance.

The exchange therefore must be affected by the price of gold; and if the price of gold is affected by an over-issue of paper money, the exchange is indirectly affected by

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that over-issue. How far the present very unfavourable state of the exchange proceeds from this cause, and how far it may justly be ascribed to the excess of our imports and foreign expenditure above our exports, it is not easy to decide. It may, however, be remarked, that on this part of the subject the bullion report is least full and satisfactory; and that, in tracing the causes of the unfavourable exchange, they do not make sufficient allowance for our large importations of grain, most part of which was paid for in bullion; nor for our being deprived of American bills on the continent, by means of which America formerly paid her debts to us, and we paid our debts to the continent, and defrayed a great part of our foreign expenditure.

We shall conclude this important subject by stating in the words of the committee the remedy they propose for the present unwholesome and unnatural state of our circulation, and examining briefly how far it is practicable, and would be advantageous.

"According to the best judgement your committee has been enabled to form, no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, can be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the bank of England.

"In effecting so important a change, your committee are of opinion that some difficulties must be encountered, and that there are some contingent dangers to the bank, against which it ought most carefully and strongly to be guarded. But all those may be effectually provided for, by intrusting to the discretion of the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation, and by allowing to the bank so ample a period of time for conducting it, as will be more than sufficient to effect its completion. To the discretion, experience, and integrity of the directors of the bank, your committee believe that parliament may safely intrust the charge of effecting that which parliament may in its wisdom determine upon as necessary to be effected; and that the directors of that great institution, far from making themselves a party with those who have a temporary interest in spreading alarm, will take a much longer view of the permanent interests of the bank, as indissolubly blended with those of the public. The particular mode of gradually effecting the resumption of cash payments ought therefore, in the opinion of your committee, to be left in a great measure to the discretion of the bank, and parliament ought to do little more than to fix, definitively, the time at which cash payments are to become, as before, compulsory. The period allowed ought to be ample, in order that the bank directors may feel their way; and that, having a constant watch upon the varying circumstances that ought to guide them, and availing themselves only of favourable circumstances, they may tread back their steps slowly, and may preserve both the course of their own affairs as a company, and that of public and commercial credit, not only safe but unembarrassed.

"With this view, your committee would suggest that the restriction on cash payments cannot safely be removed at an earlier period than two years from the present time; but your committee are of opinion, that early provision ought to be made by parliament for terminating,

ing, by the end of that period, the operation of the several statutes which have imposed and continued that restriction.

"In suggesting this period of two years, your committee have not overlooked the circumstance, that at the law stands at present, the bank would be compelled to pay in cash at the end of six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; so that, if peace were to be concluded within that period, the recommendation of your committee might seem to have the effect of postponing instead of accelerating the resumption of payments. But your committee are of opinion, that if peace were immediately to be ratified, in the present state of our circulation it would be most hazardous to compel the bank to pay cash in six months, and would be found wholly impracticable. Indeed, the restoration of peace, by opening new fields of commercial enterprise, would multiply instead of abridging the demands upon the bank for discount, and would render it peculiarly distressing to the commercial world if the bank were suddenly and materially to restrict their issues. Your committee are therefore of opinion, that even if peace should intervene, two years should be given to the bank for resuming its payments; but that, even if the war should be prolonged, cash payments should be resumed by the end of that period.

"Although the details of the best mode of returning to cash payments ought to be left to the discretion of the bank of England, as already stated, certain provisions would be necessary under the authority of parliament, both for the convenience of the bank itself and for the security of the other banking establishments in the country and in Ireland.

"Your committee conceive it may be convenient for the bank to be permitted to issue notes under the value of *5l.* for some little time after it had resumed payments in specie.

"It will be convenient also for the chartered banks of Ireland and Scotland, and all the country banks, that they should not be compelled to pay in specie until some time after the resumption of payments in cash by the bank of England; but that they should continue for a short period upon their present footing, of being liable to pay their own notes on demand in bank of England paper."

The first question to be considered in examining this plan proposed by the bullion committee for the resumption of cash payments by the bank, has respect to the mode in which the bank, while it is contracting its discounts, can procure the gold necessary to pay in cash at the end of the term when the restriction law is to cease. It is plain, if that law were now repealed, while the bullion price of gold is 20 per cent. above its mint price, and while the rate of foreign exchange is unfavourable nearly in the same degree, that the holders of a very few, comparatively, of the notes of the bank might, by a very expeditious and effectual mode, draw from it all the gold it possessed. They would offer these notes for payment, receive guineas for them at the mint price, melt these guineas or export them, and in either case receive 20 per cent. more bank notes than they gave for them at the bank; with this increased number apply again, and repeat the same operation. While, therefore, any considerable and tempting

tempting difference exists between the bullion and the mint price of gold, the bank, if it resumed cash payments, would be liable to have itself drained of gold long before it paid all the notes it had in circulation. It is, however, perhaps, hardly fair to reckon the loss to the bank at the difference between the market and mint price of gold: if the difference is 20 per cent. they no doubt, if they pay in cash and have gold to buy for that purpose, must *sell* (if the expression may be allowed) 20 per cent. lower than they bought; but it is to be considered in the first place, that the rise in the market price of gold has been brought about principally and entirely by their means; and that they have gained prodigiously by that over-issue, while the public have lost. The measure proposed of obliging them to resume cash payments would benefit the public, while it would deprive the bank of part, but only of part, of their ill-gotten wealth:—it would, therefore, tend to place them relatively nearly in the same state in which they were previously to the restriction:—but secondly, it is not fair to suppose that the bank would have all, or nearly all, their gold to buy at the advanced rate, unless we suppose that they have so much neglected their interest as not to buy it when it was cheaper. It is generally supposed that the bank, during the suspension of cash payments, has been benefited only in one mode; namely, by the very large and increasing amount of their notes in circulation; but it should be recollected, that by their charter they are allowed to deal in bullion, that they are the largest dealers in this article in the kingdom, and that by the issue of their notes they had it in their power not only to purchase bullion, but also to raise the value of that which they had purchased to a great rate. Here then we perceive that the large issue of their notes benefited them in two ways:—first, by 5 per cent. on the bills discounted, or the advances made; secondly, by raising the value of the only article in which the bank deals, and which itself was purchased by these notes. We shall not therefore be surprised that since the restriction law they have increased their dividends to 10 per cent. paid half-yearly; besides having divided a bonus of 36 per cent., and that their stock has risen to 250. As these profits have been made at the expense of the public,—certainly, in suggesting a plan by which the public may be relieved, no principle of justice calls upon us scrupulously to regard the interest of the injuring party in preference to that of the injured.

There are, however, other difficulties, arising from evils of a different kind, produced by the measures of the bank: they have not only depreciated the value of money, but, by granting discounts so freely, they have encouraged such a depraved and unbounded appetite for speculation, that, if the present embarrassments in the commercial world do not cure it before the restriction is taken off, the speculators, finding themselves deprived of their usual supplies at the bank of England, will create such a demand for discounts elsewhere, and offer such a high premium for money, that private banks will start up, and, with less stability and infinitely less capital than the bank of England, nearly rival them in the amount of their circulation. Their existence, indeed, must be short, if the obligation to pay in

cash

cash is renewed, but while they live they may do very great mischief.

The present commercial embarrassments therefore, as they certainly have pruned considerably that exuberance of credit which before existed,—and as it is to be hoped they will cure, or at least weaken and restrain the spirit of speculation,—may ultimately prepare the way for the resumption of cash payments with less difficulty and danger than any plan that could be proposed. As they tend to set limits to credit and to speculation, they tend on the one hand to make discounts at the bank more difficult to be procured; and on the other, from the knowledge of this circumstance and the decrease of speculation, there will be fewer demands for them. A diminished issue of notes is the necessary consequence; and thus a step is taken towards the resumption of cash payments.

CHAPTER XV.

Unexpected Meeting of Parliament in November, occasioned by the King's Illness—Nature and Causes of this melancholy Event—Parliament adjourned to the 15th of November—adjourned again to the 29th—Reasons urged for and against further Delay—State of His Majesty's Complaint—Physicians examined before the Privy Council—Committee appointed by both Houses to examine them on the 13th of December—Facts established by this Examination—Resolutions of the House of Commons in consequence of the Report of the Committee—Sir F. Burdett's Remarks on the 2d Resolution—Debate on the 3d—Mr. Perceval regulates his Conduct by the Precedent of 1789—Restrictions on the Regent—Reasons for and against them—The Prince's Conduct—Protest of the Royal Dukes—Conjectures respecting a new Ministry—The Prince appointed Regent—retains the old Ministry.

AT the close of each session of parliament, it is usual for the king to prorogue it to a period much antecedent to that at which it is determined that it should actually re-assemble for the dispatch of business. At the close of the session 1810 accordingly the parliament was prorogued for a short time: when that had elapsed, a commission for its further prorogation to the first day of November was signed by the king; and by virtue of this commission, when the parliament met on the day to which it was first prorogued, the further prorogation legally took place. As there was no immediate and urgent necessity that parliament should actually proceed to business on the first day of November, a proclamation was issued by the king in council, stating it to be the royal pleasure that it should be further prorogued,

prorogued. It was of course intended that this proclamation, which of itself was of no efficacy to prorogue parliament, should be followed by the usual commission signed by the king, and read in the house of peers by commissioners appointed for that purpose. An unexpected and melancholy circumstance, however, prevented this from taking place.

The youngest and favourite daughter of his majesty, the princess Amelia, had long suffered under a most painful and dangerous complaint. During the year 1809, and especially about the time of the jubilee, her life was despaired of; and in the opinion of the most skilful medical men it was scarcely thought possible that she could survive many days. Contrary, however, to their belief and predictions, she recovered so far as to be pronounced out of immediate danger, and even to afford some slight and transient hopes of ultimate and perfect health. But these hopes were indeed but slight and transient. In the months of September and October 1810, she rapidly and alarmingly grew worse, and soon reached such a state as to preclude almost the possibility of long continuance in life. This circumstance, of an amiable and beloved daughter in the prime of life passing rapidly on to her dissolution in the midst of the most acute sufferings, naturally preyed on the mind and the parental feelings of his majesty: his whole soul became absorbed in the fate of his daughter: he dwelt on it with harassing and weakening grief and despair; till at length the powers of his understanding gave way, and he fell a prey to that mental disorder under which he had suffered so much about twenty years before.

In this state it was of course impossible for him to appoint commissioners to meet parliament on the first day of November, and to prorogue it, agreeably to the proclamation which had been issued, to a future day. When, therefore, parliament assembled on that day there was no power to prorogue it; and on the other hand, the king not being present and no commission being sent for opening the parliament, they could not *as a parliament* constitutionally proceed to business. The only case exactly similar, and to which therefore the houses of lords and commons could look up as a regular precedent, was that of 1789: parliament that year had been prorogued to the 20th of November; and as the regular commission for its further intended prorogation had not been signed by the king, it necessarily met on that day. The peers and the commons remained each in their separate chambers; and the chancellor in the former, and Mr. Pitt in the latter, having informed their respective houses of the cause of their assembling without the usual notice and summons, and stated the impropriety of their proceeding to any public business under such circumstances, an adjournment for fifteen days was unanimously resolved upon. This precedent was strictly followed upon the present melancholy occasion. Indeed it was particularly necessary that an adjournment should take place, since scarcely any members of either house were in London. In the house of lords, therefore, the chancellor, on the motion of the earl of Liverpool, was directed to write a letter to every noble lord, informing him that the house of lords expected his attendance on Thursday the 15th day of November; and

and in the house of commons the speaker, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, was directed to transmit a similar notice to the members of that house.

From the peculiarly mild symptoms which his majesty's complaint assumed at the commencement of his illness, it was hoped that it would not be of long continuance, but would soon yield to medical care and skill. Sir Henry Halford, and Drs. Heberden and Baillie were the physicians first called in: they signed the bulletins that were regularly issued, at first once and afterwards twice a day, from the 29th of October to the 4th of November, when the signature of Dr. Reynolds appeared. On the 9th of that month Dr. Willis was called in; and then there was too much reason to apprehend that his majesty's disorder was deemed of a more decided and obstinate nature than was originally supposed.

When parliament met again on the 15th of November, ministers informed each house respectively that the medical attendants on his majesty expressed the most flattering and confident hopes that he would in a very short space of time be enabled to resume the exercise of the royal functions; and they therefore moved that parliament should again adjourn for another fortnight, to the 29th of November. Although a few members gave it as their opinion that parliament should immediately take the proper and constitutional measures to supply the deficiency in the royal authority, yet by far the greatest number in both houses thought that deference to the judgement of the physicians, as well as delicacy to his majesty, called for another adjournment; and as the prince's more immediate friends were decidedly and unanimously of this opinion, the determination of parliament not to proceed immediately to supply the vacancy in the royal power, but to wait the events of another fortnight, was very generally approved of by the nation as highly proper and becoming, as well as honourable to the feelings of the heir apparent.

During the progress of the second fortnight, (that is from the 15th to the 29th of November,) his majesty's disorder, instead of relaxing in its strength or assuming a milder and more favourable aspect, put on the appearance of more obstinacy, and threatened to be of long continuance. Ministers could not expect that parliament would again be satisfied with their report of the examination and opinions of the physicians. It had been plainly stated during the former debate that parliament could not constitutionally receive, and therefore could not constitutionally act upon, evidence on any point, even of the smallest moment, not taken in the regular manner before a committee appointed by each house for each special purpose. The appointment of such committees, however, ministers wished to postpone as long as circumstances would permit; and determined to have recourse to them only after every intermediate measure had been adopted. A few days therefore before the 29th of November, the president of the council summoned all the members of his majesty's most honourable privy council to assemble for the purpose of examining the physicians touching the state of his majesty's health, and the probability in their opinion of his speedy resumption of the royal authority. When the privy council met, the regular

regular forms forbade any member of it, who felt so disposed, to put any particular questions to the physicians. The president of the council alone interrogated them; and not according to his own judgement, or in a very strict and searching manner. On the contrary, a few general questions touching the actual state of his majesty at that time, and the probability of his speedy recovery, were put to each physician by the president of the council. The answers of course were equally short, and expressed the opinion of each of the physicians, that although his majesty at that time was certainly incapable of exercising the royal functions, yet they had no doubts of his recovery, and that his recovery would not be long delayed.

Taking their stand upon the result of this examination, ministers, when parliament met on the 29th of November, again moved a further adjournment for another fortnight, till the 13th of December. In support of this motion they urged the extreme indelicacy of proceeding to fill up the defect in the exercise of the royal authority, when, in the opinion of those who from their opportunities of observation, as well as from their skill and experience, were the best qualified to judge, that defect would be of very short duration. They called upon parliament not to show any backwardness to put the same trust in an examination of the physicians, conducted before all the members of the privy council, and communicated now in the presence of those who had witnessed it, that they had done a fortnight before, when on the faith of an examination conducted solely by his majesty's ministers they had acceded to the motion of adjournment. Even those members who had at that time objected to an adjournment, because parliament knew nothing respecting his majesty's health but what ministers thought proper to communicate, could not with any consistency step forward to oppose the present motion, since it was grounded on a regular and public examination of the physicians, the result of which was communicated in a manner and from a quarter that must place it above all ambiguity or suspicion. Ministers further urged in support of a further adjournment, that no evil could possibly result from it: in the short space of a fortnight there was not the most distant probability that any circumstance would arise which would necessarily call for the exercise of the royal authority. Much good therefore would result from the adjournment, while it could scarcely produce any serious inconvenience. It would unequivocally manifest the respect which parliament entertained for the king; while, on the contrary, if measures were immediately adopted to supply the defect in the royal authority, in the face of the opinions of all the physicians that they entertained the most sanguine hopes of his majesty's speedy recovery, would it not bear the appearance of disrespect, and almost of a wish to set aside a monarch under whom the nation had reached a most enviable and unparalleled height of prosperity and happiness; a monarch who, during the whole course of a reign seldom equalled in point of duration, had uniformly studied the welfare of his people?

The answer of the opposition to these arguments proceeded in many respects on strong ground. In reply to the argument that there was much more reason now, when the regular

regular and official examination of the physicians by the privy council was before parliament, to act on their opinion, than there had been on the 15th of November, when ministers alone conveyed it, they observed that that very opinion, though now proceeding from a more constitutional source, and a source which parliament might perhaps recognise and act upon, was in itself much less worthy of confidence than it had been a fortnight before. On the 15th of November ministers had informed parliament that the physicians unanimously expressed their firm belief that his majesty would speedily recover, so as to be capable of resuming the exercise of the royal functions. On this belief, communicated to parliament, ministers grounded their motion for an adjournment to the 29th of November. It was therefore to be supposed, that they understood the physicians to be of opinion, that by the end of the adjournment his majesty would either be perfectly recovered, or that symptoms of amendment would have discovered themselves under such an unequivocal character, and in such a regular and progressive manner, that his recovery might be deemed certain within a very short space of time. Now, what had been actually the case? If a judgement were to be formed from the bulletins, which had been issued between the 15th and 29th of November, (and the bulletins assuredly would rather soften than aggravate the real state of his majesty's health, if that state were unfavourable,) his majesty, so far from having made the slightest or slowest advance towards recovery, was most assuredly then, on the 29th of November, not merely worse, but in a more unpromising condition than he had been on the 15th of that month.—Parliament, therefore, might deem a communication of the opinion of the physicians, coming from the privy council, before whom they had been regularly and solemnly examined, as deserving of more weight than a communication of their opinion, taken by ministers in a loose and irregular manner; and yet it might, without the charge of inconsistency, put less confidence, not in the *communication* of the opinion given before the privy council, but in the opinion itself. The malady with which it had seemed fit to Providence to afflict his majesty, spurned the skill and the predictions of medical men more than most others: it was no wonder therefore that they should have been mistaken; that they had been so was too fully and fatally proved by the state of his majesty's disorder between the 15th and 29th of November; and as this particular kind of malady gained strength, when it was not actually weakened by time, there was too much reason to apprehend that the predictions of the physicians would not meet a more accurate fulfilment during the next fortnight; and that at the end of that time ministers themselves would be convinced that present hope of recovery was unfounded, while they had yet to commence their measures for supplying the defect in the royal authority.

Those who opposed the motion for another adjournment, contended, that the question of delicacy or respect to the sovereign was very unfairly and improperly introduced; but if it were to be taken into consideration, it ought to be viewed in connexion with the probability of his majesty's speedy recovery, and with the inconvenience

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and mischief to public affairs, which might result from a protracted suspension of the royal authority. If there was no good reason to suppose, that by the end of another fortnight the king would be capable of resuming his functions; there could be no just ground for further delay, nor could the charge of precipitancy or want of delicacy be fairly brought forward. But, above all things, the inconvenience which might arise in the management of the affairs of the nation, if parliament did not immediately proceed to supply the defect in the royal authority, pointed out in the plainest and strongest manner the impropriety of the proposed adjournment.

Ministers had, even in this early stage of the business, manifested a disposition to regulate their conduct in all respects by the proceedings of parliament in 1789 on a similar melancholy occasion. But the opposition contended, that the state of the country and of Europe at that time, and at the present period, were so very different that no line of proceeding could fairly be drawn from one to the other. In 1789 Great Britain was in a state of profound peace:—the powers of Europe, and especially France, were either not disposed or by no means able to disturb her tranquillity. In 1810 the case was unfortunately quite the reverse: we were embarked in a tremendous warfare with a man who had nearly the whole power of Europe at his command: having at length gained an opportunity of rousing and supporting a people who were determined to resist him, we had embarked in their cause with almost the whole of our disposable force. Affairs in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal were in such a critical state that the balance might be turned for or against us, by seizing or passing by the opportunity which a single day might present. Sweden had declared war against this country; but while the royal authority was suspended, no hostile measures could be commenced against her.

The opposition also dwelt with much force of argument on the internal state of the country: our commerce was falling rapidly before the power of Bonaparte: credit and confidence in the mercantile world had experienced a serious shock: many bankruptcies had already taken place, and much misery had ensued; and the prospect was by no means of a cheering kind. Under these circumstances of foreign warfare and domestic distress, was not an executive government possessed of the utmost strength absolutely necessary? And if such an executive government were necessary, what must unavoidably be the result if the country were suffered to go on, even for the short space of a fortnight, totally deprived of an executive government? It was also argued, that as much time must elapse, after parliament had come to the determination of adopting measures to supply the defect in the royal authority, before a regent could be appointed, no delay should take place under the pretext of the probability of the king's speedy recovery. If he did recover, as ministers expressed a belief he would do within the space of the next fortnight, the measures which parliament might have begun to adopt would of course be dropped: if he did not recover, some progress would have been made towards putting the nation under its complete and regular government.

Thus then no harm could possibly

bly result from parliament proceeding directly to business; while serious inconvenience, or a palpable breach of the constitution, would be the consequence of further delay. Many things, which could alone be performed by the king, were already waiting for execution; and it was reasonable to suppose, in the present state of affairs, that few days could pass over, without a necessity for the power or interference of the royal authority. If nothing were done in such a case, the nation must unavoidably suffer: if ministers took upon themselves the royal functions, they would create a dangerous precedent, and tend to impress the public mind with a suspicion that the executive government might be dispensed with.

Such is a sketch of the arguments used on the one hand by the ministers, who proposed a further adjournment; and on the other hand by the opposition, who contended that parliament should immediately proceed to fill up the vacancy in the exercise of the royal authority.—The motion for adjournment was carried by a large majority; and the 13th day of December was fixed upon for the reassembling of parliament.

During this period the disorder of his majesty by no means abated, even according to the vague report which the bulletins presented: and it was generally understood that the malady had assumed a more violent character, so as not only to bear hard upon the bodily health of his majesty, but to threaten a long and tedious endurance, and to cast great doubts upon his ultimate and perfect recovery. When, therefore, parliament met again on the 13th of December, ministers found themselves driven to the necessity of proposing that his majesty's physicians should be examined by a committee appointed by each house; and of explicitly stating, that, if the report should not hold out a prospect of speedy recovery, they would then propose measures to supply the defect in the royal authority.

The physicians in attendance upon his majesty were examined in a very particular and strict manner by the committee of both houses. From this examination three important points, directly bearing on the subject before parliament, were made out; and some curious information was collected respecting the previous illnesses of his majesty in the years 1801 and 1804.

In the first place, the nature of the complaint under which his majesty laboured was scientifically and perspicuously described, especially by Dr. Willis.—He stated it to be his opinion, that it was a derangement of mind closely allied to delirium, and occasionally falling into it; but that there was a wide difference between it and what was usually termed insanity. When asked to describe generally in what the difference consisted, he replied, "It consists principally in the different state of the mind, and the different state of the constitution also. In delirium the mind is actively occupied upon past impressions without any reference to present objects. A person under delirium resembles one talking in his sleep: he is totally insensible to all surrounding objects. The bodily health is at the same time considerably affected; there is great restlessness and want of sleep. In insanity the mind is acting upon some assumed idea, to the truth of which it will pertinaciously adhere, contrary to the strongest evidence of its falsity. The individual is awake to all surrounding

rounding objects:—the general health may be little or not at all impaired. Taking these two points as extreme points, derangement will lie somewhere betwixt them, partaking more or less of one or the other. The derangement which is the object of this inquiry I consider partaking of delirium, but never partaking of insanity."

In the second place, the circumstances which induced the physicians unanimously, and with scarcely any difference in point of confidence, to adhere to their former opinion,—that his majesty would recover,—were particularly called for by the questions that were put to them and explicitly stated. These were, that the malady had originated from a known and specific cause, fully adequate to its production, without supposing any overruling inherent propensity; that his majesty had recovered from three previous attacks of the same disorder; and although he was now considerably further advanced in years, yet, from his temperance, vigour, and haleness of constitution, the chance of his recovery was much greater than that of most men not so old; and that the malady had not weakened the faculties of his mind,—they were still entire; that is, his powers of memory and judgement, though exerted on erroneous objects, and not within his control at all times, were as perfect as they had been previously to the commencement of the disorder.

In the third place, the physicians, although, as has been stated, they expressed the most confident hopes that his majesty would recover so as to be able to resume the exercise of the royal functions, yet were disposed to apprehend that he would still be liable to occasional "hurries;" and that, as he had already laboured under four attacks, it was probable he would continue liable to repeated attacks.

It is curious to compare the statements given by the physicians, when they were examined before the committees of the two houses, respecting his majesty's health on particular days, with the bulletins that were issued on those days. It came out, that more than once his majesty had been in great and imminent danger at a time when the bulletins pronounced him to be no worse than usual; and that he had had repeated paroxysms with intermissions of comparative calmness, though no such variations were stated to have occurred in the bulletins. It perhaps was impossible to draw up the bulletins in such a manner that they should give a clear and definite account of his majesty's health each day; but assuredly they might have led the public nearer to the truth than they actually did; and have been guarded against becoming, what they were too generally deemed, a by-word for ambiguous information.

As in the course of the examination of the physicians it was necessary to advert to the malady under which his majesty had laboured in the years 1801 and 1804, some very curious and important particulars were brought to light. It came out from the evidence of Dr. Heberden, that in 1804 his majesty continued indisposed, and actually under the care and control of Dr. Willis and his men, long after the bulletins were discontinued; and the nation, from that circumstance and from his majesty's resuming his royal functions, had been induced to believe that he

was perfectly recovered. The use which the opposition made of this discovery will be noticed afterwards. It was most ungracious and unwelcome to the men who were then in power; but it necessarily produced the beneficial consequence of making ministers more guarded and cautious in declaring his majesty well on this occasion.

As the physicians expressed a decided opinion, not only that his majesty was at that time totally incapable of performing the high functions of the regal office, but that his recovery would probably be slow and remote, and that it went beyond their skill and foresight to fix the period when that happy event would take place, it was absolutely necessary for ministers to proceed towards the appointment of a regent. As the houses of lords and commons, the session not having been opened in the usual form, by a speech from the throne or by commissioners named by his majesty, could not constitutionally be regarded as the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but merely as a convention of the estates, it was necessary to have a regard to this character in the mode of their proceedings. The business originated in the house of commons, where, on the 20th of December, the house having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Perceval moved three resolutions.

The first simply declared the opinion of the committee respecting the indisposition of his majesty, and the consequent interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority.—This resolution, affording no room or occasion for debate or difference of sentiment, immediately passed unanimously.

The second resolution declared it to be the opinion of the committee, that "it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority." When this resolution was put, sir Francis Burdett rose and denied that the house lawfully, fully or freely represented the people:—a denial so totally out of place, that it discovered a greater portion of zeal than of judgement or discretion. Besides, as was well remarked in reply, if the house were not the legal representative of the people of Great Britain, how came the baronet to occupy a seat in it, or while there to waste his arguments upon it? Supposing that he carried a motion to that effect, of what avail would it be; since it was the opinion and determination of a body of men, by the very terms of the motion, not the legal representatives of the united kingdom?

The third resolution declared it to be the opinion of the committee, that for the purpose of supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority, "and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses of parliament, respecting

respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition."

Upon this resolution the debates were very long and interesting, both in the house of commons and the house of lords.—Mr. Perceval in this stage of the business, as well as in all the future stages of it, had availed himself of the proceedings of parliament during his majesty's indisposition in 1789. The resolutions he proposed were framed exactly according to those presented at that period by Mr. Pitt. It is well known that Mr. Fox, in a moment of unguarded warmth, opposed the mode of proceeding by bill, denied the right and power of parliament to confer the royal authority during his majesty's indisposition; and asserted in too strong and unqualified terms the undoubted right of the prince, as heir apparent, under such circumstances. This assertion was afterwards modified by Mr. Fox; but it had passed his lips and gone into the world; and it afforded too fair and strong a ground of argument to be neglected by his adversary Mr. Pitt. The opposition in 1810 recollected how much the popularity of Mr. Fox had suffered in consequence of his zeal for the prince:—they therefore, in objecting to the mode of proceeding by bill, went so far as to deny the power of parliament to confer the royal authority; but expressly declare it to be their opinion that the prince had no right to it. They therefore proposed, that an address from both houses should be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the executive duties. If the prince acceded to this request, he was then to open parliament in the regular and constitutional manner, and to give his consent to the act which constituted him regent. As lord Grenville and his friends adhered to the doctrines on this point which they had maintained and acted upon in the year 1789, the opposition lost the question for proceeding by address, in both houses, by a great majority.

It is evident at first sight that there are very serious objections to both modes of proceeding, whether by bill or address; and the advocates for each measure adroitly called the attention of parliament, rather to the contradictions and absurdities of the plan proposed by their adversaries, than to the clearness and consistency of their own. The objections to the mode of proceeding by bill, however, lay more on the surface; they were more glaring and formidable;—the mere reading over the resolution suggested them to the mind. A regent was to be appointed by a bill; that is, in other words, the king, whose incapacity was the sole cause of the measure, was, by a fiction of law, to be declared to have given his assent to a bill which constituted another person regent; because, as that bill expressed, his majesty was incapable of exercising his royal functions. A bill so passed could in common sense be viewed in no other light than as the act of the two houses of parliament. It had the consent of two branches of the legislature, but assuredly not of the third. The great seal might be put to it, and its validity therefore might not be a proper subject of dispute except in parliament; but to impress upon a bill the character of constitutional validity, and to form it in such a manner that its validity cannot be investigated, are certainly very different operations.

The measure, therefore, which ministers proposed, and which was adopted, stripped of its affected obscurity, amounted merely to this: That the two houses of parliament, appointed the regent; they did not indeed do so directly; they first appointed a person to put the great seal to the bill; but as this person was appointed by them, not by the king, and as he was not at liberty to refuse affixing the great seal, but was a mere ministerial servant of parliament, nothing can constitutionally be recognised in this bill but the power and the consent of the house of lords and the house of commons.

The objections to the mode of proceeding by address were not so glaring: they lay deeper; but when brought up to light, as they were by ministers, they appeared to possess considerable weight. The precedent of the revolution in 1688 was brought forward in support of an address; but, as was observed at the revolution, the object was to appoint a king; the throne was then vacant. In 1810 the object was to appoint a temporary regent: the king still occupied the throne, although from indisposition the personal exercise of the royal functions was suspended. The case of the revolution, therefore, did not apply as a precedent.

But the measure of proceeding by address, it was contended by ministers, not only was unsupported by precedent; it was fraught with absurdity and contradiction. What was proposed to be done? That the two houses of parliament should present an address to the prince, praying that he would take upon him the executive duties:—if he agreed to this prayer, it might naturally be supposed that he was now constitutionally regent; and that the defect in the exercise of the royal authority was fully supplied. The first step which it was proposed that the regent should take, appeared to justify this supposition:—he was to open parliament in the same manner as his royal father would have done, either by a speech from the throne or by commission. But here the absurdity and inconsistency began: the prince, though by opening parliament he had exercised and displayed the royal powers, was not actually regent. Parliament thus opened were to proceed in the act for making him regent; and this act was to receive the sanction of the prince, after which it was to be regarded as part of the law of the land, and he was to become regent in reality. Now what can be plainer than that if the prince, when in conformity with the wishes of the two houses of parliament he took upon himself the executive duties, was constitutionally and actually regent, there was no necessity for any further power or proceeding to make him so? if he was not constitutionally and actually regent, by what power, recognised by the laws or even by the common sense of mankind, did he open the parliament in the first instance, and afterwards give his consent to an act which first constituted him regent? The mode of proceeding by bill was objected to because, no royal authority existing, the bill could not constitutionally become an act of parliament and part of the law of the land. But the mode by which the opposition proposed to get rid of this difficulty and objection actually contained them, though not so glaringly. By the latter mode the prince was to be appointed regent by an act, as it was to be termed, which had received the consent of the two houses of parliament, and

and of the prince. So far as both the proposed modes were to be sanctioned by the consent of parliament, they are of equal authority. By the mode of bill, nothing in fact is added to the consent of the two houses: the king's consent is stated to have been given; but it had not and could not be given.—By the mode of address the consent of the prince is added to that of the two houses; but as it would be the consent of a person not yet recognised or empowered by law to give his consent, the authority and consent of the two houses alone could constitutionally be admitted. The difficulties and objections, therefore, to each mode seem to be of nearly equal strength: they both trench upon the constitution, because the constitution, not having provided for such a case, expressly declares that every act, before it be incorporated with the law of the land, shall receive the consent of the three branches of the legislature. In some respects, however, one mode might be deemed less objectionable, because less dangerous than the other. In the grand rebellion, as it is termed, the parliament gained possession of the great seal, and by a fiction similar to that which was proposed and adopted by ministers they obtained the king's *political assent* to a war which they levied against his person. No such practical evil had actually resulted from the mode of proceeding by address; but a contingent evil it might certainly produce if a precedent were established: on some future occasion the reigning monarch might be thus set aside by a vote of address from parliament to his successor. Ministry having succeeded thus in persuading parliament to adopt the precedent of 1789, moved that the regency should be offered to the prince of Wales under certain restrictions; following also in this respect the example set them by Mr. Pitt in that year. The general question concerning the necessity or propriety of restrictions was argued at considerable length, as well as the particular restrictions which ministry meant to impose on the prince. Although lord Grenville and his particular friends, consistently with the conduct they had pursued in the year 1789, voted in favour of the general question respecting restrictions, and of most of the particular restrictions, the majority of ministers, especially in the house of lords, was very small. Indeed, while that house sat merely as a branch of the convention of the estates, and when of course proxies could not be admitted, the ministers found themselves in a minority in more than one division on this subject. But after parliament was regularly opened by a commission under the great seal, and the whole business came again before the house of lords in its regular and usual character, ministers regained their majorities, and carried every thing agreeably to their wishes. In one particular they wished to deviate from the precedent of 1789; by granting to the regent the power of calling to the house of peers such officers as might distinguish themselves in a manner that was generally rewarded by a peerage: but lord Grenville, determined to adhere strictly to that precedent, opposed this exception, and the regent consequently was debarred entirely from increasing the number of the members of the house of lords.

In defence of the general principle of restrictions it was contended, that the difference between a king and a regent was essential:

that it by no means followed, because the former possessed certain powers and prerogatives, that the latter should necessarily and of course be vested with the same in all their extent and efficacy. As therefore the right of the regent to them could not be established, the expediency of parting them was to be investigated. In his appointment, two circumstances were particularly to be adverted to and secured; in the first place, that he should be enabled to fulfil the important and arduous duties of the situation to which he was called; and in the second place, that he should not have it in his power to keep back the royal authority from the just and legal possessor, wherever that possessor should be restored to a sound mind, or to deliver it into his hands in a cramped or narrowed state. In arguing this important question, ministers contended, that the personal character of the prince ought to be kept completely out of sight; and that a decision should be come to, solely on general grounds. If there were any prerogatives which the constitution had attached to royalty capable of being employed by a regent, whose authority was temporary, towards the establishment of an influence which would make the sovereign, when he resumed the exercise of his functions, in the slightest degree dependent upon him; such prerogatives ought not to be vested in him. It was the duty of parliament to take care that, when his majesty recovered, he should find his authority in every department of the state as perfect and extensive as it had been at the commencement of his illness. In conformity with these general principles, ministers proposed the restrictions under which the prince was to act as regent. The most important were, that he should not have the power of adding to the number of peers; that he should grant no place or pension for life, which the constitution did not require should be so granted; and that the officers of the king's household, with a few trifling exceptions, should not be removable by him, nor any vacancy which might occur there be filled up. The care and custody of the king's person during his illness was vested in the queen; and to assist her, a council was nominated, consisting among others of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the lord chancellor and lord Ellenborough. In the proposed regency bill of 1789, the queen's council was to have consisted of those who held certain high offices in the church and state. Mr. Perceval, in a very ungracious and needless manner, deviated from his general precedent, and designated the queen's council, not by their offices, but their names; thus debarring every one, who in case of a vacancy might be called by the regent to any of these offices, from supplying the place in the queen's council which his predecessor had held. We have already stated, that in the examination of the physicians before the committees of the two houses, it had come out, that during his majesty's illness in 1804 certain acts of the royal authority had been performed at a time when the king was under medical care and influence. As lord Eldon, in his capacity of chancellor, was regularly and officially responsible for having procured the royal assent, when it could not constitutionally be given, it was proposed in the house of lords, by lord King, that his name should be left out in the list of the

the council intended to be given to the queen for her direction and assistance. This motion, however, was negatived. The queen's council was empowered to call before them the physicians in attendance on his majesty, and through them the notification of his recovery was to be communicated to parliament and the people.

The opposition made a vigorous and formidable stand against the general principle of restrictions, as well as against the particular restrictions which ministers brought forward: and as in many of their divisions they were joined by Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, and their respective friends, as well as by other members who usually voted with ministers, the latter carried some of their motions only by a very small majority. The opposition rested their objections to a restricted regency, partly on the high improbability of the danger to the resumption of the royal authority, which a limitation of power was intended to prevent; and partly on the absurdity and impolicy of cramping the authority of the regent, and thus creating a positive and certain evil, for the purpose of avoiding one that was so very problematical. To talk even of the possibility of a regent employing any of the prerogatives of royalty in such a manner as to create and preserve to himself an influence hostile to the throne, they represented as ridiculous. But they chiefly dwelt on the right which the nation had to be governed, even during the temporary authority of a regent, in such a manner as might secure to them all the benefits that the prerogatives vested in the sovereign were intended and calculated to bestow; and on the unconstitutional rights which parliament were about to assume, of putting any of those prerogatives in abeyance even for the shortest space of time.

With regard to the particular restrictions, the opposition maintained, that if the regent were deprived of the power of creating peers, it would go but a little way towards securing the resumption of the royal authority in all its strength and fulness, while it would necessarily throw him into the hands of ministers. If there were danger that having that prerogative he would abuse it so as to obtain a decided majority in the house of lords, and that this majority would continue attached to him even after the regency had ceased, and when he supported measures in opposition to his royal father; was there not at least equal probability, that the house of lords, as it existed at the commencement of the regency, with a decided majority in favour of ministers, would support their measures rather than those of the regent, and thus compel him to be dependent upon them? It must be supposed, either that the majority of the house of lords would adhere to the cause and interest of him to whom they considered themselves indebted, even against the wishes and interests of the person holding the executive government; or that they would desert their benefactor, and support government. If the former took place, the regent would be opposed by a majority attached to ministers, while he would have no remedy, in case he was deprived of the power of making peers; while, on the same supposition, the king, if he found on the resumption of his authority that the majority adhered to the prince, could easily regain his ascendancy, by creating an additional

number of peers. If on the other hand a regard to the wishes or interests of government must be supposed paramount, no possible inconvenience could arise from the prince having the power of creating peers; since when he ceased to be regent he would cease to have the majority,

So far the proceedings for the appointment of a regent had gone on during the year 1810: the full and final investment of the prince with that character did not take place till February 1811. But for the sake of completeness, we shall briefly state the remainder of the proceedings on this subject.

As soon as parliament had come to the determination to proceed by bill and not by address, and Mr. Perceval had sketched the plan of the restrictions which he intended to bring forward, he wrote a letter to the prince of Wales, communicating them to him. The prince in his reply simply and briefly referred Mr. Perceval to the celebrated letter which, on a similar occasion, in the year 1789, he had sent to Mr. Pitt, in which he had in a most dignified and powerful strain of argument protested against the proposed plan of a restricted regency; not because it conveyed a reflection on his personal character, but because, in his opinion, it broke through the very essence of the British constitution. He agreed, however, to accept the high and important trust, even though fettered and limited in such a manner as he was apprehensive might prevent him from fulfilling its duties so completely and beneficially to the nation as he could wish. But his regard for his father, and his desire, in the present embarrassing and melancholy situation of affairs, to lend the aid of what ability he might possess, overcame all his scruples and objections.

His royal highness communicated to the male branches of his family the plan which had been sent him by Mr. Perceval; and they unanimously, in a note to the chancellor of the exchequer, protested against it "as perfectly unconstitutional, and as contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated their family upon the throne of this realm." Mr. Perceval, in his reply, lamented that the measures he meant to propose to parliament appeared in that light to the royal dukes; but he had the satisfaction and the consolation to reflect, that they were founded on the precedent of 1789, and had then received the support of parliament, and subsequently the approbation of his majesty.

The protest of the royal dukes was certainly uncalled for, and not exactly constitutional: in their character of peers of the realm, and in the house of lords, they had an undoubted right to declare their sentiments and to enter their protest: but, except in that character and in that house, their opinions were of no more weight or consequence than the opinions of any other individuals: if they expected they would have weight, given in this manner, they probably were mistaken: if they intended they should, they acted wrong, in so far as they wished to make use of their royal character to create an influence not acknowledged by the constitution.

Parliament was opened in the usual form, by a commission under the great seal, as soon as the heads of the bill for the proposed regency had passed through the two houses, as estates of the realm assembled under the particular circumstances of

of the case. The bill was again brought before parliament in its constitutional and regular character: every part of it was again canvassed; and on every debate and division the strength and numbers of ministry increased, while the opposition became more feeble and languid in their efforts.

A committee of each house was appointed to wait upon the prince of Wales, for the purpose of receiving his formal acceptance of the regency. At the same time that he signified his acceptance, he lamented that the restrictions which would be imposed upon him, under the pretence of their being necessary to secure the resumption of the royal authority in all its power and splendour, deprived him of the opportunity of manifesting to his beloved parent and to the nation at large, that his duty and affection for the one, and his regard for the interests of the other, would not have permitted any wish or idea to have entered his mind of doing any act which would have restored a diminished power into the hands of his father.

As it was well known that the political attachments and principles of the prince lay all on the side of lord Grenville and lord Grey, it was naturally and generally supposed that as soon as he became regent he would dismiss the present ministry, and take the opposition into power. Arrangements were certainly in train for the formation and appointment of a new ministry: frequent conferences were held by the heads of the Whig party and of that of lord Grenville; particularly among that noble lord, lord Holland, lord Grey, and Mr. Ponsonsby. It was rumoured that many difficulties stood in the way of a complete and final arrangement. Certainly the time for the prince to be invested with the regency was fast approaching, and no arrangement for a new ministry had taken place. In the mean while, the malady of the king, after undergoing frequent and great variations, assumed a much more mild and favourable form: the physicians expressed themselves with more confidence respecting his complete recovery, and were disposed to hope that it was not far distant. The prince thought it his duty to ascertain exactly the sentiments of the physicians before he decided respecting the formation of a new ministry: and when he found it was so favourable, and that probably his regency would continue but a very few months, he resolved not to change the ministry, but to retain them, and by their means conduct public affairs as nearly as possible in the same manner as they had proceeded under his majesty. This determination he communicated to Mr. Perceval, at the same time explicitly and candidly stating to him, that his duty and affection for his beloved and afflicted parent made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his recovery; and that this consideration alone had led him to come to the resolution which he now communicated to Mr. Perceval. He added, that it would not be one of the least blessings that would result from the restoration of his majesty to the royal authority, that it would set him free from a state in which, from the restrictions imposed upon him, he could not do all that the interests of the nation might require at his hands, and which, on account of those restrictions, he deemed unconstitutional.

Mr.

Mr. Perceval in reply, after stating the willingness of himself and his colleagues to remain in office, lamented that the prince should still regard the restrictions as unconstitutional; but assured him, that even under them, any ministry who possessed the confidence and support of his royal highness, would find no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the nation with satisfaction, credit, and success.

CHAPTER XVI.

State of Ireland—Advantages which it was supposed would result from the Union—not yet enjoyed—Discontents of the Irish—the Benefits of Catholic Emancipation, though great, over-rated—Misunderstanding and Disputes about the Veto—Lord Grenville's Letter to Lord Fingal—Complaints of the Irish turned from Catholic Emancipation to the Union—Evils alleged to have proceeded from this Measure—examined—Observations on the State of Ireland—Miscellaneous Military and Naval Affairs of Great Britain—Capture of Guadaloupe—of Amboyna—of the Isle of Bourbon—Unfortunate Affair at the Isle of France—British Achievements in Sicily—Preliminary Remarks on the State of the Island and of its Government—Murat's Preparations for Invasion—makes the Attempt—Part of his Army lands and is shamefully defeated—State of the Dispute between America and Britain—Attempt to open an Exchange of Prisoners with France.

AMONG the many advantages to the empire which Mr. Pitt held forth to public expectation, when he proposed and carried through the union between Great Britain and Ireland, he anticipated the future tranquillity of the latter, and the progress which from that tranquillity, and its forming an integral part of the empire, it would make towards civilization, intelligence, and welfare. It certainly happened, whether in consequence of the union or not it would be difficult to ascertain, that from the accomplishment of that measure no serious or formidable insurrection took place, and the Irish, if they were not contented, were at least submissive and tranquil. Still they had many causes of complaint; and no person, in the slightest degree acquainted with what the country and its inhabitants were formed by nature capable of, contrasted with what they actually were, could hesitate in his belief, that the British government had many things to undo, and many things to perform, with regard to the sister-kingdom, before they could either secure its prosperity, or reap all the benefits which that portion of the empire was capable of affording and enjoying.

By many persons both in Great Britain and in Ireland, the emancipation of the Catholics, as it was termed, was held forth and dwelt upon

upon as a sovereign remedy for all the evils under which that country laboured, and the main object towards the accomplishment of which, the Catholic portion of her inhabitants directed their hopes and their endeavours. That, if this were granted, many unquiet spirits would be soothed to peace and contentment; that it would open the path of honour and emolument to the higher classes of the Irish Catholics; and, by wiping off the opprobrious stigma by which all of them had been marked out to the suspicion and contempt of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, would make them more readily form one firm and solid mass,—cannot be denied: and these are sufficient reasons why the measure of Catholic emancipation should be granted. But it may well be doubted, whether the accomplishment of this measure would strike at the root of the evils under which the well-being of this fair portion of the empire labours: they lie deeper and extend much further: they must be sought after in the absurd, the impolitic, and the mischievous system of government, and of political and commercial legislation, which Great Britain has adopted towards this country ever since the fortune of war placed it in her power. Had Ireland been treated not like a conquered province,—not as an object of jealousy and suspicion,—but as a portion of the empire, as intimately and essentially connected with the rest as any of the counties of England are, she would not now, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, be so far behind Great Britain in the civilization, prosperity and contentment of her inhabitants.

Though we are disposed to think that the beneficial consequences which are anticipated by many from the Catholic emancipation are rated much too high; yet, as we do not deny that it might in some measure tranquillize Ireland, we must view with regret the reiterated fruitless attempts which the Irish Catholics have made to attain it; and especially, when the measure has failed of receiving the support which it would otherwise have done, from any misconduct or misunderstanding of their own.—Some of the most active, zealous, and enlightened friends of the Catholics, in the house of commons and the house of lords, were disposed to believe that the objections of government to their emancipation would in a great measure be done away, provided his majesty were vested with an effectual negative on the appointment of their bishops. Accordingly, after those were consulted who were supposed to be best acquainted with the sentiments of the Catholics on this head, and their approbation of the measure was received, it was publicly stated in the house of lords and house of commons, as being perfectly agreeable to the Catholics.—Some misconception, however, had taken place:—the Irish Catholics expressed themselves in firm and indignant terms at the idea of submitting the appointment of their bishops (as they conceived the veto would virtually be) to a Protestant prince. It was a reflection on their loyalty: it was totally repugnant to the spirit and essential articles of their religion. Sooner than accede to it, they would continue under all their disabilities;—they would not consent to purchase one kind of emancipation at the expense of subjecting themselves to another, as injurious to their character for loyalty, and inconsistent with the privileges of a free and full toleration.

It

It is impossible, nor is it of much consequence, to trace this misapprehension respecting the veto to its source: it is more important to mark its results. The bold and contemptuous manner in which this proposal was rejected by the Catholic body was instantly seized upon by their opponents, as a symptom at least, if not a proof, that it would not be safe to grant them emancipation; and that they did not deserve a boon which they were not disposed to purchase on such easy terms. This misapprehension also caused a coolness between the Catholics and those members of both houses who had hitherto supported their cause with the most warmth and talent. Lord Grenville, in particular, addressed a long letter to the earl of Fingal, in which he strongly insisted on the necessity of vesting in the crown an effectual negative on the appointment of the Catholic bishops; and, unless that were acceded to, declined moving for the Catholic emancipation, though he had no objection to lay a petition to that effect on the table of the house of lords, and to support any motion which might be made on the subject.

Soon after this, the question respecting Catholic emancipation gave place to meetings and discussions respecting the repeal of the union. Many of those who had been most warm and loud in behalf of the former measure, now declared, with that versatility which marks the Irish character, that, compared with a repeal of the union, Catholic emancipation was scarcely a worthy object of desire; and that the latter, without the former, would be but the shadow of a blessing to Ireland.

The outcry against the union was confined almost entirely to Dublin. This city continued to suffer from a measure which had deprived it of its parliament, and of the residence of some of its most wealthy inhabitants. On the 18th of September, a meeting was held in the Royal Exchange there, at which all the evils which, it was affirmed, had sprung from the union, were enumerated, and dwelt upon with great emphasis and violence, in a petition for its repeal, addressed to the house of commons. After pointing out and reprobating the means by which the union was brought about, and denying the power of the parliament of Ireland to transfer their legislative authority without the express sanction and approbation of their constituents, the petition proceeds to contrast the state of Ireland before and since that event.—Under an *Irish* parliament, the national debt, during 7 years of war, increased but 20 millions—under an *imperial* parliament, in the same space of time, it had increased 40 millions. —"During the year 1798, a year of foreign invasion and domestic rebellion, the expenditure of Ireland, under an *Irish* parliament, was but four millions."—"During the year 1809, a year in which the army was so employed as to leave Ireland under no apprehension of either invasion or rebellion, her expenditure by an *imperial* parliament was ten millions five hundred thousand pounds."—In 1793, the debt of Ireland was to the debt of Great Britain as one to one hundred; now it is as one to seven; and since the union, it has increased in proportion as one to two. —The petition concluded with pointing out in what manner the union had operated to increase and multiply the dangers and distresses under

under which Ireland had so long laboured: these arose "from the inattention of its landlords to the welfare and comforts of their tenantry;—from the foreign expenditure of the country, caused by its absentees and its foreign national debt;—and from its consequent want of capital, of trade, and of tranquillity." In these proceedings and invectives against the union there is certainly much exaggeration and misrepresentation; —the distress under which Ireland laboured, during the year 1810, arose, partly at least, from those commercial embarrassments under which Great Britain suffered at the same time. And as Ireland was inferior in capital and credit, the unfortunate circumstances of the commercial world pressed more heavily upon her.—At the same time it must be admitted, that to such a country as Ireland is, where much remains to be done towards the cultivation of the soil, the extension and encouragement of trade, and the education and civilization of the people, great evil must result from the constant or frequent absence of her principal landholders, who by their example, their attention, and their encouragement, much more than by their money, would materially benefit and improve their native land.

In our last volume we narrated the particulars of the attack and capture of Martinique; and remarked that the main if not the only real advantage resulting to the nation from this conquest, consisted in our being able more effectually to clear the West India seas of the privateers which infested them, to the great annoyance and loss of our merchants and underwriters. In so far as this capture put us in possession of another sugar island, it might justly be considered as an injury rather than a benefit.—Sugar, from the number of islands producing it, which we possessed, and from the inability under which the continental blockade placed us of exporting it, was become of very little value, so as scarcely to repay the planter, and to remain in great abundance in the warehouses of the customs and the merchants. It was impossible, therefore, under these circumstances, to congratulate ourselves on the conquest of a West India island, merely because it put a greater extent of sugar plantations into our possession: but in so far as it tended to destroy or narrow the receptacles for privateers, —to deprive Bonaparte of colonial produce,—and to remove, though in a very trifling degree or manner, the impediments and difficulties that lay in the way of an amicable arrangement between this country and America, such a conquest might justly be deemed advantageous.

The same observations will apply to the capture of Guadaloupe, which was effected by a force under the command of lieut.-general Beckwith. He proceeded from Martinique with an army consisting of about 6000 men, divided into five brigades. By the prompt and judicious operations of these several corps after they had effected a landing in Guadaloupe, under the protection and with the assistance of a squadron under the command of sir Alexander Cochrane, the enemy was driven from the positions he had occupied, and obliged to compress his force beyond the bridge of Nozeire, having the river Noire on his front, and extending his left in such a manner into the mountains, as to make it difficult

ficult to dislodge him. The great obstacle and impediment in the way of the further proceedings and operations of the British army was the passage of the river Noire, to the defence of which the enemy had paid the utmost attention. Sir George Beckwith therefore determined not to hazard an attack upon the enemy in front, but to prefer an attack upon his flank. In order to effect this, it was necessary to turn his left by the mountains, notwithstanding all the obstructions of nature and art which opposed this manœuvre. Brigadier-general Wale, who commanded the reserve, was ordered to carry through this operation during the night of the 3d of February:—but having obtained important intelligence, which induced him to think that the manœuvre would succeed with less difficulty and loss if it were executed sooner, he proceeded without delay by a nearer route; and, after a short but severe conflict, completely succeeded in the undertaking. The enemy was so confounded at perceiving his flank turned, and the heights occupied, that the captain-general instantly hoisted white flags at his own quarters and other places, and surrendered the island.

The colonial forces which were employed on this occasion do not appear to have discovered much firmness. The commander in chief, in his official dispatches, complains that the force underwent a gradual diminution, and, latterly, a very extensive one, by the "falling off of the colonial troops." In consequence of the great strength of the position which the enemy occupied, and from which they were driven, our loss was considerable in killed and wounded; and though the campaign lasted only eight days, the state of the weather, joined to the nature of the operations and the fatigue which the army underwent, rendered the sick also very numerous.

About the same time of the year, an expedition was undertaken and executed in the East Indian seas, for the purpose of reducing under our power Amboyna, and the neighbouring dependent islands of Saparoua, Harouka, Nasso-laut, Bours, and Manippa. Vice-admiral Drury, commander in chief in the East Indies, dispatched captain Tucker on this service. The land forces consisted of a detachment of an European regiment and of artillery from Madras, together with 300 seamen and marines from his majesty's ships Dover, Cornwallis, and Samarang. The capture was easily and expeditiously effected, with the loss of only five men killed, and nine men and one officer wounded. Seven Dutch armed ships were taken, besides 47 merchant vessels of different sizes, many of which were very richly laden.

The islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius, or the isle of France, had served the same purpose in the eastern seas that the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe had done in the western hemisphere. They afforded shelter and protection to a very large number of French privateers, many of whom were of great force. These privateers scoured the seas in the track of the East India shipping, and had been extremely fortunate in capturing vessels of that description to an enormous value. Their captures they took either to the isle of Bourbon or the isle of France;—but principally to the latter, as being a place not only naturally of greater strength, but garrisoned and protected by a much larger force. The advantage to the captors,

tors, however, bore no proportion to the loss which the East India company sustained: for though the prizes generally reached the isle of France or Bourbon with safety, yet it was impossible to convey the produce or the cargoes of them, with the smallest chance of escape or safety, to any part of Europe. In these islands, therefore, but particularly in the isle of France, was deposited immense wealth, consisting of the rich cargoes of most of the East India ships which had been captured for some years. In the hopes of gaining this booty, and at the same time for the purpose of rooting out the nest of privateers which infested these seas, an expedition was planned, first against the isle of Bourbon, and afterwards against the isle of France.

For this purpose a force was collected consisting of 2,500 Europeans and 2000 native troops, who were afterwards joined by 1000 men from the island of Rodriguez, under lieut.-colonel Keating, who took the command of the whole. Three ships of war, the Diomede, Ceylon, and Doris, convoyed the expedition. —The object of it was easily accomplished: the chief difficulties it had to contend with arose from the nature of the approaches to the island, and the weather. The enemy made little or no resistance; and this important conquest was achieved with the loss of about 20 killed and 70 wounded.

It seldom happens that we have to record the unsuccessful issue of any enterprise undertaken by British sailors; and something more than mere superiority of numbers, unless it be very great indeed, is necessary to overcome or render fruitless their skill, enterprise, or valour. In the vicinity of the isle of France, however, British sailors were unsuccessful, and our naval loss there was more considerable than any we have sustained for a great length of time: but all the circumstances of this affair were not only highly honourable to those who were engaged in it, but exalted, if it were possible to exalt, the bravery of our seamen.

Two Indiamen, the Windham and the Ceylon, had been taken by a French squadron, consisting of three frigates, the Minerve, Bellone, and Victor. The captors were conveying their prizes to the harbour of Sud-Est, in the isle of France. Captain Willoughby, who commanded the Nereide frigate, who was stationed off the isle de Ras, opposed their entrance. They all, however, forced their way in, except the Windham, which was afterwards taken by the Sirius frigate; the captain of which having learnt the situation of the Nereide sailed in company with the Magicienne and Iphigenie to the isle de Ras. The four English frigates determined to attack the harbour into which the prizes had been conveyed, and in which the French ships of war were stationed. Unfortunately, the Sirius and Magicienne grounded; and the crew, after having been obliged to burn them, returned to the isle de Ras. The Nereide, having proceeded nearer the harbour, also grounded, and was exposed, in this situation, to the fire both of the enemy's ships and of the batteries on shore. In this unequal contest, capt. Willoughby, before he surrendered, had nearly every man on board either killed or wounded. The Iphigenie, now the only remaining ship, was, at the time the accounts came away, closely blockaded at her anchorage by the four French frigates; and, from the state

state of provisions on board her, great apprehensions were entertained that she would be compelled to surrender before any possible relief or assistance could be dispatched to her.

From the time that Murat had been appointed Bonaparte's vassal-king of Naples, in the room of his brother Joseph, it was to be expected that he would use his utmost endeavours to gain possession of Sicily. Several causes operated to fill him with this desire, independently of the commands of Bonaparte, which doubtless were issued to him on this point; and his own ambition to extend his dominions. In the first place, the vicinity of Sicily—an island placed immediately under his eyes, and as it were almost within his grasp:—in the second place, it having constituted the fairest portion of those domains of which he now called himself king:—and lastly, the security of his Neapolitan territories could never be placed beyond the reach of British enterprise and valour, so long as Sicily remained in possession of its lawful sovereign. Our policy with regard to the conduct of the war in the south of Italy (if war it could be called) had, for a long time, been very questionable; and indeed, in one point of view, positively injurious to the cause of him for whom we had taken up arms. Not powerful enough to make a permanent and extensive impression on the continent of Italy, we had, nevertheless, undertaken numberless petty invasions on the coast of Calabria:—the consequences were such, both to our own troops and to the inhabitants of the invaded country, as might naturally be anticipated. We displayed indeed our valour and superiority to the enemy; and the battle of Maida first impressed on the minds of French generals and French troops that the bayonets of British soldiers are invincible:—but our display of bravery was absolutely fruitless:—or, if it produced any consequences, they were injurious to any regular and grand plan of permanent conquest. As soon as we landed, the inhabitants flocked to us, as to the allies and supporters of their legitimate sovereign:—we fought; we conquered:—the enemy brought forward fresh troops; till at last it would have been madness to have opposed our small body of forces, already greatly reduced, by their victories, to such very superior armies. We were therefore compelled to re-imbark; and the unhappy inhabitants, who had joined our standard under the impression or the hope that we would not have come there with a force inadequate to permanent conquest, were massacred by the French. Such was the natural and unavoidable result of our expeditions from Sicily to the continent of Italy:—each subsequent time we attempted it, we found the people less disposed to join us; and the French power more firmly established by those very means which we had employed to weaken it.

At length, it was determined to employ a different policy:—to confine ourselves to Sicily:—there to wait the attack which was meditated against the island by Murat; and to undertake no offensive operations but such as had for their object the destruction of the flotilla and vessels that might be prepared and collected on the opposite shore, for the purpose of transporting the troops across the straits of Messina. If our troops ever ventured to the continent of Italy, it was to act on the plan now adopted;—not, as formerly,

formerly, to advance into the country, but to destroy or disperse the troops of the enemy that were collected on their coasts.—With the great superiority we possessed at sea, and with the strong army we had in Sicily, under the direction and command of that general who had fought and conquered at Maida, little or no apprehension was entertained from any attack the French could possibly make.

The danger to the island arose more from another source and cause;—from the apathy of the inhabitants: or, perhaps, to use more appropriate and stronger language, from their aversion to their own government and their predilection for the French. That after all the enormities committed by the French wherever they have established their conquests; after they have exhibited such unequivocal proofs that the "peace to the cottage," which they proclaimed at the same time that they denounced "war against the palaces," was the peace of death and desolation,—it seems most strange and unaccountable that there should still exist people, who look forward to their government as the epoch of their relief from all oppression and labour; as the commencement of the golden age of honour and wealth to those who have hitherto been trodden down by poverty and contempt. It might have been imagined that the French themselves had done enough to falsify their own doctrines and promises: and we must look for the faith that still clings to them, partly in the ignorance of the people, and partly in the vices of their government. It is an old but a true observation, that the miseries that are present and are felt, are more dreadful and more bereft of all hope than those which are distant and problematical. It is not therefore very extraordinary, if the people who live under a government which grinds them with every species of oppression and tyranny, should indulge the belief, however unfounded and contrary to the most notorious facts, that their condition will be bettered if their government be changed and their country conquered. But it certainly is extraordinary that any government, after having witnessed the downfal of so many states, principally because the people were not with them, but rather favoured the cause of the conquerors, should still have gone on in the old path of oppression; and disdained the slightest endeavour to gain the affections and support of their own subjects, by any alleviation of their distress, or any compliance with their just and reasonable wishes. Such, however, there is too much reason to apprehend, is the case with the Sicilian government:—where the people are contented slaves, no positive harm can result to the government,—though their real interest would be greatly secured and extended by changing them into contented freemen; but where the people, either from having acquired a little knowledge and love of liberty, or from their oppression having become intolerable even to men accustomed to the utmost slavery, are openly averse to their government, that government must be blind indeed which does not secure the continuance of its own existence, by making its subjects its friends, supporters, and well-wishers.

No circumstance has rendered the attempts of the British cabinet to rouse the states of Europe to resistance against the French, so fruitless, as the necessity under

which it is, or conceives itself to be, of supporting all the follies and vices of the established governments of their allies. That they are preferable (if preference can be mentioned where both are bad and mischievous) to the more systematic and vigorous enormities of the French, there can be no doubt; but it is an awkward circumstance, and one which must go a great length to defeat even all that the unbounded wealth and invincible courage of Britain can effect, that we should be establishing and confirming bad governments at the very time that we are using our endeavours to protect the nations of Europe against the tyranny of the French. Surely, without interfering in an improper or rough manner, we might exert that influence which our character, our success, and above all, which the aid we so liberally bestow entitles us to exert, to endeavour at least to convince our allies, that if their people were governed in a more wise and fatherly manner, their thrones would be more secure from French intrigue or power. In Sicily, where the attempt is perhaps most necessary, it assuredly might be made with some prospect of success:—the Sicilian monarchy is supported solely by British money and British troops: Have we not a right therefore to require that the Sicilian cabinet should adopt such measures towards the people as would make them unite in the defence of their country, and convince them from experience that they have blessings which they might be deprived of if their island were conquered by the French?

If the Sicilian monarch needed proofs how much he was indebted for what still remains of his territory to Britain, the occurrences of the year 1810 were well calculated to afford them. Murat had long been indefatigable in collecting troops from the different parts of the south of Italy, and in constructing gun-boats: the latter were exercised often within gun-shot of our vessels or of the forts on the coast of Sicily. We had made more than one successful attempt to disperse and capture these gun-boats; and had even retarded the threatened invasion by landing on the shore of the continent, and destroying them in the very harbours, under the eyes of Murat and almost within reach of his grand army. But he seemed determined to persevere; and he possessed many advantages: the distance between the continent of Italy and Sicily is so trifling, that in the course of the darkest part of a night, a sufficient number of troops might be transported and landed before they were discovered and the alarm was given: the frequent calms too which occur in the straits of Messina were favourable to the invading army: as it was to be conveyed in gun-boats and vessels which trusted entirely or principally to their oars, they could make way while our frigates were stationary and useless from the want of wind.

At length, on the evening of the 17th of September, Murat, having made what he considered adequate preparations, resolved to attempt to carry into execution the long threatened invasion. His army was divided into two parts; the principal part was embarked in the long range of boats which lay at Sylla and the Ponto del Pizzo, and the object of their attack appeared to be that part of the British line which extended towards the Faro. This, however, was not the part of Murat's army which was most favoured

voured by the wind, or which, when his attempt at invasion was ascertained by the British, had made the greatest progress towards the coasts of Sicily. Another corps had embarked at Rezzio, and had already reached the shore before the larger division was descried stretching across the channel. Such judicious and effectual arrangements had been made by sir John Stuart, that reinforcements were held in reserve ready to move with the utmost celerity, according to circumstances, and to sustain the posts at the invaded point at the first moment of alarm. These reinforcements were already in motion, when information was brought that the vigilance and courage of the troops stationed at the extremity of the British defences had rendered their presence and assistance unnecessary.

Major-general Campbell, who commanded in this part of the island, was informed about four o'clock in the morning of the 18th of September, that 40 of the enemy's large boats were disembarking troops between St. Stephano and Galati. He immediately repaired to the spot. The enemy by this time occupied the whole of the rising ground in the immediate vicinity of the place where they landed. No time was to be lost. Lieutenant-colonel Fischer with the second light infantry hung upon his rear and left, and threatened him in such a serious manner, that he already began to hesitate whether he should continue to occupy the heights. Major-general Campbell perceived and took advantage of this hesitation, by directing the 21st regiment, with two six-pounders, to advance: such of the enemy's troops as had not reached the heights immediately retreated in a most rapid and disgraceful manner, leaving those who had reached them to their fate. The whole of this portion of the invading army consisted of about 3,500 men; of which, one of the Corsican battalions with a stand of colours, a major of division, a lieutenant-colonel commandant, forty inferior officers, and upward of 800 soldiers, surrendered prisoners of war at discretion. Thus terminated the long threatened attempt to invade Sicily, in a manner by no means honourable to the Italian soldiers of Murat, or flattering to the wishes which he must entertain of acquiring the title of king of the Two Sicilies.

It is but justice to the Sicilian peasantry to subjoin what sir John Stuart says respecting their behaviour on this occasion. "The zeal, the warmth exemplified by the neighbouring peasantry on our behalf, and which were not manifested without a loss, and the judgement as well as alacrity with which I have since learned that those in remoter districts made immediate dispositions to obstruct the progress of the enemy in their possible attempt to penetrate into the country, were far beyond what could have been hoped or expected from their peaceful habits; and so strongly was their animosity marked towards their invaders, that the interposition of our escorts was frequently necessary to protect our prisoners from their fury in conducting them, after their surrender, to the citadel of Messina."

There are few subjects in history so involved and intricate as the dispute between this country and America. It has existed upwards of three years; and at present there is almost as little probability as ever there was of its terminating either in actual hostility or in an amicable

arrangement. In this "war of words," the subjects of dispute, though important, present so little that is grand or interesting, and the manner in which it has hitherto been conducted displays so much more prolixity than clearness, so much more industry and minuteness than talent; and on the side of the Americans, so much more of paltry subtlety than of manly defence of what they deem to be their right; that the summary of its leading points will be amply sufficient both for the instruction and the patience of our readers.

It may at first sight appear strange that the Americans, the descendants of Englishmen, speaking the same language, and having nearly the same manners, habits, and code of laws, should be so much more amicably disposed towards France than towards this country. This surprise will be rather heightened than diminished when we reflect on the grand and leading feature in the American character,—a regard to their own interest more strict, selfish, and narrow, and less tied down or kept in check or in awe by principles of honour, than ever distinguished any other commercial people. That such a nation should quarrel with those who not only are their best customers, but who have it most in their power to benefit or injure them, will be matter of wonder till the causes are laid open. These are many, and some of them very powerful. The war in which they were engaged against this country, and which accomplished their independence, still rankles in their hearts; and while the remembrance of it turns the affections of many aside from this country, it naturally attaches them to France. In the second place, America has suffered from the war now carrying on betwixt Great Britain and France. The latter power has certainly shown no greater regard to the interests or property of America, when they interfered with her views, than Great Britain is accused of having done; but the latter power, from her maritime superiority, can carry her threats into more effectual execution; and the American government, which is as much swayed by popular feelings and prejudice as the vulgar of most other countries, is not capable, or does not choose to distinguish between the desire and the power to injure. Because Bonaparte cannot carry his threats and decrees into perfect and regular execution, and we can, the American government and people give him credit for an amicable regard to their independence and interests, which they totally deny to us. Another cause for the partiality manifested by the Americans towards the French, may be traced in the very nature of their government. In America, the mob,—not the respectable and well-informed part of the people, but those who are constantly under the dominion of intrigue, and at the disposal of whoever will lower himself to gain their applause and support,—give the tone to the government. They are omnipotent: if their wishes, however extravagant, are not complied with, they change the majority in their house of representatives: their influence and what they are capable of effecting are known, and the leading men in order to keep their places pay their court to the populace. But the populace in their turn are at the disposal of every intriguer; and there can be little or no doubt that Bonaparte knows how to make use of the powerful engine of an American populace

lace to work upon the American government.

At the same time it must be acknowledged that many acts of Britain have given them plausible grounds for complaint. The affair of the Chesapeak; the right which we claim of searching their ships, and taking from them what the captains of our men of war may deem British seamen: our orders in council, which compelled all American vessels, previously to trading with the continent, to visit a British port and pay a transit duty: all these causes tended to exasperate the American government and people. It is probable too, that with the common but strange blindness which generally accompanies too great an eagerness after wealth, they envied Britain her commerce: not reflecting, that in proportion to our wealth was our ability to purchase what they had to sell, and to sell what they needed at the cheapest rate. They envied us our commerce, partly perhaps because it is one of the supports of our maritime greatness; and yet they must be strangely blind, if they are not convinced that the day of America's subjugation will not be far distant when the flag of Britain shall be struck to the flag of France. They rail at us because we occasionally capture some of their vessels, or press some of their seamen: for these petty outrages they would quarrel with us; they would perceive with pleasure our maritime superiority at an end, and France occupying our place on the ocean; as if in that case their complaints would be confined to their present grievances, or the shores of the new world would be long untrodden and unconquered by a French army.

Such is the relative disposition and feeling of the American government towards Great Britain, and France, that the same action, as it is performed by the one or the other country, is regarded as a venial or a heinous offence. In our last volume we briefly and cursorily adverted to the complaints which the American government brought forward against our minister Mr. Jackson. The language and tone of his diplomatic and official communications might not perhaps be perfectly consistent with that dignified decorum and forbearance which ministers and ambassadors preserve even in their most hostile correspondence. But, if that were any excuse, the American diplomatists were not more temperate in their language or more amicable in their tone. When, however, America took such offence at the behaviour of Mr. Jackson, as almost to interdict him, by an act of their legislature, the common rights of hospitality, they assuredly forgot what indignities they had endured with calm and patient silence from more than one ambassador of France. The allegations against Mr. Jackson were loudly proclaimed by the French party in America; and they served as an additional pretext to the government to lengthen out and entangle the disputes between the two countries. Mr. Jackson was recalled; but the Americans were angry, first, because he was not reprimanded by his own court, and then because we did not immediately send out another ambassador of equal rank.

The American government were not indeed disposed to proceed to extremities: they thought they could bring Great Britain to their own terms without having recourse to the hazardous experiment of

making war against her. A non-intercourse act was passed; but the consequences were more injurious to America than to Britain: in some respects they were indeed beneficial to both countries: America having cut herself off from our manufactures, turned her attention and part of her capital to the establishment of the most simple and necessary within her own dominions: and Britain, no longer able to supply her West India islands with provisions and lumber from the United States, had recourse to her own settlements in the new world, where in Canada and Nova Scotia she found every thing that her islands needed.

Bonaparte, always watchful to profit by any circumstance that could widen the breach between this country and America, and who sacrificed or yielded little or nothing when he revoked decrees he seldom could act upon, took advantage of the fresh cause of dispute between the two countries. The American government had declared that their defensive and retaliative measure (as they were pleased to term the non-intercourse act) should cease with regard to that nation which should rescind its decrees, while it should continue in force and operation against the other; that it should cease with respect to France whenever the Berlin and Milan decrees were repealed; and with respect to Great Britain, whenever the orders in council should be revoked. In the beginning of August, Bonaparte announced that "the decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked (with respect to America), and that from the first of November they should cease to be in force; it being understood that in consequence of this declaration the English shall revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have attempted to establish:" or that the United States shall cause their rights to be respected by the English.

It might have been expected that the very ambiguity and provisional nature of this declaration, independently of the notorious character of the government from which it issued for chicanery and subterfuge, would have induced the president of the American states (with whom the power of repealing the non-intercourse act was vested) to hesitate and delay acting upon it. Had it proceeded from the English cabinet, it doubtless would have been discovered and remarked, that a remote time was fixed for the actual cessation of the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and that when they really ceased to operate, it would be abundantly soon enough to revoke the retaliative measures of America. Besides, the resolution of Bonaparte declares that he expects America will cause her rights to be respected by the English, unless they not only revoke their orders in council, but also renounce the new principles of blockade which they have attempted to establish. But America had declared that the repeal of the non-intercourse act depended solely, with respect to Great Britain, on the revocation of the orders in council. Could not the American president then have discovered, that the decrees of Bonaparte would not actually cease to operate against American vessels unless America continued her non-intercourse act against Britain, even after the revocation of the orders in council; and that the efficient repeal of them depended on the very ambiguous and sweeping condition required

required of Britain, "that she should renounce the new principles of blockade which she had attempted to establish?" The president, however, as soon as Bonaparte's declaration of his intentions to revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees reached America, officially announced, "that the restrictions imposed by the act of the 1st of May should be discontinued as relative to France and her dependencies;" that is, so much of this act for the interdiction of armed vessels as related to France, was officially repealed.

Immediately the Americans, trusting implicitly to Bonaparte's revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, so far as regarded them, re-commenced their commerce with France. Several of their vessels were captured by our ships, as violating the orders in council; and most of those which reached their destined ports in safety were detained by the French government under various pretexts; either because their cargoes were suspected of being British, or because they had strictly and regularly complied with the regulations which Bonaparte had established for the admission of American cargoes. As soon as Mr. Pinckney, the American ambassador here, was informed of the detention of the American vessels under our orders in council, he remonstrated strongly against the measure; alleging, that as the Berlin and Milan decrees were recalled by Bonaparte, we ought, consistently with the avowed cause and object of our orders in council, and with our repeated declarations and promises since they were issued, to revoke them.

There can be no doubt that we are bound to revoke our orders in council whenever Bonaparte shall actually have recalled his decrees. Our orders in council were had recourse to solely for the purpose of retaliation, and of protecting ourselves against the violent and unjustifiable measures of the enemy. But we must ascertain that Bonaparte has blotted his decrees not merely from his statute book, but also from his practice, before it would be either safe or proper for us to rescind our orders in council. The fact must be notorious that American vessels have free and unmolested ingress to the ports of the continent under the power of Bonaparte, even though they have touched in the British dominions, before we are bound to alter our maritime code; and then we are bound to alter it only so far as regards the operation of our orders in council; there is, and can be no obligation on us to renounce the new principles of blockade (as Bonaparte thinks proper to name them) which we have attempted to establish.—Bonaparte, however, has served his own purpose by this ambiguous and conditional revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees: he has rendered the dispute between this country and America more involved and intricate; he has afforded her government an additional pretext for charging us with a breach of faith, and with a desire to establish a maritime tyranny.—But after all, the dispute will probably not terminate in war: the policy and the interest of America, even according to their narrow and short-sighted views on these points, will prevent her from going to war with a nation who could easily seal the ruin of her commerce and shipping, and to an intercourse with whom she has been mainly indebted for her prosperity and wealth.

Since Bonaparte gained the supreme

preme power in France, scarcely a year has passed, in which he has not made some attempt to commence a negotiation for peace with this country. In 1810, however, no such attempt was made; but a long intricate and fruitless negotiation was carried on between the two countries, for the purpose of effecting an exchange of prisoners. The number of French prisoners in this country is very great. France, on the contrary, has very few British prisoners, with the exception of those who were unjustifiably detained at the commencement of the war.—These the British government did not mean to treat about; since they would thus acknowledge the justice of their detention. The basis on which Mr. Mackenzie, our agent, was empowered to treat was, that in the first place the French and English prisoners of war should be exchanged, man for man, according to their rank; and as there would remain a large surplus of French prisoners in England, they should be exchanged against the Spaniards or Portuguese who were prisoners of war in France; and those which still remained should either be liberated on their parole, to stand against a like number of English prisoners that might be taken; or that the French government should liberate them by paying so much a man. These fair proposals were rejected under various frivolous pretences—of the Spaniards being insurgents, and therefore not legitimate prisoners of war; and ultimately on the ground that we did not mean to execute the plan we proposed.

CHAPTER XVII.

East India Affairs—History of the Tent-Contract—its Advantages—Report on its Abolition—objectionable Passage in that Report—Proceedings with respect to Colonel Munro—Behaviour of Government and General Macdowall on this Occasion—the General's Orders on his Departure—The Adjutant-General and Deputy Adjutant-General punished on account of them—Remarks on this—Mr. Petrie, the senior Member of Council, protests against Sir George Barlow's Conduct—Measure of the Test examined—The Sepoys incited against their Officers when the Meeting took place—Particulars of the Meeting—its Termination—Lord Minto's General Orders with respect to the Punishment of the Mutineers—Proceedings of the Court Martial—Civil Disputes—Sir George Barlow interferes with the Verdicts of three Juries—Mr. Petrie protests against this—Concluding Remarks.

IN our last volume we very briefly and cursorily noticed the disturbances which had broken out among the company's officers in India; and promised to lay before our readers a more circumstantial and complete narrative of their cause, origin, progress and termination,

nation, as soon as the details reached Europe. This promise we now hasten to perform, with as much candour and fidelity as information necessarily collected from interested persons, still warm with the recollection of what they witnessed or suffered, will enable us to bring to the question.

There are various causes, most of them sufficiently obvious, which, in the present state of our government and policy in India, must prevent a cool and impartial narrative of any important transactions which occur there from reaching Europe. The state of the press, completely under the power and direction of government, either suppresses what is to its disadvantage, or renders its own statements liable to suspicion and disbelief. It is thus impossible to sift out the truth by the modes which are so easily practised in Great Britain, where each party is allowed to publish all he may think proper in defence of his own cause, or in refutation of the opinions and statements of his opponent. At first sight it might be imagined that this control, possessed and exercised over the press in India, would be favourable to the statements of government on any occasion of dispute or controversy; but it may well be doubted, whether the end in view is not in a great measure defeated by the adoption of the very means employed and expected to secure it. When it is known that fair play is not given to truth; that the press is open to one party and shut against the other; a suspicion naturally comes over the minds of Britons that justice and power are on different sides; and every statement which is given by the party to whom alone the press is open and unchecked, or rather under whose control it is, is set down as of very questionable truth and authority: while on the other hand it is always conjectured, and indeed taken for granted, that the other party could have made out a much stronger and more favourable case, provided they had been permitted to speak as openly and fully as their opponents.

Whatever, therefore, may be the necessity or the policy in India of keeping the press under the control and management of government, it certainly does not serve their cause in any question that is agitated in Great Britain. This was abundantly proved by what occurred here relative to the disturbances in the Madras army. Although there was a strong prejudice existing against those who originated and spread those disturbances, from the conviction that a deliberating armed body is excessively dangerous, and can be excused under no pretext; and that when it proceeds from deliberation to actual resistance it cancels every thing that it before had in its favour; yet every reason that could be alleged in extenuation of the conduct of the Madras insurgents was eagerly brought forward, and as eagerly accepted; and those who began with condemning them in the most violent and unqualified terms, generally ended by remarking, that if ever mutiny were produced by mismanagement and the total absence of every thing conciliatory or politic, this had been so produced; and therefore, if ever mutiny were pardonable, this was so. But it is time to state the origin of these disturbances.

Dissatisfaction among the military in India first made its appearance among his majesty's troops; and was occasioned by those allow-

ances

ances being diminished (which regiments that had served on the Bengal establishment enjoyed) when they were removed to Madras; although in this latter place the price of every necessary of life was more than double what it was at Bengal. A memorial signed by the officers of all the regiments in his majesty's service on the coast (with one exception) was drawn up, praying to be put on the same footing with the Bengal army, in respect of allowances. The company's officers, feeling themselves also aggrieved in an equal degree, joined in the petition. The memorial, however, was never presented. General Macdowall, at the request of sir George Barlow, exerted his influence to discountenance and suppress it.

The next cause of dissatisfaction and agitation sprung from a proposal made by the quarter-master-general, which was adopted, and officially announced in the general orders of the 3d of May 1808:—this measure was, that the supply and conveyance of camp equipage by officers commanding native corps should be abolished. This plan, which was now done away, was first suggested and carried into execution by lord Cornwallis in the year 1791. In that year the first attempt, by the army under the command of his lordship, was made against Seringapatam: it failed; and when his crippled forces were returning, exhausted and deprived of the usual means of supplying themselves with camp equipage, then lord Cornwallis called on the officers to do that which in this season of distress he found the resources of the public unequal to. At the termination of this war the allowance for camp equipage was taken away, but it was renewed in the year 1799. At this period similar difficulties to those which had occurred to lord Cornwallis were experienced by the army under the command of general Hewitt: these difficulties were again speedily and effectually removed, by placing the supply and conveyance of camp equipage under the management of the officers of the respective regiments. The efficacy of this measure having thus been established, and the ancient plan having so often been found miserably defective and useless, it was determined in the year 1802 to adopt a permanent regulation to this effect. The advantage to the officers who were to be employed in providing and conveying the camp equipage could only be looked for in time of peace: in seasons of war the expense would overbalance, or at least equal, the allowance that was granted for this service; but in peace, the profits arising from the contract were expected and acknowledged to be considerable. To government the advantages were numerous: it not only insured them the speedy, regular, and complete equipment of the army on the most emergent occasion, and in times of the greatest importance and difficulty, but it relieved the public from all expense of quarters in garrison, as well as tents in the field, at a lower rate than had been paid under lord Cornwallis's calculations for providing and carrying camp equipage alone.

Relying on the implied if not express condition that this should be a permanent regulation, both in peace and in war, the officers commanding corps entered on the contract at the commencement of the Mahratta campaigns in the Decan, and incurred great and unprecedented expenses, in order that the army might

might be properly and effectually provided;—looking forward to the return of peace for reimbursement and remuneration. Between the years 1805 and 1808 it was determined to reduce the expenditure in India. There was certainly room and occasion for it: but œconomy ought to have been introduced with caution and circumspection, lest it should defeat its object, or bring about a more serious evil than it was intended to remove. Among other objects of retrenchment, the *tent-contracts*, as they are termed, were thought of; and the quarter-master-general was directed to investigate the subject, and devise a change of system.

The quarter-master-general, colonel Munro, accordingly drew up a detailed report on the subject, in which, after stating that the contract is needlessly expensive, that it subjects the company to the same charges for troops in garrison as for those in the field, he proceeds to observe, "By granting the same allowances in peace and war, for the equipment of native troops, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than in peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another. It makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties."

This paragraph contains a most serious charge; and it certainly ought not to have been admitted into a report from such high authority without the most cool and cautious deliberation: and yet the report was drawn up and published in a hurried manner. The opinion of the commander in chief, general Macdowall, was never asked on the subject; no witnesses were examined; no proof was brought that the *tent-contract* had those effects on the officers with which it was charged: but it was broadly and generally stated, that the observations contained in the report respecting it were suggested by an attentive examination of its operations during six years' experience of its practical effects.—The report was solely the opinion of colonel Munro, the youngest staff-officer in the army: it was published in spite of the remonstrance of colonel Capper the adjutant-general, and before three days had been given him to substitute his own plan, which sir George Barlow had promised to read before he officially sanctioned colonel Munro's report. According to the orders of the court of directors, and the usage of the service, every proposed change in the œconomy and management of the army was to be submitted to the military board, previous to its being laid before the government:—this rule too was dispensed with; and indeed the "whole transaction appears to have been gone into with a disregard to the common professional feelings of an army, which is utterly inexplicable."

It has indeed been urged with a considerable degree of plausibility, that colonel Munro does *not* bring forward any charge in the objectionable passage, against the officers of the Madrass establishment: he only states his opinion and belief, that from the known principles of human nature, where such strong and constant temptations to abuse and dereliction of duty exist, as the tent-contract holds forth, that conduct must take place, which he has described

described and urged as a reason for abolishing the system. But in the first place colonel Munro expressly says, that the objections he urges against the tent-contract arise from six years' experience of its practical effects. When therefore he alleges that "it makes it the interest of the officers that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for the field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties;" he surely speaks from what he had witnessed during his six years experience. For in the second place, if, notwithstanding the strong inducements to neglect their most important duties which it furnishes, those duties had not, from his observation, been neglected during these six years of observation and experience, colonel Munro ought not to have alleged that the tent-contract had that tendency; or brought forward, at least by implication, a charge against the officers, of which so long a period had furnished him with no proofs.

The officers, naturally considering that the report affected their characters, individually requested the commander in chief to institute an inquiry into their conduct during their fulfilment of the tent-contract, expressly declaring at the time, that they considered themselves as having no right to judge of the expediency or inexpediency of its proposed abolition. All they sought was, that they might not suffer from the serious charge brought against them; and that their innocence might be established by the most open and the fullest evidence. The commander in chief objected to take cognizance of the business, "on any individual application." The officers were thus compelled either to sit down silent and contented under the charges brought against them, or to make their application in a body. Thus it appears that the commander in chief alone was to blame for the measure so much reprobated—of the aggrieved officers combining for the purpose of repelling the accusations contained in the report. On the 23d of August 1808, they drew up a formal charge against colonel Munro, of having falsely aspersed their character in his report; which charge they forwarded to the commander in chief. The latter consulted the judge-advocate, who gave it as his opinion, that the application ought to be rejected, and that a charge of conspiracy against the applicants should be preferred. The charges were then returned by the commander in chief, with the observations of the judge-advocate, to colonel Sentleger, the senior of the complaining officers. For two months after this period, general Macdowall appears to have been in a state of uncertainty, whether he would prefer the charges against colonel Munro, and bring him to a court martial upon them, or not. At last, perceiving that the discontents of the army increased, he determined in the affirmative. The officers in the mean time, uncertain whether any steps would be taken in consequence of the charges they had preferred against colonel Munro, adopted a milder expedient; they drew up a respectful memorial, on the subject of their complaint, to the directors of the East India company. This memorial was presented to the government in January 1809, through the commander in chief, for the purpose of being transmitted to England; but the government refused to transmit it, and returned it as unnecessary.

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On the 20th of January colonel Munro was put under arrest, preparatory to his trial. He immediately appealed directly to the governor, sir George Barlow, and was released in consequence of a positive order to that effect from him. The charge against colonel Munro was also reprobated in language more violent and unmeasured surely than becomes the dignity or the policy of any government: it was branded as "a collusive and pretended accusation against him of calumny and slander;" whereas "the tent-contract, or rather its abolition, was in effect the subject." And the arrest of the quarter-master general by the commander-in-chief,—a measure to which his authority, as vested in him by the legislature, was fully equal,—was called "the most tyrannical and detestable abuse of power, by which an innocent and highly meritorious individual was ever oppressed."

On the 25th of January 1809, soon after sir George Barlow had manifested this reluctance to afford the complaining officers an opportunity of re-establishing their injured character, general Macdowall issued an order, in which he took leave of the army, previous to his departure for England. As this paper is necessary to the right understanding of this most extraordinary business, and is very short, we shall give it entire.

"General Orders by the Commander-in-chief.—The immediate departure of lieutenant-general Macdowall from Madras will prevent his pursuing the design of bringing lieutenant-colonel Munro, quarter-master general, to trial for disrespect to the commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the civil government, in defiance of the judgement of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest, on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal *direct* to the honourable the president in council, lieutenant-general Macdowall has received positive orders from the chief secretary to liberate lieutenant-colonel Munro from arrest.

"Such conduct on the part of lieutenant-colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, lieutenant-general Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of lieutenant-colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand lieutenant-colonel Munro in general orders;—and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly. Signed

"T. Boles, D. A .G."

On the 31st of January, while the ship which carried general Macdowall was still in sight, the governor annulled his appointment of commander-in-chief; and as the official signature of the deputy adjutant-general appeared at the general orders, that officer was also suspended from his situation. The adjutant-general, colonel Capper, no sooner heard of this suspension, than he hastened to the governor, who refused to see him: he then in the most honourable manner wrote a letter in exculpation of his deputy, in which he stated that *he* was the culpable and responsible person;

person; and that colonel Boles had done no more than obey his orders, because he himself happened to be absent on ship-board with general Macdowall. It might have been imagined that this explanation would have exculpated the deputy adjutant-general, and restored him to his situation; while colonel Capper would have been suspended, as the really culpable person. The latter certainly was the case: but colonel Capper was mistaken, if he expected that his manly and honourable conduct would be of service to colonel Boles: the only consequence was, that he as well as his deputy was punished.

To those who are not conversant with the feelings and principles which actuate our governors in India, it may be difficult to discover what passages in these general orders were so extremely objectionable and dangerous as to have produced the arrest, not only of the person who signed them, in the course of his duty, but also of the person who declared he had given orders that his deputy should sign them. These orders, so far from having a tendency to lessen or weaken the bonds of military obedience, rather go to strengthen them: they accuse colonel Munro of having violated the regular etiquette of the army, in appealing to the governor otherwise than through the commander-in-chief: and certainly, whatever may be said of this particular case, it is of the highest importance, especially in a distant settlement, governed as India is, that no interference should be permitted with the duties of military men; and that every thing relative to the army should be carried on with the most exact and severe regard to form and usage. There is not a single passage in the general orders which reflected on government; or which showed the slightest disposition, or had the smallest tendency, to interfere with the duties and rights of the civil department. It merely contained a censure of a military man, because he had acted contrary to military regulations.

But allowing that the paper was objectionable, still its character of extreme danger was not so strongly marked, as to justify the punishment of those who had acted in signing it merely in their ministerial capacity. They were the subordinates of the commander-in-chief, and were bound to act as he had ordered them. They were punished for having obeyed those orders which as military men they were taught and obliged to consider as paramount: and if they had not obeyed them, they would have been liable to very severe punishment. What then must be the rule of conduct of military men in such a situation? They must presume, that whatever their superior officer commands them to perform is legal; and that, if it be illegal, the censure and punishment will fall upon him, not upon them; otherwise they are placed in a most dangerous and awkward situation. It is true, if the act required of them be upon the face of it illegal,—if the illegality be discoverable merely from the use of common sense, and from that knowledge of divine and human laws which every man is supposed to possess,—in that case, the *ministerial* officer is bound to disobey, and would stand acquitted for his disobedience. But he is not bound, nor, by the very spirit of military discipline, permitted, to scrutinize every act, in order that he may spy out if he can some feature of it which wears the appearance

ance of illegality. This would be to strike at the root of military obedience; it would necessarily prevent any officer from acting in a ministerial capacity. If the illegality is quite manifest, the ministerial officer is not bound to perform it; and he would be justly punished if he did perform it: but, if the illegality is doubtful, the obedience of the inferior officer must be considered and treated as proper and meritorious.

The opinions or the authority of sir George Barlow possessed such powerful influence over the members of the council at Madras, that by far the greater number of them entirely approved of his conduct on this occasion. Mr. Petrie, however, the senior member of the council, and who had performed the duties of governor for a time previous to the arrival of sir George Barlow, differed from the governor and the majority of the council. It is a duty imposed on the members by authority, when they happen to differ from the opinions of the majority, to enter their protest on the record, and also the reasons on which their difference of opinion is grounded. On this occasion, and on another of a very extraordinary nature, which we shall afterwards briefly notice, Mr. Petrie discharged his duty, by entering the grounds of his difference on the minutes. Sir George Barlow took offence at this conduct; from which it would appear, that though the members of the council were bound to enter their protest, they seldom had recourse to this measure,—either because they generally were unanimous, or because they did not choose to record their dissent from the opinions of the majority. Sir George Barlow, however, certainly had no reason to find fault with Mr. Petrie; because he strictly discharged his duty: yet he not only did so, but he took the strange measure of replying to his reasons of dissent by an entry on the minutes of council.

Mr. Petrie's views on this unhappy dispute are so judicious, and if acted upon would have led to such very different consequences from those which really happened, that we lay them before our readers; especially as they will serve to give them an insight into the character of that man, who could not only entertain different views, but censure and punish as far as lay in his power the person who differed from him.

"The measure of removing lieutenant-colonel Capper and major Boles was universally condemned by the most respectable officers in the army, and not more so by the officers in the company's service than by those of his majesty's regiments. It was felt by all as the introduction of a most dangerous principle, and setting a pernicious example of a disobedience and insubordination to all the gradations of military rank and authority; teaching inferior officers to question the legality of the orders of their superiors, and bringing into discussion questions which may endanger the very existence of government. Our proceedings at this time operated like an electric shock, and gave rise to combinations, associations, and discussions, pregnant with danger to every constituted authority in India. It was observed that the removal of general Macdowall (admitting the expediency of that measure) sufficiently vindicated the authority of government, and exhibited to the army a memorable proof that the supreme

supreme power is vested in the civil authority.

"The offence came from the general, and he was punished for it; but to suspend from the service the mere instrument of office, for the ordinary transmission of an order to the army, was universally condemned as an act of inapplicable severity, which might do infinite mischief, but could not accomplish any good or beneficial purpose. It was to court unpopularity, and adding fuel to the flame which was ready to burst forth in every division of the army: that to vindicate the measure on the assumed illegality of the order, is to resort to a principle of a most dangerous tendency, capable of being extended in its application to purposes subversive of the foundation of all authority, civil as well as military. If subordinate officers are encouraged to judge of the legality of the orders of their superiors, we introduce a precedent of incalculable mischief, neither justified by the spirit nor the practice of our laws. Is it not better to have the responsibility on the head of the authority which issues the order, except in cases so plain that the most common capacity can judge of their being direct violations of the established and acknowledged laws? Is the intemperance of the expressions, the indiscretion of the opinions; is the inflammatory tendency of the order, so eminently dangerous, so evidently calculated to excite to mutiny and disobedience, so strongly marked with features of criminality, as not to be mistaken? Was the order, I beg leave to ask, of this description, of such a nature as to justify the adjutant-general and his deputy in their refusal to publish it; to disobey the order of the commander-in-chief; to revolt from his authority; and to complain of him to the government.?"

Soon after these proceedings on the part of the Madras government, the dissatisfaction of the troops rapidly spread and increased: manifestoes were published by the general officers, neither distinguished by good sense nor justified even by the situation in which the army was placed: at length the mutiny fairly broke out. It is but a fair acknowledgement to the intentions of sir George Barlow, though it discovers a lamentabe proof of his want of sagacity and foresight, to state, that he entertained no suspicion that the army was in such a dissatisfied state, that they would have recourse to violent measures. In the course of a conversation which Mr. Petrie had with him on this subject, in which this gentleman warned the governor of the probable result of the measures he was pursuing, and gave him a picture of the real feelings of the army, sir George Barlow assured him, that he was greatly misinformed; that *he* possessed intelligence, on the truth and accuracy of which he could implicitly rely: that "he could produce to council most satisfactory and unequivocal proofs of the fidelity of nine-tenths of the army; that the discontents were confined almost exclusively to the southern division of the army; that the troops composing the subsidiary force, those in the ceded districts, in the centre, and a part of the northern division, were all untainted by those principles which had misled the rest of the army."

Nor was sir George Barlow's conduct, when the mutiny actually broke out and put on a more formidable

midable appearance than he could have apprehended, more distinguished for comprehension of mind and a temper suited for such a difficult and arduous crisis, than his previous knowledge had been distinguished for accuracy and correctness. Indeed there is something throughout his conduct at Madras so petty and peevish, that it is almost impossible to associate it with the character or situation of a governor of a large portion of India. If the officers would not dine with him; or if they dined with or countenanced the suspended officers; if they manifested the slightest feeling for the cause of the army; in short, if in their most trivial transactions they did not do as sir George Barlow wished, they incurred his displeasure. Some were dismissed, but dismissed without trial or accusation. At one time the governor thought proper to select for punishment the subordinate, when the principal was guilty; at another time, the principal was punished, because he did not keep his inferior officers strictly within those bounds of discipline and obedience that sir George Barlow required.

But the most absurd and dangerous measure to which sir George Barlow had recourse, was that of imposing a test of loyalty and attachment to the goverment upon the officers of the army. Nothing could be more impolitic and weak: such officers as were determined to resist government would either refuse to take the test; or, if they did take it, would not on that account be the less disposed to proceed in their purpose. It could only serve to irritate those who were still loyal and well-affected; as by proposing the test to them a suspicion seemed to be thrown upon their principles and intentions: and those who were balancing, who did not wish to have recourse to violent measures, looking upon this as a new affront and a fresh proof of the oppressive disposition of the governor, would most probably be led by it to adopt a decided course of conduct, and to join those who were in open opposition to government. This very foolish and rash expedient immediately produced the strongest representations and remonstrances from king's officers of the most unquestionable loyalty. The hon. col. Stuart, commanding a king's regiment, in a letter he wrote to sir George Barlow himself, gave him the most positive assurances, that "the late measures of government as carried into effect at the presidency and Trichinopoly have created the most violent ferment amongst the corps here;" and he concludes his letter by saying, "were there any prospects of success, it might be right to persevere; but where every day's experience proves, that the more coercive the measures adopted, the more violent are the consequences, a different and more conciliatory line of conduct ought to be adopted."

The opinions and presentiments of these officers, drawn from what they observed, and so agreeable to the dictates of common sense, and the slightest and most superficial knowledge of human nature, were unhappily realized. Sir George Barlow, on the contrary, expected passive submission, and he met with universal revolt. His conduct, when the revolt actually took place, is not marked by a greater degree of prudence or wisdom. In order to put down the disturbance, he instigated the native troops, men and

officers, to disobey their European commanders. It is notorious that we retain our immense Indian possessions, where a few thousand Europeans exist and exercise power in the midst of fifty or sixty millions of people, solely by the strong hold we have over their fears; and the belief under which they live, that we are all-powerful, and they are comparatively weak and inefficient; and by their ignorance of their own strength. And yet this measure was calculated to sweep away at once all the hold we had upon them; to tear up by the very foundations our Indian dominion; or at least to render it still more precarious and unstable than it yet has been. The natural disposition, the habits, the very religious principles of the sepoy lead him to the most implicit obedience: and yet this measure of government called upon him not only to disobey, but to resist, those whom he had so long served with the most scrupulous fidelity and the most abject submission. If the natives were called upon to quell, and were successful in quelling, a mutiny existing amongst the European officers and soldiers, was there no danger that this exercise of their power would let them into the secret that on them depended the safety and the very existence of our Indian possessions, and inspire them with the hope and the design of wresting them from us? Mr. Petrie has well depicted this rash and improvident proceeding.

"By this unhappy experiment ten-twelfths of the officers are for a time, and perhaps for ever, lost to the service. The army is disorganized, and distrust, suspicion, and keen resentments, have diffused their baneful effects through every corps in the service.

"With respect to remote and ultimate consequences, this appeal of government to the native sepoys is perhaps more pregnant with danger than any other measure we yet have adopted. Besides its immediate and ruinous effects on the discipline and subordination of the army, it leads to consequences of far more general magnitude and importance.

"By this appeal to the sepoy we instruct him in the fatal truth, that on the support of his arm depends the security of the empire in the East. It removes the delusion by which for so many years a handful of Europeans has kept millions in awe; and, for a temporary and no great national object, endangers the whole machine of our Indian government. I consider this to be the most fatal wound that the present safety has received in the present distracted conflict. Granting us complete success, it will be found, I fear, at no remote period, that we have purchased the victory by the ruin of our country. Great indeed must be the emergency, and the object of infinite importance, to justify a government in resorting to the dangerous and unexampled experiment we have made on the native troops; nothing less, in my opinion, than an obvious and evident danger which menaces the very existence of the state, by a combination of the officers to deliver over the army or the country to our enemies."

In all the observations which we ourselves have made, or of which we have expressed our approbation, on this unfortunate and disagreeable business, it is far distant from our wish or our intention to hold out the conduct of the officers who were opposed to sir George Barlow as free from culpable and gross misconduct,

misconduct, even before they broke out into open and avowed mutiny. They were culpable: but we contend, and the statements and remarks which we have presented to our readers will, we think, bear us out in maintaining, that if the measures adopted, and the general line of conduct and policy followed out by sir George Barlow, had been those which would have proceeded from a man of a calm and sound mind, who knew how to mix and temper conciliatory measures with measures of authority and control; who had preferred the re-establishment of tranquillity infinitely before the mere taking advantage of an opportunity to show his own power; and who did not, like sir George Barlow, betray such a cloudiness of intellect, or such a captious disposition, as to confound in one sweeping charge of disaffection, the most temperate and respectful remonstrances with those of a violent and inflammatory nature: in that case tranquillity and obedience would have been quickly and easily restored; and not only so, but the calm would have been indicative of real content and loyalty to government, not, as we are apprehensive it is now, the calm of compulsion under which lurk the seeds of future disturbance.

Before we proceed to state briefly the particulars of the mutiny (for on such a subject we have no inducement or wish to be prolix), we shall remark, that the tent-contract, whatever just offence its abolition, and the manner of its abolition, gave to the officers, cannot justly be considered in any other light than as the occasion of the discontent and disturbances which broke out. But had the officers of the army been previously well affected towards government; had no cause of complaint lurked in their breasts, this alone could scarcely have produced all the effects which followed. It has been well remarked, that where the fate of a kingdom depended upon, and was decided by, a single battle, there must have been something previously "rotten in the state." The remark may be made with equal propriety and justice with respect to our territories in India; and whoever is conversant with their history and state, will be at no loss to trace those causes which operated to give the affair of the tent-contract such a powerful influence, and such dreadful and lamentable consequences. The disturbances which broke out at Vellore in consequence of the attack upon the religious habits and prejudices of the natives, and the mutiny which took place at Madras, are both symptomatic rather than merely independent and unconnected disorders: they point out the general state of health of the government; and in that light assume a much more important and serious appearance than they put on when they were considered as accidental and insulated complaints.

As soon as lord Minto, the governor-general, received intelligence of the disturbances at Madras, he issued a long paper, the contents and character of which we briefly sketched in our last number. Perhaps in the state in which affairs then were, it would not have been prudent in this paper to have taken the least notice of the causes which tended to irritate the officers, in such a manner as conveyed the remotest censure on sir George Barlow. But it is to be lamented, that in a subsequent part of his proceedings, and in the lengthened papers which he afterwards put forth, he did not, at least in a gentle and implied

manner, point out how the officers ought to have proceeded, and what ought to have been the conduct of sir George Barlow if they had proceeded in that manner. Lord Minto thought it necessary to proceed to Madras; but happily the mutiny was not of long continuance, and was quelled with little difficulty or bloodshed.

The officers who engaged in the mutiny had formed a committee at Seringapatam; and of course they were desirous that all the disaffected troops should rendezvous in that quarter. The governor in council received intelligence early in August 1809, that the troops at Chettledroog, consisting of the 1st battalion of the 6th and 15th regiments of native infantry, had seized the public treasure, and in obedience to the committee were about to proceed to Seringapatam. The British resident and the officer commanding in Mysore, forbade in the most peremptory terms the departure of the troops from Chettledroog; and required from their European officers a compliance with the resolution of the governor in council, by either declaring that they would either obey the orders of government, or that they would give up their commissions. As they rejected both these conditions, it became necessary if possible to prevent the entrance of the disaffected troops into Seringapatam. They were, accordingly attacked and defeated by lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, with a detachment from the British force, a body of Mysore horse, and a battalion of the 3d regiment of native infantry. While this attack was carrying on, a sally was made from the garrison of Seringapatam on lieutenant-colonel Gibbs's camp, which was instantly and easily repulsed with considerable loss. With so little trouble and difficulty was this mutiny, which threatened the peace and the very existence of our East Indian possessions, put down: for, after the detachment from Chettledroog was defeated, and prevented from joining the committee at Seringapatam, no formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of tranquillity existed.

When lord Minto came to examine into the circumstances of the mutiny, he found such a great number of officers of all ranks had been concerned in it, either directly or indirectly, either in its first and least culpable stages, or afterwards when it reached positive and open resistance, that it was extremely difficult how to shape his conduct, so as to punish those who were the most guilty, without discovering a rancorous and revengeful disposition; and on the other hand, not to admit so general and indiscriminate a lenity, as would have almost encouraged similar proceedings for the future. In the general orders which he issued, dated September 25, 1809, he lays down the line of conduct he meant to pursue in a very explicit manner; and it certainly was such as, under all the circumstances of the case, policy, justice, and humanity must join in applauding.

"The principle I have thought myself at liberty to adopt (observes his lordship), has been to limit the number of punishments, since impunity cannot be general; and to mitigate their degrees to the utmost extent of lenity, not entirely incompatible with the public good and the indispensable demands of justice.

"In the execution of this principle, it has been necessary to make a small selection from a great mass of

of delinquency, all subject in strictness to the penalties of the law: and that such a choice should neither be capricious nor subject to the suspicion of partiality, I have adopted general criterions, the principles of which are manifestly just, and the application of which to particular cases is subject to no difficulty.

"The first ground of selection is the commission of some overt act of rebellion or mutiny, such as seizing on fortresses or public treasure; actual hostility against the troops of his majesty, the company, or its allies; quitting the station allotted to troops without orders, or the refusal to obey the orders of government.

"This principle of selection would liberate a considerable proportion of the army; but it would involve a much greater number than it enters into my views to exclude from pardon.

"It is necessary therefore to select from the numerous class already described, a smaller number comprised within a narrower head of distinction.

"That selection is to consist of the officers in command of stations, or bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and persons peculiarly distinguished for a forward and violent part in the most criminal acts or proceedings of the army.

"The whole of this highly criminal and peculiarly responsible, but not numerous class, will most justly be submitted to a trial by court-martial.

"But as the courts-martial may of necessity be bound to pass sentences of greater severity than it is in contemplation to extend, without distinction, to the whole number of those submitted to trial, a more minute sub-division will yet be made, and the officers in command of garrisons or considerable bodies of troops, will be separated, on this ground of higher responsibility, from the commandants of corps. The former will be subjected at all events to trial; the latter will be allowed the option of a trial, or dismissal from the service."

In order that no uncertainty might remain concerning the application of these rules to individual cases, the names of all the officers intended for punishments were given in these general orders. Lieutenant-colonel John Bell, the senior officer who had commanded in Seringapatam; lieutenant-colonel John Doveton, who had commanded a detachment of the Hydrabad subsidiary forces at Jaulnah; and major Joseph Storey, the senior officer who had commanded at Masulipatam, were ordered to be tried by a court-martial: eighteen others, some of whom had been at Seringapatam, and some of whom had marched without orders from Chettledroog to Seringapatam, were ordered to be tried by a court-martial or dismissed the service, at their option.

The court-martial assembled at Bangalore on the 1st of November 1809, and proceeded to the trial of colonel Doveton: major-general Warde of the king's troops was appointed president. Three charges were preferred against colonel Doveton. The first, for having moved his detachment from the station of Jaulnah, on the 14th of August, "with a mutinous and seditious design against the existing government of Fort St. George." The second charge accused him of having used his endeavours to stir up the troops under his command to join in that mutiny: and the

third charge was, that he had affixed his name to a mutinous and seditious paper, expressive of the intentions with which the force had commenced their march. The court-martial acquitted him honourably of all and every part of these charges. The sentence was sent back to be revised; and the court, after having reconsidered the whole of the evidence before them, declared that they did not find any reason to alter their former opinion. General Gowdie, who succeeded as commander-in-chief upon the departure of general Macdowall, strongly reprobated the decision to which the court-martial came, as well as the grounds upon which they had adopted it; and recommended to government that colonel Doveton should be removed from the exercise of all military functions until the pleasure of the court of directors was taken on his case; permitting him in the mean time to draw his proper allowances. This recommendation was sanctioned by lord Minto, who at the same time censured in very strong language the grounds upon which the court-martial had proceeded.

Here again we may trace a line of conduct of very questionable policy. The deliberate verdict of a court-martial, at the head of which was placed an officer in the king's service, of unimpeached loyalty and military character, and who must be supposed to have accurately known the evidence necessary to establish the charges brought against colonel Doveton, as well as the indispensable necessity of punishing the crimes those charges implied, if proved, is set at nought. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if such a mode of proceeding gave great disgust and dissatisfaction, particularly to general Warde; and if it induced many of those officers who had the option of being tried by a court-martial or of quitting the service, to prefer the latter alternative; since acquittal by a court-martial could not establish their innocence nor protect them from punishment.

Lieutenant-colonel Bell was next brought to trial: he was charged with having, when commanding the garrison and fort of Seringapatam, joined in and headed a most alarming and dangerous mutiny and sedition, which took place in that garrison between the 30th of July and the 23d of August 1809, during which period the garrison seized the public treasure, and fired on the troops of his majesty, the company, and their allies; and that he declared his resolution not to deliver up the fort and garrison to the proper authorities. The court-martial found the prisoner guilty; sentenced him to be cashiered; and further declared him unworthy of ever serving the company in any military capacity whatsoever. The commander-in-chief, in confirming the sentence of the court-martial, expressed his pointed disapprobation of the punishment awarded the prisoner, as bearing no proportion to the atrocity of his crimes, which had been so clearly established in evidence before the court.

The charges against major Storey were, that he had placed his commanding officer in arrest and confinement; that he mutinously assumed the command of the garrison of Masulipatam, and ordered the troops to hold themselves in readiness for field service, with an intention of resisting the existing government; and that he affixed his name to a scandalous paper, purporting to be an address on behalf of the garrison of Masulipatam.

patam. The court-martial declared him guilty of the first charge; of the first part of the second charge; and of the third charge; and therefore sentenced him to be cashiered: at the same time they recommended him for mercy to the commander-in-chief. Here, too, the court-martial and the commander-in-chief differed in opinion: the latter declared that the sentence was not such as the law pointed out, and therefore he could not comply with the recommendation to mercy presented to him by the court. The court upon this reconsidered the whole evidence, but still adhered to their former opinion.

We have thus concluded the account of the disturbances at Madras, so far as they fall within the transactions of that period to which our volume for 1810 is necessarily confined, and so far as their results respect India immediately. The light in which they were viewed by the directors of the East India company at home, the measures they took in consequence of them in regard to the culpable officers, and the declarations they published in praise and support of the line of conduct which had been pursued by lord Minto and sir George Barlow, fall within the limits of our next volume. We now proceed briefly to notice some very extraordinary transactions of a civil nature and character which occurred in India; which, equally with the military transactions, point out the strange policy on which sir George Barlow conducts his government, and the natural consequences of dislike and disaffection which such a line of policy produces.

When the East India company gained possession of the territories of the late nabobs of the Carnatic, they entered into an engagement to liquidate all demands that might fairly be made upon them. In order that the justice and extent of these demands might be properly investigated, commissioners were appointed in India, as well as at home, to scrutinize them, and to make such absolute rejections or deductions as they might judge right. In the course of this scrutiny in India, it was discovered that the demands on the late nabobs of the Carnatic, more than doubled the sums which the company at the time they undertook to liquidate them conceived them to amount to. This produced strict inquiry; when it was ascertained that a large portion of the bonds were forged; and the principal business and difficulty of the commissioners consisted in detecting the forgeries. Two persons particularly were suspected of having forged bonds to a large amount. As the proof of the forgery was naturally an object of very great importance to those who held real bonds, a few gentlemen of great respectability, who were thus situated, applied to the commissioners for the papers and assistance necessary to bring to trial and conviction the two individuals particularly suspected of having forged the bonds. The commissioners would not, until compelled by law, give up these papers, and afterwards, assisted by government, afforded all the protection in their power to the accused and suspected persons; while they commenced an action against those individuals on whose testimony the guilt of the former principally rested, on the score of perjury. This action terminated by the jury finding them not guilty. The possessors of the real bonds then immediately proceeded to the trial of those accused

of forgery. These accused persons were countenanced by the commissioners; and were defended, during their trial, by the law officers of government. The jury, however, found them guilty. Still their sentence and punishment were delayed. They were again brought to trial by the possessors of the real bonds (notwithstanding the intimation from government that they *wished* the business to be dropped) for a conspiracy; and though protected and defended in the same powerful manner, the jury again found them guilty. Still sentence and punishment were not only delayed, but a recommendation for mercy was dispatched to England. Before any answer could return, the guilt of the person principally implicated became manifest even to the commissioners, and he put an end to his own life.

To Englishmen in this part of the world all this appears very strange; but our wonder will increase when we are told that the jury who pronounced the verdicts, and the gentlemen who were so active in bringing the culprits to trial, (the issue shows that they were not brought to justice,) were punished for their conduct; that is, they were removed from the situations which they held, and placed in others neither so lucrative nor so desirable in any point of view. If any thing can prove more strongly the want of judgement of sir George Barlow's behaviour on this occasion than the simple narrative of the transaction, it is the following defence of it by himself.

"The commissioners appointed by the right honourable the governor-general in council, and invested by the covenants entered into between the honourable company and the creditors, and by the legislature, with powers wholly independent of the governor, applied to this government for the professional assistance of their law officers, in certain cases in which they considered that assistance to be of importance to the objects of their appointments. Their government complied with the request of the commissioners, whom they considered to be the only competent judges of the question. In this as well as in every other part of that discussion, our view of the subject has been since fully confirmed by the governor-general in council, in his letter to this government, dated 24th April last (1809). This interference of the government soon became, in the then agitated state of the public mind, an additional source of loud complaint: the cause of government was identified with that of the servants of the nabob, who had been appointed to assist the company in the examination of the Durbar accounts; and these servants stood their several trials, under all the load of public odium which faction could heap up against a cause to which the government had considered it to be its duty to afford its support. Three successive verdicts, to each of which the supreme court had refused to give effect, showed the misguided state of the public feelings. That constitutional interposition of the court became in turn the object of invective: a body of gentlemen, headed by Mr. Roebuck, voted an address and a piece of plate to the counsel for the late prosecutions, as the champions of the rights of juries, which were pretended to have been violated by the acts of the court, under the influence of the government.

"I have most sensibly felt the support and countenance which that

that factious outcry received from the minutes of Mr. Petrie, dated 30th December, 1808, and 10th and 15th February, 1809, in which he insists that the interference of the commissioners and of the government was improper."

It is scarcely necessary to make any remarks on this extraordinary paper:—the commissioners, who were appointed expressly for the purpose of detecting forged bonds, are employed in defending those accused of forging them, and accused by men undoubtedly possessed of real bonds, who therefore, in that character, ought to have received the countenance and assistance of the commissioners:—in this proceeding, the commissioners are supported by government, who order their law officers to defend the accused. The verdicts of the juries are suspended, because they showed the misguided state of the public mind: and this interference is called a *pretended* violation of the rights of juries! We can only repeat, that all this sounds very strange to Englishmen in this part of the world, and that in the whole transaction we in vain look for those principles and proofs of moderation, good sense, and wise policy, which we could wish always to distinguish them, wherever they are in possession of power.

In the passage which we have quoted from sir George Barlow's defence of his conduct, it will be observed, he very coolly charges Mr. Petrie, the senior member of the council, with affording his support and countenance to a factious outcry, because he performed his duty in entering on the minutes his reasons for disapproving of the proceedings of sir George Barlow. According to this doctrine, the other members in council are either to agree with the governor, or they are to be charged with faction. Sir George Barlow admits of no alternative: he cannot suppose it possible that any man, not actuated by factious motives, can trace in his public conduct any want of moderation or wisdom.

Mr. Petrie, in his reply to sir George Barlow's minutes, offers the following judicious observations on the subject of the trials for forgery:

"The honourable the president is perfectly correct in imputing to the trials, verdicts, and proceedings in the supreme court, relative to the forged bonds of the late nabob, the very general agitation and interest which appeared to affect the community, and to produce, not the clamour of a faction, as it is termed by the president, but a sentiment nearly unanimous throughout the settlement,—not, in its origin or object, manifesting either opposition or disrespect to the government, which certainly ought not to be considered as a party in these trials, as we act merely for the company, and should have no other interest in the investigation of the claims, than to prevent the misapplication of the fund they had gratuitously granted to the creditors of the late nabobs: and it should have been the same to us, whether frauds and forgeries were detected by the talents of Mr. Marsh, or by the ability and labours of the company's counsel and commissioners.

"The subject of the trials was a struggle and a contest, not only for the division of property; but, in the course of the proceedings, questions of great moment and importance, upon mere general rights and principles, were brought into discussion,

discussion, in which, in my opinion, government ought to have remained perfectly neuter.

"That *three* successive verdicts of as *respectable* juries as were ever impannelled at Madras should prove the misguided state of the public feelings, appears to me a most extraordinary mode of establishing the fact, which is assumed but not proved. To an English mind, I apprehend, the premises would lead to the opposite conclusion:—at any rate, whatever might be our private feelings and opinions on this singular case, a variety of reasons existed at that time, which should, in my judgement, have prevented the open interference of government in those trials. It was from that interference, and in some instances not a common interference, that the settlement expressed an alarm at the executive supreme authority having thrown its influence and power into the scale of one of the parties."

Mr. Petrie, adverting to his having differed from sir George Barlow with respect to the military transactions, observes on the subject of these trials:

"The next subject of difference arose on the references made to government by the commissioners for investigating the debts of the late nabobs, on the correspondence which ensued, and on our interference in the criminal trials which took place at that time. In our support of the commissioners, I thought we touched on the rights of private property, and in the measures we pursued for supporting the two persons tried for *a capital offence*; and above all, for apparently making the government a party in the trials, by measures which were universally believed to have a direct tendency to influence the juries, and by the severe punishment inflicted on those who concurred in the verdicts given against the two men supported by government, by the commissioners, and defended by the company's law officers:—by these, and other measures of a similar nature, I thought we acted unconstitutionally—involving the company and ourselves in an unnecessary and weighty responsibility, and extending our support to the commissioners far beyond what was in the contemplation of the court of directors, when they transmitted us their orders on the subject."

We have deemed it right to enter thus fully and circumstantially into the history of the disputes, military and civil, which have lately occurred in our East India possessions:—not only because they were in themselves very important, but principally because they must give serious alarm to all who view them as indicating the state of the public mind there, on the one hand; and on the other, as affording additional proofs, (if additional proofs were wanting,) that those intrusted with the command are not by any means calculated to govern a distant possession, in such a state of restlessness and disaffection.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVIII.

Affairs of the Peninsula—Preliminary Observations—Predictions of the different Parties, respecting the probable Issue of the Spanish Revolution, compared with the present State of Spain—Circumstances and Causes which have operated in favour of and against the Success of the Spaniards—Remarks on Bonaparte's Mode of conducting the War in the Peninsula—The French cross the Sierra Morena—advance to Cadiz—Siege of that Place—Portugal better disposed to the British Troops than Spain—Portuguese Troops put under British Officers—Massena sent into the Peninsula—Lord Wellington's Plan of the Campaign—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Lord Wellington—Torres Vedras—Massena's Retreat to Santarem.

BEFORE we commence our account of the state of affairs and the operations in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, it may not be uninteresting or uninstructive to recall the predictions and conjectures in which various classes and parties of men in this country indulged, when the revolution first broke out there, with respect to its probable duration and issue; and to compare them with what, hitherto, has actually occurred.

From such a mode of proceeding we may derive many advantages. It will put us in possession of that test by which we may apply our present experience to future circumstances of a similar nature: and by collating the real causes which have hitherto prevented the subjugation of the Peninsula, or retarded its complete and permanent liberation from the presence and tyranny of French power, with those causes and circumstances which, by one class of men, were deemed decidedly adverse to any protracted or successful resistance—and, by another party, as sufficiently powerful and efficacious to render the inhabitants of the Peninsula speedily victorious and triumphant,—we shall detect the fallacies which lurked in the reasonings and predictions of both parties, and thus guard against them in future.—Upon no subject was conjecture more busy; and upon no subject did it enter so much into the nature and detail of the circumstances on which it was grounded. So far, therefore, there will be no difficulty in recalling almost the exact and definite predictions of each party, as well as the reasonings which they employed to support or elucidate their predictions. On the other hand, the observation of nearly three years has enabled us to fix upon, with certainty, and to trace through all their operations, the causes which have actually thwarted the schemes and baffled the power of Bonaparte in the Peninsula.—The one, therefore, can be set against the other:—the predictions, not bare, but in connexion with their reasonings, can be set against the facts which have taken place; which, in their turn, can be accompanied with the circumstances that have given birth to them.

Thus

Thus one of the great advantages to be derived from history may be secured in a more remarkable and extensive degree than generally happens:—for in very few events of such magnitude and importance as the Spanish revolution were prediction and conjecture so busy or so full with respect to its issue, and the causes which would bring about that issue, and scarcely in any have the operating circumstances,—those circumstances to which the real state of the Peninsula, as well as the transactions which have hitherto occurred in it, are owing,—been brought so fully and clearly up to light. None of them lie concealed:—the intricacies and mysteries of cabinets are not to be unveiled before we can reach them: nor are the deep and sagacious policy of statesmen, or the skilful and complicated plans of military men, to be detected and unravelled. The causes spring from the great mass of the people, and are therefore easily seen; and simple though powerful.

Before we proceed to particularize these predictions, and to compare them with the present state of the Peninsula, let us recall the relative strength and condition of France and Spain at the time when the revolution broke out. For nearly 15 years, France had been engaged in continual warfare. During so long a period almost any nation must have gained a great deal of military skill and experience; and, if successful, must have impressed a sense of dread and respect on the neighbouring nations:—but the circumstances in which France was, when she first engaged in war, made her military skill and experience increase with much more rapidity, and to a much greater extent, than it otherwise could have done. Her revolution called together all the men of first-rate talents; and placed them either in her cabinet or at the head of her armies: in both situations, every motive, public or private, that could influence the patriot, the man of ambition, or the man desirous of power and wealth, urged them on to put forth and improve their talents. The result was such as might be expected:—the plans of the French campaigns were formed with the most profound skill; and they were carried into execution with equal talent, and with corresponding success. Conquest almost invariably attended the French armies: the military art was carried to a degree of perfection before unknown; and at the commencement of the Spanish revolution France had overcome all the powers in Europe, and added to her territories an immense extent of country.

Spain, on the contrary, had fallen from the high character she bore during the 16th and 17th centuries: her councils were feeble: her armies were small, disorganized, ill-officered, and unaccustomed to warfare. The follies, the imbecility, and the vices of the old governments of Europe sat full and heavily upon her: she was in a state of decrepitude and old age;—while France had cast off her old age, and had come forth in all the vigour of renovated youth. This contrast struck the minds of many as soon as the Spanish revolution broke out: they thought it impossible that such a nation as Spain, so feeble, and so ill prepared and provided either with a wise cabinet or a powerful army, should be able to withstand the French even for a single campaign. The circumstance of Bonaparte's having inveigled king Charles and his son, and of his having

having won-over the principal part of the Spanish nobility, they regarded also as highly favourable to his plans. Whether, therefore, the issue was to be brought about by craft and policy, or by force of arms, they predicted nothing favourable to Spain. Even after the surrender of Dupont's army, and when the determination of the people of Spain to resist Bonaparte was ascertained, still their hopes did not preponderate; and they looked forward to the speedy subjugation of the Peninsula. The enthusiasm of the people they predicted would continue for a very short time: from its very nature it would grow cool and fall away before any difficulties: and being a mere feeling of the mind, it could not be expected, they asserted, either to be so regularly efficacious or useful, or so permanent and persevering, as the operations of a French army. Besides, it was without a plan:—the people had no doubt risen; and consequences similar to those which had taken place in France, at the commencement of the revolution, might be anticipated, had the Spanish councils been equally prompt and wise, or the opposing armies not more numerous and formidable. But under all the circumstances of the Spanish nation being without leading men of patriotism and talents—of their being unaccustomed to war; and, necessarily, unconnected in their operations;—and on the other hand, of their enemy being Bonaparte,—no hopes were entertained by this party that their conquest would be nearly so arduous or protracted as had been those of the states of Europe which had already fallen under the French yoke.

Another party, who augured no success from the Spanish revolution, viewed the subject in a different light. The Spanish government had so long been despotic and inimical to the knowledge, the prosperity, and liberties of their subjects, that the nation were sunk almost as low as an European could descend in the scale of human nature. Besides the operation of the imbecility and tyranny of their government upon their habits and characters, the Spaniards were cursed with a most ignorant and bigoted clergy, who kept the people in complete subjection, and aided the views and the interests of government in keeping their bodies and their minds in a state of complete indolence. What then was such a nation capable of performing?—Certainly, they urged, it was foolish and in vain to expect that they were capable of resisting Bonaparte.—In France, the faculties of the human mind had been stretched to the utmost in perfecting the science of war:—the bodies and habits of the people were inured to it:—the policy of the government consisted in war. Opposed to such a nation, the Spaniards, ignorant, indolent, or never incited to action, unless by their priests, would be totally inefficacious. This party, however, not unfrequently had recourse to another mode of viewing the subject, and of reasoning, not altogether consistent with that which has just been noticed. They asked in a triumphant tone (as if they thought the question, if fairly answered, would decide the point in their favour,) What have the Spaniards to fight for? Why should they take up arms against the French? Like the ass in the fable, it must be totally indifferent to them what master they serve: under either they will be totally deprived of liberty;

—they

—they will be equally exposed to despotism. If they were promised the blessings of freedom, provided they exerted themselves to drive out the French, some expectations might be formed that they would rise up and be successful: but without this, in the state in which they are, to suppose that they will resist with perseverance or success, is to suppose an effect produced without an adequate cause.

As far as regards this mode of reasoning, it may in the first place be remarked, that it totally disagrees and is at variance with the representations that the Spanish nation were so very ignorant and habituated to slavery, as in the other part of their argument this class of prophets had represented them to be. Certainly, if they were so very ignorant and habituated to slavery, their cause did not appear to wear a promising aspect; —but then to men in such a state the promise of political liberty would be unintelligible; or if they could be made to understand it, it would hold out nothing that to their feelings or habits would wear the appearance of a blessing. There probably were several points on which the Spaniards were dissatisfied; several grievances which they felt to be such, and complained of: —had the promise of removing these been held out to them, such promises they would have understood, and would have regarded as a benefit. In the expectation of securing the performance of a promise of this nature, their natural indolence and indifference would have been conquered;—but to suppose that they should be inspirited by the promise or prospect of gaining those political or civil advantages which we enjoy and prize so highly, but of which they can form no idea, and feel not the want, is indeed to suppose that they might be stimulated to action without a motive; and betrays rather the prejudices of a Briton, than a knowledge of human nature.

In the second place, this mode of reasoning does not take into account that sense and love of *national* independence and liberty, which, however strange it may seem, exists and operates even among those nations who are totally without personal liberty and independence. The reasoning proceeds, as has been already remarked, on the supposition that a people care very little who exercises tyranny over them, if it must be exercised; or from whom they receive liberty, provided they enjoy it:—a supposition which, if founded in truth, would lead us to expect that the English nation would be as quiet, contented, and happy, under a foreign dominion, if, under that dominion, the privileges, political, civil, and religious, which they now possess, were secured to them in all their wonted stability and fulness. If the supposition is put in this way, (and if it be true in one case, it must be true in the other,) we shall immediately reject it. It is, indeed, not more contrary to common sense, and at variance with human nature, than it is unsupported with the whole authority and experience of history. The very idea of a foreign yoke, throwing out of consideration all regard to the manner in which it will be exercised, or even admitting and believing that it will bring with it more freedom and less tyranny than were experienced under the ancient dynasty, must operate powerfully on the minds, the habits, and feelings of every people:—and it may be assumed, as a test and proof that a nation are indeed sunk to the very

very lowest point in the scale of human nature, who regard with indifference the transfer of the sovereign power, by violence or by fraud, from the old to a new dynasty.

It may be contended, that it was foolish and absurd in the Spaniards to rouse themselves in defence and support of their legitimate sovereign, since under him they had been oppressed;—or to discover such a violent antipathy to the French, as it was not probable that they would lessen the little freedom and happiness they previously enjoyed. The question is not whether it was wise and prudent in the Spaniards to act thus; but whether it was likely that they would act thus. Britons would resist the French, partly because they would dread, under their dominion, the loss of their liberties and prosperity; partly because they abhor the idea of a foreign yoke, independently of the anticipation or consideration of its consequences; and partly because the greatest part of the population of England possess a kind of instinctive antipathy to Frenchmen: or, generally, they would resist the French, because they felt a strong dislike to them, and dreaded the loss of certain blessings which they enjoyed. The Spaniards, though not possessing the same liberty and independence as Englishmen do, do possess what they apprehend the French would destroy:—the Spaniards are very superstitious, and under the complete sway and direction of their priests. They dreaded that the French would abolish the priesthood and their superstitions:—this we may call a very foolish dread; but it is not the wisdom of the feeling or motive which produces action, but the strength and permanency, which we must look to: and so far as regards operation on human conduct, superstitious feelings and motives will probably produce as great effects as an enlightened and rational love of liberty.—Britons hate Frenchmen because they are inimical to liberty; the Spaniards, because they are inimical to their superstition:—there can be no question respecting the infinite superiority of the one cause of dislike over the other: but that ought not to be the consideration: the inquiry should be, whether the one cause may not produce nearly the same effects as the other.—With respect to the love of national independence and the hatred of a foreign yoke; and also with respect to an antipathy almost instinctive against Frenchmen;—these must be allowed to exist as strongly among Spaniards as among Britons. The grand fallacy of the reasoning lies in supposing that because the Spaniards had not such motives to resist the French as we happily possess, therefore they had no motives whatsoever;—or in judging of the strength of the motives to resistance by our own feelings and habits, and not by the feelings and habits of the Spaniards.

The government of this country, those connected with it, and those who make a point of always perceiving wisdom and foresight in its plans, were the most sanguine in their hopes that Spain would rescue itself from the yoke of Bonaparte. It may, at first sight, appear uncandid to allege that in this prediction they proceeded without comprehensive or rational grounds: and perhaps if the assertion was applied to all the government party it would be uncandid; but when we recollect that the government of this country, ever since the commencement of the

first

first revolutionary war, have eagerly enlisted in the service of any power who would oppose France; and have even stimulated many powers to resistance who were by no means inclined or in a condition to go to war; and that they have in all cases, even the least promising of success, indulged in fond hopes, that the period of the conquest of France was now at last approaching; we may without a breach of candour suppose that the news of the Spanish revolution was hailed by them, without minutely inquiring into its probable consequences, as the forerunner of the decline of Bonaparte.—That any nation was disposed to resist his power was with them a sufficient reason to assist that nation; and to indulge again in those dreams of success, from which they have been often awakened by the crash of those thrones which they had goaded to war and destruction.

But it must be allowed, that the British ministry in the case of the Spanish revolution, held out better founded reasons of hope than they had generally done when they determined to assist any nation against France. The reasons, on the strength of which they indulged the hope that the Spaniards would ultimately succeed, though they did not absolutely warrant so fortunate an issue, justified the belief and expectation, that in subduing the Spaniards Bonaparte would meet with more losses and difficulties, and experience a more obstinate and protracted resistance, than he had ever done before. In the first place, they pointed out an essential and most important difference between the Spanish war and the former wars with France. In Spain the war was with the people; it was a war of their own seeking; a war which they had begun, not only without the instigation of their leading men, but in a great degree without their knowledge and against their inclination. In this war, therefore, the whole population or the greater part of it would be actively hostile against the French: they might either be organized with regular armies fit to meet their enemies in the field; or they might continue in their accustomed character, and by continually harassing the French, cutting off their small and straggling parties, and intercepting their provisions,—injure them more than if they were formed into a regular army and a single mass. In the latter case, their success must mainly depend on the activity, the skill, and above all, on the patriotism of their leaders:—in the former case, acting in small bodies they depended more on themselves for success. In former wars Bonaparte, when he conquered the regular armies, conquered the country: the people looked on almost as indifferent spectators to the issue of the battle; and the battle, if decidedly favourable to the French, invariably produced submission, because the defeated sovereign conceived peace was the only means left to secure him from absolute ruin: his personal fears decided the fate of his country. In Spain, however, it was contended by ministers and those who augured well of the cause of the Peninsula, that the case would be widely different: the people must be subdued; not merely the armies defeated in battle: Bonaparte must calculate upon the resistance of the one as well as that of the other. A large army might defeat any force Spain could muster; but a large army could act with very little effect against numerous bands of peasantry, appearing

ing or disappearing—attacking or retreating, just as they found it advantageous to their cause; who could always act against part of the French army, but against whom it would be extremely difficult for the French army to act.—Besides, if the Spaniards were defeated, there was no individual whose personal fears or interest would lead him to sue for peace: *they* had declared and commenced war; and on them alone its continuance depended: they had not gone forth to battle at the command of any sovereign, at whose command they were bound or expected to lay down their arms:—their own feelings and wrongs had made them soldiers; and while they existed, their opposition to the French and defence of their country would endure.

In the second place, ministers and those who augured favourably of the cause of the Peninsula, pointed out the nature of the country which was the seat of war. Intersected in various directions and in various parts with lofty mountains, not insulated but forming a regular chain, with scarcely any intermediate passage; it seemed peculiarly favourable to a protracted resistance, and to a desultory mode of warfare. The enemy might gain possession of one part of the country, and be totally unable to penetrate any further; while the peasantry, from their mountain dwellings, might harass and weaken him excessively. When the Moors invaded and conquered the greatest part of the Peninsula, the Christians took refuge in the mountains of Gallicia; from which not all the efforts of their invaders for several hundred years were able to drive them: and at length from these mountain retreats the lawful inhabitants came down and regained possession of their native land.

Admitting therefore that the Spanish armies were totally unable to cope with Bonaparte, not merely at the commencement of the revolution, but even after it had continued for a considerable length of time,—that in these armies were to be seen the imbecility and treachery of their officers and of those in whom had been vested the temporary government; still the great mass of the population, occupying such a country as the Peninsula is, would, it was urged, be invincible. The French armies had indeed great skill and experience; but their skill and experience had been gained in a different mode of warfare; they were, therefore, but little applicable to a Spanish war, such as this promised to be. The French armies had been accustomed to rapid conquest; to operations on a bold and large scale; to meet their enemy in the open field and in full force. In Spain their conquests, if they achieved them, must be slow and difficult, and attended with none of that splendour and glory which they had reaped at Jena or Austerlitz. There every circumstance had a tendency to fill the mind of the French soldier with martial feeling and pride: a large and regular army opposed to them, whose defeat must be achieved by military skill and prowess:—in Spain they were opposed to an irregular mass, against whom their skill and experience would avail little; in the defeat of whom there could be little glory, little opportunity of discovering that they were conquerors of half of Europe; but in being worsted by whom there would be great disgrace. And besides there being nothing splendid in the Spa-

nish war;—nothing great and decisive;—nothing which accorded with the general character of the French soldiers; it promised them comparatively little plunder, while it was sure to expose them to great danger and fatigue.

Such is a summary of the predictions which were uttered at the commencement of the Spanish revolution, and of the facts and arguments by which each party endeavoured to establish the claim of their own predictions to superior sagacity and foresight. Nearly three years have elapsed; the Peninsula is not conquered; nor are the French driven beyond the Pyrennees. What are the principal and leading causes which have prevented the French on the one hand from conquering the Peninsula; and the Spaniards on the other hand from liberating their country from the presence and tyranny of a French sovereign and a French army: and how far do these causes resemble in their nature or the mode of their operation those which it was predicted would operate?

The state of the Peninsula is simply and shortly this. The armies of Bonaparte, almost in every instance in which they are opposed to the Spanish armies, are successful. The latter appear to gain little skill or experience: their organization and discipline appear scarcely to have improved since the commencement of the revolution: they still have every feature which characterizes an army little accustomed to warfare, and where courage has not become an habitual principle or feeling. Occasionally they behave with great bravery, and defeat bodies of men equal to themselves in numbers: shortly afterwards the same troops will fly, almost at the sound of their own cannon, before a very inferior foe. Their officers do not appear to have benefited more than the soldiers by a warfare of three years duration. We must either suspect their patriotism, or acknowledge that they have neglected those opportunities of perfecting themselves in military skill and experience, which such constant warfare must have afforded. Among the general officers there is the same want of mutual understanding and support which marked their conduct at first; or they actually disagree amongst themselves. These circumstances will account for the defeats of the Spanish armies: but there are other circumstances which injure the cause, so far as it is a cause depending upon a regular army and a regular mode of warfare. Those in whose hands the œconomy, the mechanism, and the support of the armies are placed, are either not true to their country, or not qualified by talents for the situation they hold. Most of the provincial juntas, the supreme junta, and even the cortes, have done little for the cause of their country, even so far as it depended on the armies; and still less for it, in so far as it depended upon the people. Another circumstance must be noticed, which has operated considerably against the Spanish armies; that is, the dislike they have to British assistance and co-operation: hence, in almost every action where the armies of the two nations have been engaged, the Spaniards have afforded no effectual assistance; in some cases their presence has even been injurious to the common cause.

Such, shortly, are the circumstances which have kept the Spanish armies and the Spanish cause, so far as it depended upon those armies, from advancing. But Bonaparte,

naparte, though he conquered their troops, did not conquer the country: a battle decisively in his favour produced scarcely any of the results that he was accustomed to reap.—In Germany, wherever the French armies marched they found or made the inhabitants neutral or obedient; whenever they gained a battle, the remembrance of it kept the population in awe and submission even after they had marched to a distance from the spot. In Spain, on the contrary, the surface that the army covered was tranquil, partly from dread of them, and partly from the effective part of the population having fled; but as soon as they moved out of sight, the country again became hostile to them. Under these circumstances Spain could be held in subjection only by absolutely depopulating it, or by the continued presence in every district of a large and overpowering force.

In this mode of warfare Bonaparte could not possibly adopt his usual military plans: he could not bring his wonderful military powers into play. Instead of marching in one extended and solid mass, he was under the necessity of dividing his armies. The foe existed every where; but in no particular spot in such a state as required or indeed admitted of a regular and comprehensive plan, carried into execution by the movements and operations of a large force. In Germany the French army moved on to its grand object, unweakened by division:—that object, the defeat of the grand army of the enemy, being accomplished, every thing was achieved. In Spain on the other hand a large undivided force was neither required, as there was no numerous or formidable Spanish army; nor was it practicable, where every spot of ground demanded the presence of troops to keep it in quiet and subjection.

But though Bonaparte from the operation of these circumstances was under the necessitty of altering the plan of warfare which he had usually adopted, and from which he had in a great measure derived his wonderful and unvarying success; yet on examining the conduct of the war in Spain we shall find that he altered it to a greater degree than those circumstances required; and that he also failed to carry into execution the plan he actually pursued with his accustomed promptitude and vigour. In the first place, he divided his armies more than was requisite or necessary; the consequences were, that there was no plan in their measures; no effective or permanent result from their victories. In the second place, he appears to have been completely ignorant of the nature or the degree of the resistance which the people of the Peninsula were capable of making to his troops; and in this ignorance or unbelief he did not provide sufficiently for the wants of his armies. He seems to have imagined not only that they could conquer the country as readily and easily as they had done in Germany and Italy, but that they could draw the necessary supplies with the same facility and in equal abundance. In short, not having been accustomed to meet with an opposing people, at least in such great numbers, and with a country so favourable to their designs, he did not foresee the difficulties he had to encounter. But what is still more extraordinary is, that the experience of three years should not have taught him, that if the Peninsula was to be conquered, it was to be conquered not by the

means which had achieved his former conquests, but by a total change of system, and with much more trouble and delay. Whether Bonaparte thought the conquest of the Peninsula impracticable, or whether he thought it of easy attainment, and promising no high glory, it is difficult to determine; but it is a singular fact, that he never before has been absent from the scene of danger and warfare.

If then we recal to mind the predictions which were indulged in at the commencement of the Spanish revolution, and compare them with the present posture of affairs in the Peninsula, we shall find that neither party were correct in their conjectures. Spain has not been subdued, neither have the French armies been driven beyond the Pyrennees. The Spaniards have not produced those great men, or organized those powerful and well-disciplined armies, which those who were sanguine in their predictions anticipated; and to which they principally looked forward for the expulsion of the French. If we compare them in these respects with the French at the beginning of their revolution, we shall perceive a very wonderful difference:—In France, genius and talents, political and military, sprang up in all parts, and from among all ranks of men; and plans for defence and conquest were formed, not more gigantic in their structure than complete and successful in their execution. In a very few years the French armies had established a just claim to an equality at least with the most renowned troops of the continent. In Spain no talent, either political or military, has hitherto been produced; and their armies are as far distant in point of discipline, skill, or courage, from the armies of their invader, as they were when the revolution broke out in the Peninsula. But the Spanish people has made up for the deficiencies of their armies and for the want of great men. They have not indeed been able to expel the French; but they have prevented the subjugation of their country; and have retarded if they have not actually frustrated the schemes of Bonaparte. They have as much gone beyond the predictions of those who foretold that they would not fight because they had nothing to fight for, as the present state of the Spanish armies has disappointed the expectation of those who augured their organization and consequent victories long before this period.

By comparing the actual state of the Peninsula, at the commencement of the year 1810, with that in which it has been placed almost at any time since the revolution began, we shall find ground for believing that the final and permanent conquest of it is still far distant, if it be at all practicable; that, if it ever be achieved, it will be the conquest of a country rendered desolate and almost stripped of its inhabitants; and that the brother of Bonaparte will reign king of Spain—not king of the Spanish nation. On the other hand, it is difficult to foresee, from contemplating the plans of the Spanish government, so deficient in wisdom and utility; and the little progress made by the Spanish armies in military habits or skill, by what means the French can be totally expelled from the Peninsula. Bonaparte may indeed be tired of the attempt:—he may give it up as hopeless;—he may no longer be able to supply the necessary means of troops and money; and hence he may withdraw his armies:

armies: but unless he do this, we cannot perceive how the Spaniards, or more properly and justly speaking the Spanish government, acting in the manner it has hitherto done, will be able to rescue their country from the presence of the French armies. If Spain is ultimately freed completely and permanently from them, it will be the work of the people, not of the government such as it is now; and it will give a grand and inspiriting lesson how much can be done even by a nation who, in repelling the invading foe, want the noblest and most powerful motive—the experience and the love of liberty.

In our last volume we mentioned the defeat and dispersion of the principal Spanish army under the command of Areisaga: their defeat was as disgraceful and disastrous as any that has occurred since the beginning of the war. They formed the only defence of the southern part of the Peninsula, and occupied the strong passes of the Sierra Morena; of course, after their dispersion, no obstacle lay in the way of the French proceeding to Cordova or Seville. The inhabitants of this part of Spain, trusting to the strong position which their army occupied, were thunderstruck when they heard that it was defeated; that the French had crossed the Sierra Morena, and were on full march towards Cordova and Seville. The populace of every country are naturally disposed to suspect treachery whenever misfortune occurs: it is not to be wondered at therefore that the people of the south of Spain, under these circumstances, thought themselves betrayed, and regarded the supreme junta at Seville as the cause of their misfortune. Against them their fury was directed; but the greater part of them took flight the moment the insurrection commenced, and thus escaped the vengeance of the people.

The grand object of the French after gaining possession of Cordova and Seville was Cadiz; towards it they hastened by forced marches; but fortunately it was saved by the alacrity and generalship of the duke of Albuquerque. At the head of 11,000 men, whom he had collected and saved from the wreck of Areisaga's army, he entered the isle of Leon, and thus rendered it impossible for the French to take Cadiz, unless by the very tedious and uncertain method of blockade. The situation of this place is such, that whoever are masters at sea can protect it from the most formidable attacks by land. We had long kept a large naval force off the harbour; and as soon as it was ascertained that the French were advancing against the city, the English admiral placed his ships in such a manner as to protect it from immediate capture, and at the same time recommended that such of the batteries as commanded the harbour, and were within the reach and the power of the French, should be destroyed. Both the Spanish governor and the people very willingly acceded to the request; and the works were accordingly demolished.

In order that nothing might be wanting on the part of the British government, which might contribute towards the protection and safety of this most important place, several regiments were sent over from this country; and the fortifications were, under the superintendance of British engineers, put in the best condition. At first the French seem to have been very sanguine in their hopes of gaining

possession of the place; they began to erect very strong and formidable works, and carried on their operations on a large scale, and at the same time in a progressive and regular manner. Their expectations were probably confirmed and raised by the result of their first enterprise. Before they could expect to injure or even to reach Cadiz itself with their batteries, it was necessary to silence or to gain possession of Fort Matagorda. This fort was in a very weak and defenceless state; and as there had not been time or opportunity to repair and render it more tenable, no more than about 200 men were put into it. On the morning of the 21st of April the enemy opened their fire upon the gun-boats that were stationed near the fort, and compelled them to abandon their position: immediately afterwards they opened a heavy and destructive fire against the fort itself from six different batteries. At the close of the day a large breach in the escarp of the rampart was effected, and the magazine was completely laid open. In this state the small garrison were able to bring only seven guns to bear against the enemy: with these, however, they silenced one of the batteries. In the course of the second day's attack the fort became a complete ruin; and it was consequently evacuated by order of general Graham, the British commander in Cadiz.

The enemy, however, reaped little benefit from this success; and the history of the siege during the remainder of the year may be told in a few words. The besieging army was under the command of Victor, who found himself exposed to all the difficulties that have beset the French armies since they entered Spain, increased in this case by the peculiar circumstances in which he was situated. Having to conduct the siege of a place naturally of considerable strength, and which was defended in a great measure by British ships, he required a regular and full supply of every thing necessary for such an undertaking: but he found frequently that his force and his attention were called off by the hostile disposition and operations of the inhabitants, who surrounded him on all sides; while his distance from France rendered it almost impossible to procure in sufficient abundance, either the common and regular supplies which his army required, or the particular supplies which the siege demanded. Hence, at one period, the enemy appeared almost to have abandoned the attempt. Shortly afterwards they would resume the construction of their batteries, or throw a few harmless shells into the town. It would have been in vain through the whole of their operations against Cadiz, during the year 1810, to have endeavoured to trace or detect the smallest portion of that activity, promptitude, and vigour, by which all the military proceedings of the French were distinguished prior to the period of their entrance into the Peninsula.

The affairs in Portugal in 1810 were much more important than those in Spain: they were not only more important in themselves, but, as previous and preparatory to what we shall have to record in our next volume, they are uncommonly interesting.

When the revolution in the Peninsula first broke out, few persons turned their conjectures or their hopes on the Portuguese. Nothing was expected from them if the Spaniards were unsuccessful: both the character of the people and the com-

comparatively small extent and nature of their country seemed to forbid the indulgence of such an idea. One thing, however, was in their favour: having been long the allies of the English, they did not look upon them with such averted eyes as the Spaniards did; having frequently received military assistance from them, they did not object to it now. Besides, the regent of Portugal, having been conveyed to his transatlantic dominions by the British, had, as it were, left his European territories under their care: they could, therefore, with more propriety, as well as with more effect, direct the councils and the plans of the Portuguese government. While, therefore, the British cabinet were unable to infuse wisdom or vigour into the supreme or the inferior juntas of Spain, they directed the Portuguese government as they pleased. While the British soldiers, instead of receiving assistance from the Spanish armies, had, in more than one instance, been compelled to fight their battles in their presence, but without their assistance; and while the repeated defeat of the Spanish troops when by themselves, and the constant victories of the British, unsupported as they were, failed to overcome the prejudices of the Spanish government to the plan of placing English officers at the head of their armies; the Portuguese government readily acceded to the plan; and by the unremitted attention of marshal Beresford, in the course of a few months the Portuguese soldiers were worthy of fighting by the side of Britons, and had gained and displayed much more discipline, skill, and courage, than the Spaniards had acquired after the experience of nearly three years.

Besides the force which general Beresford had under him, lord Wellington had incorporated with his army a considerable number of Portuguese troops. His lordship when he was under the necessity of retreating, after the battle of Talavera, seems to have given up all idea of advancing into Spain, and to have determined to direct and confine his operations to the defence of Portugal. To attain and secure this great object, he formed a plan which, though it was not completely developed, nor productive of the beneficial consequences which he expected from it till the beginning of 1811, it is necessary to explain here, in order that his movements during 1810 may be understood and justly appreciated. As the force which this country could send into the Peninsula was necessarily small in comparison with the immense armies of France, and as the Portuguese troops could not at first be expected to be able to equal the British, it was expedient to defend Portugal in that particular spot where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where the means of supplying and increasing his force would be easy to the British general, and proportionably difficult to the enemy. Lord Wellington, either from his own observation or from what is known to have been the plan and intention of Junot, if the convention of Cintra had not taken place, resolved to make his stand at Torres Vedras, within a short distance of Lisbon. In this position every thing would be favourable to him, and adverse to the enemy: it could be made so strong as to be absolutely impregnable: lying near the Tagus, lord Wellington could receive reinforcements or supplies readily

from England; and if it should happen that he was driven from his lines, or found it prudent to abandon them, the vicinity of the river would enable him to embark his army in a short space of time and with little difficulty. On the other hand, the French general in the neighbourhood of Lisbon would be in the very heart of a hostile country, neither disposed nor able to supply his army; and from the nature of the war in the Peninsula, it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to procure the supplies from any great distance. In order, however, to make his defence of the lines of Torres Vedras more effectual and secure; and at the same time to render the situation of the French, if they should advance to Lisbon, more difficult and desperate, lord Wellington determined to retard the progress of the enemy as long as he could without hazarding a general engagement. If he could prevent the French from reaching Torres Vedras till the close of the year, he would gain time to perfect the discipline and to exercise the courage of the Portuguese troops; while at that season the difficulties of the enemy in the vicinity of Lisbon would be greatly increased, and their retreat, if they should resolve on a retreat, would be almost as hazardous as their continuance. In consequence and furtherance of this scheme, lord Wellington with his combined army of British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, advanced at the commencement of the summer to the north-eastern frontiers of the Peninsula. His force consisted at this time of about 30,000 British, and nearly double that number of Spaniards and Portuguese.

Bonaparte on his part was evidently preparing to make a more powerful effort to put an end to the war in the Peninsula than he had ever done since he himself advanced into it. Massena was despatched from Paris to put himself at the head of an army, composed of the divisions of Soult and Ney, and of large reinforcements brought from other parts of Spain and from France. A considerable portion of this army consisted of Germans and Italians, who, attached to the cause of Bonaparte only by dread or by the hope of plunder, seized every opportunity of deserting in a country which was already stripped of every thing valuable, and which held out nothing but a protracted and arduous warfare. The army of Massena has been differently estimated; he himself, in a proclamation he issued to the Portuguese, soon after he took the command of it, rated it at upwards of 100,000 men; but most probably when he advanced into Portugal it did not exceed 70,000.

In the beginning of July the positions of the hostile armies were as follow: A small French corps was posted before Badajos, on the south-eastern frontier of Portugal; this was watched by the Spanish army of Romana, consisting of 9000 men, and by general Hill with about 5000. The grand army of the French, under Massena, was posted before Ciudad Rodrigo, which place he determined to take before advancing into Portugal. The English army under lord Wellington was at the same time at Alverche, three leagues in front of Celerico. It was in five divisions;—the 5th division was denominated light, and consisted of three English regiments and two regiments of Portuguese caçadores, or marksmen. Each division had attached to it some Portuguese regiments, with one

one or two English officers in them; and in such excellent order in point of discipline, that it was reasonably expected they would not disgrace their companions in arms.

The first division of the army, under general Spencer, was at Celerico:—the 2d, under general Hill, at Portalegre:—the 3d, with general Cole, was cantoned at Guarda:—the 4th, under general Picton, was at Pinhel:—and the light division, under general Crawford, was advanced close up to the French army at Ciudad Rodrigo.

Massena carried on the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo with great activity; at the same time doing every thing in his power to tempt or provoke lord Wellington to advance and hazard a general engagement for the relief of the place: but his lordship was immoveable: he did every thing he could to protract the siege, or to relieve or assist the besieged, short of exposing his army to a general battle, and thus departing from the plan he had laid down. The garrison defended themselves with great bravery; and did not surrender till the fortress was no longer defensible. As soon as the French general had taken Ciudad Rodrigo, he advanced to the siege of Almeida; lord Wellington slowly retiring before him, and occasionally opposing his progress. This necessarily gave rise to several partial actions; in all of which, particularly in one, where general Crawford was engaged, the British troops proved their great superiority to the enemy.

Almeida, either from treachery or from the accident of one of its magazines having blown up, did not offer such a brave or protracted resistance as was expected, or as it was deemed capable of making. The consequence of its capture was, that Massena advanced further into Portugal; and lord Wellington slowly retired before him; taking the road by Coimbra. His lordship had well considered every part of the country where he could make a stand, in such a manner as to harass and retard the enemy, without the risk of being forced to a general engagement. He thus hoped at the same time to draw the enemy further from their supplies, into the heart of a hostile country; and to weaken him by partial actions as he advanced; while he himself was falling back on his supplies and reinforcements. In order that the French might derive as little as possible from the resources of the country, lord Wellington issued a proclamation, calling upon the Portuguese to resist the invaders, and to obstruct as much as possible their advance into the interior of the kingdom, by removing out of their reach every thing that might contribute to their subsistence or to facilitate their progress.

After the fall of Almeida, lord Wellington continued his retreat to the *left* of the Mondego river; but having thought it practicable to protect Coimbra, and by the same movement to perplex and retard the enemy, he again crossed the Mondego, and took up his position on the Sierra de Busaco. This Sierra is a high ridge, which extends from the Mondego in a northerly direction about eight miles. The enemy attacked this position on the 27th of September, with two corps under Ney and Regnier; the one advancing against the right, and the other against the left of the highest point of the Sierra. The division under Ney reached the summit; but they were instantly driven down again, with immense

mense slaughter, at the point of the bayonet, by the 88th and 45th, British regiments and the 8th Portuguese. The 6th corps of the enemy, in three divisions, endeavoured at the same time to gain the summit on the left of the British army. Only one division made any progress towards the attainment of their object, and it was immediately driven down with great loss by a body of our troops, consisting of three British and one Portuguese regiments: the second division of the 6th corps was repulsed principally by a brigade of Portuguese reserve: the third division appears not to have met with even a partial and temporary success.

The enemy were thus repulsed with very great loss in their attempt to drive us from the Sierra de Busaco, and thus to open a passage for his further advance into Portugal: but he accomplished by a manœuvre what he could not effect by force. On the evening of the 28th, lord Wellington observed the French army withdrawing from their position, and silently creeping round the northern edge of the Sierra: they had already reached Avelans, on the high road to Coimbra, two days after the engagement. The British general had foreseen this, and had given orders to colonel Trant, who commanded the Portuguese militia, to occupy Sardao, in order to prevent it: but from some cause, not well explained, colonel Trant had gone round by Oporto. In this situation, lord Wellington, in order to prevent his army from being cut off from Coimbra, or from being compelled to a general action on less favourable ground, was under the necessity of quitting Busaco, and retreating again to the left bank of the Mondego. The conduct of the French general in this attack it is not easy to understand, or to explain, consistently with his known and acknowledged talents: he made a desperate attack on troops posted on a lofty and strong eminence, for the purpose of accomplishing that which it appears might have been effected with less trouble and no loss by the movement he afterwards made.

Massena appears to have been so perfectly convinced that the retreat of lord Wellington was for the purpose of embarking at Lisbon; and that his sole object ought to be immediate and close pursuit, that he abandoned his wounded at Coimbra, with little or no protection; and advanced without waiting to form and establish regular magazines. This conduct too appears unaccountable: Massena must have known of the strong position of Torres Vedras, which Junot had meant to have occupied, if the convention of Cintra had not taken place. He had been sufficiently long in Portugal to have had personal experience of the hostility of the Portuguese nation; and that, through this hostility, he would not only be unable to draw much from the country, but that his supplies and reinforcements coming from Spain would be liable to interruption and capture. The season of the year too was adverse to him and favourable to lord Wellington; he could not bring up his heavy artillery, and therefore could not attack the lines of Torres Vedras: while on the other hand, if, on his advance to Lisbon, he found the position of lord Wellington impregnable, he must continue there during the whole of the winter and rainy season, his army exposed to sickness and desertion, and at a distance

stance from supply or assistance. The only mode of accounting for Massena's advance towards Lisbon, under these circumstances, is by supposing that he thought it possible lord Wellington meant to abandon Portugal; and that he was driven on, in some measure, contrary to his own judgement, by the taunting letters which it is known he received from Bonaparte; accusing him of delay and unwillingness to fight; and calling upon him to drive the English army, so inferior to his own, out of Portugal.

As soon as Massena advanced near enough to Torres Vedras to reconnoitre the British lines, he must have been convinced that he could not attack them with the least prospect of success. They were naturally very strong; and labour and art had been brought to assist their natural strength. The line extended from Alhandra on the right to Mafra on the left, forming a distance of about thirty-five miles, flanked on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Tagus. "This line is protected by nature by a range of mountains, through which there are four roads to Lisbon, formed by a hollow space between the mountains, by which they are completely commanded, and on which have been erected a long range of batteries." Besides, in many places the roads were undermined, and trains laid. The British army, which occupied these lines, was divided into four bodies; each guarding one of the passes of the mountains. It consisted of 35,000 fighting men; besides 25,000 regular Portuguese troops; 40,000 militia of that nation, and about 10,000 Spaniards. The French army could not, when they reached the vicinity of Torres Vedras, consist of more than 60,000 men, harassed, fatigued, much straitened for provisions, and many sick. The Germans and Italians were continually deserting; and the foraging parties were daily cut off either by the armed peasantry, or by the Portuguese militia in their rear under the command of Trant and Silviera.

When these circumstances were known in England, the destruction of Massena's army was regarded as inevitable; and the period was eagerly anticipated, when want of provisions would compel him either to attack the British lines, or to commence his retreat. Either it was supposed must be fatal. It was indeed possible, that he might receive supplies and reinforcements from Spain; but the state of the roads, the season of the year, and above all the continued hostility of the people, rendered their arrival very doubtful. It was known that he could not for many weeks convey intelligence to Paris of the battle of Busaco; and that the messengers he employed on this and other occasions, he was under the necessity of guarding through Portugal with a large body of troops. Besides, it was not easy to conjecture from what quarter he could derive reinforcements or supplies: the French armies were scarcely equal to the difficulties and opposition they met with in every part of the Peninsula.

Massena, however, contrary to the expectation of the British nation, and contrary it would seem to the expectation and conjectures of lord Wellington, kept his position in front of Torres Vedras long after his army was said to be literally and actually starving. At length, on the 14th of November he left his position: on the morning of the following

following day the allied army broke up and followed the march of the enemy, firmly hoping that the time was now arrived for his destruction. Massena retreated to Santarem, where he made a stand; and when the new position he took up there was examined, it was found to be so strong by nature and art, that it would have been madness to have attacked him in it. Lord Wellington therefore contented himself with fixing his head-quarters at Cartaxo, and watching the further movements and operations of the French; and in these positions the two armies remained at the close of the year.

CHAPTER XIX.

Spanish Affairs—Weakness of the Supreme Junta—Lord Wellesley's Remonstrance on their Proceedings—recommends the early Meeting of the Cortes—Instructions for choosing the Cortes—their Meeting, and Proceedings on the Liberty of the Press—Decree on that Subject—Remarks on it—Proceedings of the Cortes on Spanish America—New Regency appointed—Marquis del Palacio refuses the Oath—Proceedings of the Cortes on that Subject—Affairs of the Spanish Colonies.

IN determining the probable issue of the contest in Spain, so far as it depends upon the Spaniards themselves, perhaps a cool and comprehensive view of what has actually taken place would lead us to this conclusion: That while the disposition and the exertions of the people continue to be such as they have hitherto been, Bonaparte will not be able to gain possession of the Peninsula; but that, on the other hand, while the Spanish government, and the Spanish leading men, both in council and in war, continue to act as they have hitherto done, the French armies will not be driven completely and permanently beyond the Pyrennees. We by no means think that the Spanish provisional government, by abolishing what in this country would be deemed intolerable hardships, and certain proofs of slavery, would materially increase the number or the energy of the opponents of the French. Some, however, of the middling ranks in Spain, men neither sunk into ignorance, superstition, or habits of slavery, like the mass of the people, nor, like the higher classes, afraid of making use of that mass to expel their invaders, would undoubtedly come forward with more zeal and effect, if what they deem abuses and imperfections in the laws and constitution were abolished. But the great advantage which would be derived from a wise and efficient government (to which revolutionary Spain has hitherto been a stranger) would be, that the mass of the people, such as they are, inveterate against the French, not perhaps from the purest or most enlightened motives, would be directed and enabled to use their efforts to the best advantage. System would be given to their operations; and consequently

consequently they would terminate in effects more permanently and generally beneficial to the common cause than they have yet done. The armies, however, would reap the greatest advantage from a radical change in the character of the provisional government: they would gain more discipline, be better officered, and gradually advance to an equality in point of courage and success with the troops of France.

It was an extremely difficult and delicate thing for the British government to interfere in the organization or the principles of the Spanish government. As there could be no doubt of our well-wishes and zeal for the cause in which the Peninsula was engaged, there could be no impropriety in suggesting such alterations in the mode of conducting the war, as our cabinet thought would be beneficial. We might perhaps even go further: and if we could fully and satisfactorily trace the want of success in the Spanish armies to radical defects in the government; we did not go beyond propriety in pointing out the causes and requesting that they should be removed. But merely as allies,—and while only the common cause was suffering, it was scarcely proper that we should add remonstrance to our advice: when, however, the defects in the organization of the Spanish armies led our troops into danger, or snatched away the fruits of that victory which British valour and skill had gained; and when that defective organization could be distinctly traced to the government, we were perfectly justified in adding remonstrance to advice; and in pointing out those defects, upon the removal of which our future co-operation entirely depended.

The marquis of Wellesley, therefore, while he was ambassador at Seville, considered it as his duty to write an official letter to the secretary of the supreme junta, repeating what he had frequently before urged, on "the necessity of strengthening and amending the frame of the government, by concentrating the executive power in a more compact form, and by resting that power on the direct support of the collective wisdom of the nation, and on the immediate aid of a due representation of the several states of the realm." He remarks that he had also pointed out the causes which had rendered vain and fruitless the efforts of the British in the last campaign; and the only practicable means of enabling Spain to derive and enjoy that species of assistance which she most anxiously desired. In consequence of this representation, the supreme central junta determined to delegate the military branch of the executive power to a committee of seven of its members. Lord Wellesley very justly remarks upon this proposed arrangement, that it would be weakening instead of concentrating and strengthening the executive power; that it would take away activity and vigour from what already was deficient in these qualities. Its effects upon the organization and success of the armies would be prejudicial; they had failed, because there was no unity in the councils which directed them; and certainly their failure was much more likely to be increased than removed, when that part of the executive which was hereafter to superintend them, was not only separated from the other branches of the government, but split into parts.

Another part of lord Wellesley's letter

letter referred to the meeting of the cortes; a measure which the junta had long and frequently promised to adopt, but the execution of which they had always delayed under some vague and frivolous pretext. There is great manliness in the following passage of the letter; and the sentiments which it breathes, as well as the language in which they are expressed, are so creditable to the noble marquis, and so different from those which his general character, and the spirit of his government in India, would have led us to expect, that justice to him, not less than the merit of the passage itself, induces us to give it in his own words. "The intention of assembling the cortes was announced in the month of May 1809. It will be difficult to persuade the world, that all the necessary regulations, with a view to that important event, might not have been completed before the month of March 1810." (The period the supreme junta had fixed). "I am well aware of the absolute necessity of preparing the principal rules and orders for the regular dispatch of business before that assembly shall meet; but it would have been highly desirable that the utmost degree of expedition should have been used in calling the aid of the cortes to support the executive government in the great work of delivering the Spanish nation from the French usurpation, and of restoring the independence of the monarchy, together with the prosperity and happiness of the people. These objects are inseparable from the interests of the alliance: and it is therefore with the deepest regret that I witness any course of proceedings tending to procrastinate those improvements in the condition of Spain, which alone can enable her to receive the auxiliary armies of Great Britain."

Lord Wellesley then adverts to the plan which he had submitted to the supreme junta; according to which, every branch of the executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a council, of not more than five persons, to be chosen either from the body of the junta, or from the nation at large, with references exclusively to the character and qualifications of the persons to be elected. This council of regency was to exercise the executive power till the cortes were assembled: every exertion was to be made to expedite the meeting of the cortes: a deliberative council was to be formed, for the purpose of selecting and preparing such business as it might be proper to bring before the early consideration of the cortes. "The same act of the junta by which the regency shall be appointed and the cortes called, shall contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of exactions in Spain and the Indies, and also the heads of such concessions to the colonies as shall fully secure to them a full share in the representative body of the Spanish empire." The last head of the plan which marquis Wellesley submitted to the junta, was, that the regency, as soon as ever they met, should immediately issue the necessary orders for correcting the whole system of the military department in Spain. This plan was given in on the 8th of September 1809: and the junta fixed the meeting of the cortes for the 1st of March 1810! On the other points they were not more yielding to lord Wellesley's representations: nor did the withdrawing of British assistance, unless they altered their measures

measures and system, which was very strongly hinted at in his letter, appear to give them the least apprehension. A strong suspicion of disaffection, or at least coolness, to the cause of their country, hangs over all who have yet directed the councils of Spain, and most who have headed her armies; which suspicion; if it should be found that there are no grounds for it, must be consequently changed into a thorough contempt for their abilities.

Early in the year 1810, the instructions to be observed in the election of deputies to the cortes were published. The object and purpose of the assembling of the cortes is first set forth: on it was declared to depend the successful termination of the contest, in which the people of Spain were engaged with Bonaparte for the salvation of their country; the restoration of their "beloved sovereign;" and the re-establishment of an ameliorated constitution worthy of the Spanish nation. The general rules by which those qualified to send members to the cortes ought to proceed, are sufficiently simple and common-place: the interest of individuals is not to be preferred to the interest of the nation at large: no person destitute of talent, or in other respects not qualified for the situation, ought to be chosen; nor ought the people to view the business as of such subordinate and trifling moment as to deem any person qualified to fill the situation of member to the cortes. The supreme junta, from whom these instructions proceeded, seems to have dreaded most, however, lest any friends to anarchy or revolution, or any disposed to abuse the power committed to them, should have been returned. If in this description they adopted the literal and just meaning of the words, the advice was good; but if under them they ranged and included all who were anxious and determined to remove grievances, and really to ameliorate the constitution of Spain and the condition of the inhabitants, they sought to render ineffectual the grand and only desirable object of the meeting of the cortes. Indeed the extreme and shuffling backwardness which they manifested towards issuing the proclamation for the assembling of the cortes; their own conduct, marked and distinguished by any thing except an enlightened and liberal love of their country or regard to the liberties of their fellow-citizens, unavoidably raised a suspicion, that the members of the cortes, when at last assembled, would not, so far as depended upon them, be of much service or utility to the nation.

The instructions were divided into six chapters. In the first chapter it is directed that parochial and district juntas should be assembled through the medium of the justices, for the purpose of nominating electors. These electoral provincial juntas are to appoint a deputy to the cortes, in the proportion of one to every 50,000 inhabitants, estimating the population according to the census which was taken in 1787: an additional deputy is to be allowed and chosen in every province which contains 25,000 inhabitants more than that number. In the 10th article of the first chapter, a statistical table of Spain is given, from which it appears that the population is rated at 10,534,985; consequently the number of effective deputies would be 208: besides this regular number, 68 supplemental deputies were to be returned

ed to serve in the cortes in case of death. It is directed that in the choice of deputies, those shall be preferred, who, *ceteris paribus*, are able to serve their country at their own charge. A sum was however fixed for the deputies of 120 reals a day, while they were in actual attendance; 40 reals for the electors of districts; and 80 for the parochial electors.

The second chapter orders that the parochial juntas shall choose one elector each to repair to the electoral junta for the district. Every inhabitant who is a householder (including the secular clergy) is to have a vote in the choice of these electors. The exceptions are foreigners, persons under criminal prosecution, those who have suffered a criminal or infamous punishment, bankrupts, debtors to the public, and such as are insane, or deaf and dumb. At the parish meeting each individual is to declare openly and audibly, the person qualified by law, whom he thinks best suited for the office of parochial elector; and the twelve persons who stand highest on the list are to choose the electors for the districts.

The third chapter applies the regulations contained in the preceding one, to the appointment of a deputy to the provincial electoral assembly; the only difference being, that any person resident in the district, even though he is not a member of that body, may be chosen.

By the fourth chapter it is ordered, that in the provincial electoral juntas the votes are to be given in succession *vivâ voce*. After each elector has declared whom he thinks best qualified to be a deputy, the secretary is to read over the lists; and whoever has the greatest number of votes, provided that number exceed half the electors, is to be capable of being balloted for as a deputy. When three persons are thus chosen, one out of the number is to be elected by ballot as the deputy to the cortes. This process is to be continued of choosing three by *vivâ voce* declaration, and one out of these three by ballot, till the number of deputies which the population of the district requires are chosen. Every person born in the district, having reached the age of twenty-five years, and not being a menial servant, is eligible as a member of the cortes.

In the 5th and 6th chapters each of the superior juntas of observation and defence, and each of the cities which had votes when the cortes were last assembled in 1789, are empowered to send one deputy; conducting the election according to the rules prescribed in the preceding chapters.

From this sketch of the manner in which the members of the cortes were directed to be chosen, it is evident that it is founded on the principles laid down in the first French constitution. The parishes elect the members who are to represent them in the district assemblies; these elect the representatives to the provincial meetings; and the last choose the deputies to the cortes. It was intended, that the cortes should assemble in Seville; but as the French had gained possession of that city before the deputies were all chosen, the isle de Leon was fixed upon as the place of their meeting. They first assembled towards the end of September. Don Ranon Dou, the deputy for Catalonia, was named as their president: a man of considerable political and literary talents; particularly known and distinguished as the author of a work

a work on the "Public Law of Spain." Don Evarista Perez de Castro, deputy for the province of Valladolid, was appointed secretary. In their first sittings, after the necessary preliminary business was gone through, Capmany moved some very strong resolutions against such members, who, while they had a seat in the cortes, should accept of any place or office. Another measure still stronger, and which held out hopes and a promise of energy and patriotism, which were but very inadequately and miserably fulfilled by their subsequent conduct, was a resolution, carried by a large majority, that all members, till a year had expired after their functions as deputies had ceased, should be disqualified from accepting of any office. This certainly seems to indicate considerable self-denial and patriotism; but the wisdom and policy of the measure may justly be doubted: that it is liable to great abuse, no one will doubt who recollects the 'self-denying ordinance' in Cromwell's time; and it may even be laid down as a measure which, by depriving the country of the services of good as well as bad subjects, of men who have proved themselves worthy of her service, and capable and willing to serve her, as well as of those who in what they did manifested a total want of talent or patriotism, is as likely to cut off from the nation her best friends as her enemies.

In the sitting of the 27th of September Arguelles called the attention of the cortes to a most important subject, namely, the political liberty of the press; he did not wish that a discussion respecting the propriety or advantage of establishing the liberty of the press in Spain should be immediately gone into: on such a point they ought to proceed slowly, and with due deliberation and caution; but he thought a committee should be appointed, "which, taking into consideration all that has already been written on this important subject, might examine and investigate the question, and submit to the cortes the result of their labours and their reflections; as well as point out the manner in which it might appear to them that the political liberty of the press might be fixed." This motion was most strongly and eloquently supported by Torrero, an ecclesiastic: he painted in glowing and animated terms the evils which Spain had already suffered from a controlled press; and the real and substantial benefit which she must unavoidably derive from the establishment of a free press. He reprobated the conduct of the central junta on this subject: their criminal silence and mysterious conduct had not only given great offence and created considerable suspicion, but it had discredited them from the first moment of their institution. The people, believing that nothing good could proceed from them, did not feel disposed to second any measures they resolved upon, which were really conducive to the welfare of the country. They became quite indifferent to their proceedings. But no truth could be more evident than this, that it was not only the right but the duty of the people to interest themselves about the proceedings of their representatives; to watch their language and their conduct narrowly and strictly. How could they do this, unless that language and that conduct were known to them; unless they were permitted to give utterance without any restraint to their observations and opinions on the measures of their representatives; in

short, unless the political liberty of the press was established on the broadest and firmest basis? Public opinion ought to be consulted, even in cases where it might not be wise or safe to follow it; but how could the opinion of the public be known, if the press were under restraint? The press, being its echo, could not be preserved too pure or free.

The motion was opposed by only a very few members; and a committee was appointed, consisting of eight deputies, among whom were Arguelles, Perez de Castro, Palacios, and Hermida.

In the sitting of the 28th of September, some interesting discussion took place respecting the American colonies. A plan with regard to the mode of transmitting to them the decrees which had been already passed, had been referred to a committee. At this sitting the committee produced a sketch of four decrees, in which, after pointing out and enforcing the rights which had been declared, even by the late government, to belong to the Spaniards in America, namely liberty and citizenship, they demanded that no inquiries should be instituted respecting the disturbances which had lately taken place there; since, in every measure they had adopted, the Spanish Americans had acted not from the desire of separating themselves from the mother country, but on the idea that Spain was no longer free, but ruled over by the enemy. It was therefore only just that a general amnesty should be granted; and that the Spanish Americans, not having forfeited their privileges by any misconduct, should possess the same right of electing deputies which the people in Spain did; that the right should not only be the same in nature but also in extent; that is, that one deputy should be returned to the cortes for every 50,000 inhabitants, including in this number not only the castes, but all such as were freemen. The member for Lima expressed a wish to pass these decrees immediately, and for that purpose that they should be read twice during that sitting. This however was strongly opposed by several members, and the decision was postponed.

The discussion respecting the liberty of the press was resumed in several meetings before it was finally settled. It met with considerable opposition from many members; and the sentiments which they uttered, and the arguments which they used, were by no means such as could have been expected, even in Spain, at the beginning of the 19th century. A proposal was even made to refer the question to the decision of the holy inquisition. It is, however, but just to remark, that in the speeches and conduct of several of the members who supported the affirmative side of the question, are to be found not only great firmness and perseverance, notwithstanding the obloquy and suspicion to which they exposed themselves,—but such noble and comprehensive viéws as would not have disgraced the first men in the most enlightened and freest country in Europe.—After it had been almost unanimously agreed that the point of the political liberty of the press had been sufficiently discussed a question arose, whether the voting should be public or secret. The latter was recommended, on the plea that thus there would be more liberty; a plea which would have equally justified secret voting on every occasion, and which, if examined, will be found not less weak and groundless than suspicious.

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The observations of Luxan, the vice-president, were very just and magnanimous on this subject: he observed, that it was the wish of the Spanish nation that they should be all heroes:—that it required firmness and constancy, not only in those who were in favour of the liberty of the press, but in those who were against it:—that the nation would look with the same aspect upon those who heroically gave their votes for the liberty of the press, as upon those who with virtue and constancy voted against it; since both acted equally from a sense of duty, and were regarded with equal confidence by the Spanish nation. This question was then put, and it was almost unanimously decided that the voting should be public. On the 19th of October, the cortes proceeded to vote respecting the liberty of the press: every deputy was called upon by name to give his opinion in an audible voice. When the votes were counted, it appeared that the "political liberty of the press" was carried by 70 votes against 32:—of the minority, nine were not against the measure positively, but only against its adoption at present.

The council of regency had long given dissatisfaction to the nation at large: they took scarcely any measures which were in the least calculated to recruit the armies, or to repair the disasters which had befallen them. Every thing about their conduct was feeble, languid, and inefficient: the circumstances of the country demanded and required men of a very opposite character; men whose minds would be continually on the alert,—who possessed talents and experience, and who would bring them forth whenever they were needed. It was therefore necessary to dissolve the regency, and to appoint a new executive power. The new executive consisted of three members; Ajar, who was appointed president, Blake, and Ciscar:—as however the first two were then absent, and for the purpose of supplying the place of any of the members in case of indisposition, two supplementary members were chosen, senior Puig, and the marquis del Palacio. On the 28th of October, such of the members of the new regency as were in the isle de Leon attended the meeting of the cortes, to take the prescribed oaths. On this occasion the marquis del Palacio wished to take the oath, "without prejudice to the oath which he had previously taken to Ferdinand VII." At first it was supposed that the marquis was not acquainted with the form, and it was repeated to him: he however persisted in the addition; saying that he did not refuse to take the oath, but that the words which he had added were necessary to quiet his conscience. More indignation was excited by this behaviour than it seemed to call for; and the marquis was treated with a rigour and harshness which could scaree have been exceeded had he declared himself a traitor to Ferdinand VII. A short and stormy discussion took place;—the marquis was sent to prison, and another member, the marquis de Castlear, elected to supply his place. A short time afterwards, Palacio, in consequence of an application to the president, was released from prison, on condition of remaining at his own house in close arrest.

Soon after the cortes had come to the vote that the press should be free, they issued a decree on the subject. This decree it may be necessary to examine with consider-

able minuteness, as thus only we shall be able to appreciate justly what benefit Spain is likely to derive from a free press, or rather what is the meaning and amount of these terms. The preamble to the decree is ample in its promises, and lays down a principle, which, if carried to its just conclusions, would produce the utmost freedom of political discussion. "The general and extraordinary cortes, considering that the individual right of citizens to publish their thoughts and political ideas is not only a barrier to the arbitrary power of those who govern, but also the means of enlightening the nation in general, and the only way of arriving at the knowledge of what is truly the public opinion, have decreed as follows."

The first article revokes all the former regulations and restrictions respecting the press; and declares that all individuals and public bodies shall be at full liberty to print and publish their political ideas, under the conditions subsequently stated in the decree now promulgated. By the 3d article the responsibility for the abuse of the liberty now given is fixed on the authors and printers. The exceptions and limitations to the freedom of the press are enumerated in the 4th article:—defamatory libels, calumnious writings, those subversive of the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and those that are licentious and contrary to public decorum and morals:—laws which shall state the proof and fix the punishment in these cases are afterwards to be prescribed. The 6th article completely excepts from this general freedom of the press, and leaves in all their wonted bondage, all writings on religious subjects. Here we see how abjectly the Spanish nation were under the power of their priests. On political subjects, some liberty is given for the range of thought and the progress of intelligence:—on religion, (if it be not degrading and disgracing religion to give its name to Spanish superstition,) the council of Trent is to be the supreme guide: the censorship, which that council vested in the ecclesiastical ordinaries, is to be continued and exercised in all its rigour.

The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th articles decree, that printers who shall neglect to put their names to the books they print shall be punished, even though they are not included in the list of prohibited works specified in the 4th article:—and those printers who shall print any book without the previous license of the ecclesiastical ordinaries, shall be liable to the fine imposed upon them, besides those penalties which are laid down against any excess in this respect.

In the 13th and following articles we first gain a glimpse of the restraints that are to be put on the press:—and if we consider them attentively, we shall be convinced that the amount of what the Spaniards will gain by this decree is this;—that before the decree no work could be published unless it were previously licensed; whereas by the decree any work may be published, but after publication it is liable to censorship; and the author and publisher, if the work is declared to be contrary to the provisions of the 4th article, may be punished.—Although at first view of the matter it may appear completely indifferent, so far as the liberty of the subject and the cause of truth are concerned, whether there exist a total prohibition to print books of a certain description, or

or on certain subjects, or whether they may be published, but the authors and publishers rendered liable to punishment if their contents should be deemed illegal; yet a little reflection will convince us, that where the former regulation is exchanged for the latter, some progress is made both towards the freedom of the press and the establishment of truth. But there is another more important consideration:— what particular descriptions of works are declared by the laws to be libellous; and on whom does the legal declaration that they are libellous rest? By the 4th article in the Spanish decree the libellous works are enumerated; and probably in the enumeration none are found which ought not to be regarded as prejudicial to the real interests of the state.—But in the 13th and following articles the power of finding a book libellous is put into very unsafe hands. A supreme junta of censorship, consisting of nine individuals, is to reside at the seat of government; and a similar junta, composed of five members, is to be established in the capital of every province. Three of the nine members of the supreme junta, and two out of the five members of the provincial juntas, are to be ecclesiastics. The duty of these juntas is to examine all works denounced to them by the executive power or by separate tribunals: if they declare the work libellous, the judges are to prohibit the sale of it, and punish the author;—the latter however can appeal against the first sentence, and call upon the juntas to revise the work:—if on the second revision they adhere to their first opinion, the law must take its course. The juntas have the power of denouncing and prohibiting private libels; but the aggrieved person must have recourse to the proper tribunal for deciding on them according to the law.

The great objection to the formation of these juntas consists in this: that some of their members are ecclesiastics. As the decree did not alter the law respecting the publication of religious books, there does not appear any good or sufficient reason why, in determining what books may be published on other subjects not connected with religion, ecclesiastics should have been vested with any power. It may indeed be urged, that in the case of the supreme junta, the ecclesiastical members form only one third; and in the provincial juntas, only two fifths:—but on the other hand, though they do not reach a numerical majority, yet, when their great influence is taken into the account, it may justly be doubted whether in many instances they would not be able to carry the majority along with them. What their own individual opinion would be, both on the general question of the freedom of the press and on particular cases of free and undaunted discussion, may fairly be gathered from the character which the ecclesiastics in Spain bear; and from the fact, that in this very decree it is expressly declared, that all writings on matters of religion shall remain subject to the same control they have been under since the council of Trent.

On the whole, though it must be admitted that some progress has been made towards free discussion on political subjects, and consequently towards what is true and beneficial; yet the Spanish press, by this decree, is by no means placed on a footing such as the peculiar state and circumstances of the country demanded, or such as a real and

undaunted regard to the liberty and well-being of the subject would have established. As a first step to an important object, it should be hailed with joy and gratitude; but if no advance is made, the press probably will soon fall into the same degraded condition in which it was previous to the decree. It may be said that the Spanish people were not fit for more liberty on this subject: perhaps there would have been some truth in this remark had they not existed in a revolutionary state, and been engaged in a war for their national independence;—under these circumstances a nation requires, and becomes fit for, greater latitude both of speech and action, than might be proper or useful under their usual and regular condition.

The conduct of the Spanish government towards their colonies, since the commencement of the revolution, has not been marked either by wisdom or justice. In truth, they have in too many instances behaved towards them in the same manner in which Bonaparte treated Spain: instead of endeavouring to conciliate the colonies, and to keep them attached to their mother country during the revolutionary struggle, they manifested unequivocal symptoms of even drawing tighter the bonds in which they had been long kept. There were two circumstances in the colonial legislation of Spain, particularly objectionable to the inhabitants of South America, and at the same time equally prejudicial to the interests of both countries. In the first place, the Spanish colonists were not placed on an equal footing in point of political privileges with the inhabitants of the mother country: and in the second place, the commerce of the colonies was made subservient, not to the real interests of Spain, (for, had they been promoted by the commercial restrictions, the evil would not have been so glaring and galling,) but to the interests of individuals: and indeed in many cases a mean and ignorant jealousy induced Spain to continue commercial regulations, which in every respect and to every person were highly prejudicial.

From these causes the Spanish colonists were rather averse to the mother country during the old government; they naturally therefore looked forward to the revolution as a period which would alter the colonial system; grounding their hopes both on the justice of their own cause, and on what most clearly was the interest of Spain herself, especially under the pressure of the circumstances in which she was then placed. As soon as Bonaparte directed his views to Spain, he dispatched emissaries to her colonies in America, where they soon established a firm and pretty extensive influence. Thus three parties were formed: a French party; a party desirous of separating from the mother country, and of rendering themselves independent; and a party who were still anxious to retain their connexion with Spain and their allegiance to Ferdinand. These three parties had fuller scope for discovering and exerting themselves at Buenos Ayres and its neighbourhood than in any other part of Spanish America. The attack of the English on that city, and the subsequent events, had wrested the power out of the hands of the adherents of Spain; and the success of Liniers on that occasion had given great weight to the French party, to which he was attached. The power of Liniers however

however was not of very long continuance: a patriotic army was formed by the bishop, and after some struggle Liniers was defeated and taken prisoner. A revolutionary junta was afterwards established at Buenos Ayres. Monte Video remained faithful to the mother country; and the natural consequence was a misunderstanding, almost approaching to hostilities, between the inhabitants of these places.

Revolutionary movements and proceedings also took place at Carthagena and Quito, and in the Caraccas, attended with a considerable degree of tumult and some bloodshed. The revolutionists were naturally desirous of gaining the countenance, protection, and assistance of the British government; but our connexion with the mother country forbade and prevented our interference. Few particulars are distinctly and fully known respecting the proceedings or the plan of the revolutionists in South America: nor is it easy to foresee what will be the issue of the contest:—a great number of the inhabitants are still strongly attached to the mother country; and if the cortes were to adopt a policy wise, just, and lenient; if they had a clear view of the real interests both of Spain and her colonies, and acted solely from that view, America might still form part of the Spanish empire.

CHAPTER XX.

Affairs of Sweden—Preliminary Observations—Death of the Crown Prince—Candidates to succeed him—Bernadotte chosen—Sketch of his Life—His Address to the Diet on his Election—Conduct of Sweden towards Great Britain after Bernadotte became Crown Prince—Swedish Declaration of War—Denmark—War between Russia and Turkey—State of Holland—Miserable Condition of its Inhabitants—Louis resigns in favour of his Children—Bonaparte annexes Holland to France—His Reasons for this—Address of Louis on abdicating the Throne—France—Her internal State—Decrees of Bonaparte—respecting Prisons—Servants—and the Press.

OF all the nations on the continent of Europe, Sweden appeared to be placed most beyond the power of Bonaparte. Her local situation, indeed, naturally separated her not only from his ambition, but also took away from her every rational motive of interest to embroil herself in the revolutionary war against France. Pomerania no doubt, not the least fertile and desirable portion of the Swedish monarchy, seemed to connect her with the continent of Europe; but this connexion was so slight and distant, and afforded such feeble opportunities either of extending her dominions in that quarter, or

even of defending the province itself, if attacked by any of the continental states, that a sound and wise policy suggested the advantage or necessity of not embroiling Sweden in any war on its account. The brave and romantic but ill-judging and unfortunate Gustavus, by crossing the Baltic and waging war in Germany, deprived himself of the natural protection which Sweden afforded, and put himself within the reach and the power of France, whose armies, however formidable and successful on the rest of the continent of Europe, would have been harmless against the Swedish monarch, while he continued in Sweden itself. But there were other circumstances highly unfavourable to Gustavus in this contest, and which a prudent and really patriotic monarch would have well weighed before he engaged in such a war: Sweden is ill-calculated for long and protracted warfare. Her inhabitants, indeed, are brave; and their bravery is of that nature which perseveres and struggles against difficulties and disasters, as well as distinguishes itself in active contest: but human nature and human feelings will get the better of the bravest hearts: the Swedish nation perceived their country ground down by famine, poverty, and sickness: no relief presented itself to their aching eyes: no good was anticipated, even as within the reach of possibility, as a reward for their sufferings. The evil was advancing with rapid strides. It was in vain to tell them, that they would be disgraced by making peace with France; what hold has disgrace over the feelings, when misery has possession of the heart? or to picture to them the consequences that would result from being subject to French tyranny: they knew and deeply felt what they actually and at present suffered: the distant evil, though it might possibly be greater, was uncertain. Besides, they were differently situated from the other nations of continental Europe: the latter by peace did not, and could not secure themselves from the power of France: being within the reach of her armies, they were still exposed to her schemes of invasion and conquest. It was not so with Sweden, provided she consented to relinquish Pomerania: and Pomerania it was no longer in her power to retain. By relinquishing this province she no doubt lost one of the most fertile districts of her empire: but, as a balance to this evil, she cut herself off from the power of France; she withdrew herself within the boundaries that nature seemed to have intended for her, and within which she was almost invulnerable.

To a peace, which might be obtained by sacrificing what it was no longer possible or even desirable to retain, and which promised a termination to the wretchedness of the Swedes, Gustavus in vain objected, that he had sworn eternal enmity to France; that, by entering into any negotiation with her, he would be disgraced; and that he would rather fall covered with the ruins of his country than consent to such a proposal. Sweden saw herself thus placed in a most embarrassing and awful dilemma. Her sovereign preferred his glory to the interests of his country: he turned an averted eye from her sufferings and misery; and refused to put an end to them, because he would thus forfeit his word and tarnish his reputation. A monarch more prudent and cool-

minded

minded than Gustavus, would have given up his schemes when he saw them opposed by the voice of the nation: for what could he expect to achieve with an army composed of men, who were convinced that the war they were engaged in had ruined their country, and that no possibility of its re-establishment existed, till the war was terminated? To continue the war with an exhausted treasury, a people dying around him with famine and pestilence, and a nobility blind to what he deemed glory, but alive to the sufferings of the peasantry, certainly indicated rather obstinacy than wisdom, rather selfishness than patriotism.

The consequences of his perseverance have already been noticed: he was forced from the throne, and his uncle the duke of Sudermania was seated there in his room. Amidst these changes Bonaparte was not idle: though candour and probably strict justice would lead us to believe that the Swedes, in dethroning their monarch, were actuated by the most patriotic motives and views, yet there must have been some among them not unwilling to become the tools of Bonaparte,—nor would the emissaries of the French emperor be at a loss for plausible reasons, by means of which to attach the Swedes to the interest and the views of their master. Although, if he refused to make peace with Sweden, she had only to withdraw her armies from Pomerania and Finland, and to encircle herself within her natural barriers, and thus would be placed beyond his power; yet it was only from him she could expect to recover these provinces, which constituted the most fertile portion of her empire. Russia, too, now subservient to France, though she might not be able seriously to injure her, could threaten her coasts with invasion, or extend the conquests already made in Finland, towards the northern extremity of the gulph of Bothnia. The emissaries of Bonaparte knew how to enlarge on these topics, and to make the most of them; and they thus gradually succeeded in drawing over Sweden to the views and the schemes of their master.

These views and schemes with regard to Sweden were different from those Bonaparte had entertained, and in too great a measure carried into execution, with respect to the other states of the continent. No influence he could establish, nor any number of partisans he could gain in this country, could enable him to conquer it; or even to retain it in continued awe and subserviency, by the introduction of a French army. While Britain remained mistress of the seas, it was in vain for him to hope that he could send across the Baltic troops sufficient to conquer Sweden. His object therefore it was necessary to attain by different means. By subduing the states of Europe, Bonaparte gratifies the two most domineering passions of his heart,—his ambition, and his hatred of England. He extends his power, and his means, and he cuts off this country from the continent. The possession of Sweden might indeed have been gratifying to his ambition; but as this could not be accomplished, at least so directly and openly as he had acquired the possession of other continental states, he devised the means of gaining such an influence there, as would gratify his hatred to Britain, and lead to the accomplishment of his grand scheme

scheme against her revenue and power.

An opportunity of carrying his scheme into effect soon occurred. The crown prince of Sweden died suddenly: and his death was preceded and accompanied with such symptoms and circumstances, as incited in the minds of the people a strong and general suspicion that he had been poisoned. When the corpse of his royal highness was brought to Stockholm, a dreadful riot took place: the mob attacked count Fersen, his supposed murderer, and actually tore him to pieces. In consequence of these events, a proclamation was issued tending to calm the minds of the populace, and measures were adopted to remove their suspicions, by an open and judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of the crown prince. A reward was also offered of 20,000 rix-dollars to those who should bring forward any evidence on this subject. The result of the examination was, that the crown prince had died a natural death: but still his sudden death, the circumstances attending it, and the appearance of the corpse, were too strong and rational causes of suspicion to be done entirely away by any inquiry. Besides, there were other events that strengthened the idea of treachery, and of the influence and exertions of some enemies to Sweden having been employed. The disturbance and riot that took place when the corpse was brought to Stockholm, were conducted in a manner that indicated some regular plan, and were by no means of such a nature as would have sprung merely from the ebullition of public feeling or resentment on the occasion. In a few days however Sweden regained her tranquillity; and the attention and interest of her inhabitants, as well as of a great part of Europe, were fixed on the choice that was about to be made of a successor to the crown prince.

In the beginning of August, the king of Sweden held a secret committee; at which a list was presented containing the names of the king of Denmark, the prince of Augustenberg, the prince of Oldenburg, and of Bernadotte, (the prince of Ponte Corvo,) who were proposed as successors to the throne of Gustavus. To the king of Denmark it was objected, that, being a sovereign and independent prince, he could not, at the same time, hold the inferior office and rank of crown prince; and that to offer him the throne would be rather an insult than a compliment. A letter was then read to the committee from Bonaparte, in which, after condoling with Sweden on the sudden and unexpected death of her crown prince, and expressing the greatest attachment to the interests of that nation, in furthering and securing which all his means should cheerfully be employed, he expressed his hope, that in choosing a successor to the reigning sovereign, they would select a person who possessed similar sentiments and the same strength of mind; that thus Sweden might regain that rank and importance among the nations of Europe, which she had formerly enjoyed. The letter concluded with the express declaration, that however anxious he was for the welfare of Sweden, he should by no means interfere with the election; as he was fully convinced that the enlightened members of the diet were best able to judge, on this important occasion, who was most proper to be their future sovereign. Immediately

ly after this letter was read, one of the members of the committee, proposed the prince of Ponte Corvo: the king and four noblemen voted for him; and thus, as far as depended on the committee, his election was secured by a majority of votes. Before however the choice was complete and legal, it was necessary, according to the Swedish constitution, that the subject should be discussed before each state of the diet; the nobles, the clergy, and the burghers.

On the 18th of August the king proposed the prince of Ponte Corvo to the diet as a proper person to be elected crown prince of Sweden. In his speech on this occasion, after lamenting the unhappy state to which the country had been reduced by a long, expensive, and unfortunate war; and the destruction of their hopes of revived prosperity, which had risen and perished along with the late crown prince; he expressed his satisfaction and pleasure that the voice of his people, coinciding with the dictates of his own judgement, had loudly and unanimously declared in favour of the prince of Ponte Corvo. The character and exploits of this prince, both as a warrior and a statesman, he then expatiated upon at considerable length, and in a style which indicated a greater desire to ingratiate himself with Bonaparte than to adhere strictly to the truth. He had not, however, to take on this important occasion the opinion of the states of the empire, and of the secret committee of the council of state: the latter were unanimously in favour of the prince of Ponte Corvo; and a very great majority of the former declared for him. After a short deliberation of half an hour, the diet unanimously acceded to the recommendation of their sovereign; and thus Bernadotte became crown prince of Sweden.

Of the means that were employed to bring about this event, some must remain beyond the reach of probable conjecture; others are certainly and publicly known; and others may easily be guessed. Bernadotte came openly forward before his election, and promised to repurchase the estates in Pomerania, which, on the conquest of that province, had been bestowed by Bonaparte on his officers; and he also agreed to accommodate the Swedish government with a loan of 330,000 pounds sterling. So far he bought his place. But it may readily and naturally be imagined, that the Swedish nation at large, tired of war, and oppressed with the expense and misery it had occasioned, were either indifferent to what was going on, or, if they did feel an interest in the passing events, saw no reason to disapprove of the election of a man, who from his connexion with Bonaparte would probably preserve them in peace. Among the inhabitants of Stockholm, and the higher classes of people throughout the kingdom, much might be done by means of intrigue and bribery; and Bernadotte was too expert a pupil of his master, to be ignorant of or to neglect any measures of that description, that would tend to secure the attainment of the object he had in view.

The following sketch contains the principal events of his life, till he was elected crown prince of Sweden.

"John Baptiste Bernadotte was born on the 26th of January 1763, at Pau, in Bearn, in the department of the Lower Pyrennees. His father was a lawyer. He enlisted, when he was fifteen years old, embarked

barked soon after in the squadron commanded by M. de Suffrein, and was present at the battle of Candelore in the East Indies.

"On his return to France he rose gradually in the service. The revolution contributed to his advancement. On a trying occasion he rendered signal service to his colonel the marquis d'Ambert. In the army of the north he revenged the death of his friend general Goguet.

"He fought in the army of the Ardennes in 1794, at Montigni-le-tigneux, under the command of generals Marceau and Kleber, when he was appointed general of brigade. After the battle of Fleurus he obtained the rank of general of division. At the siege of Maestricht, the reduction of the fort of Wick was confided to him.

"After the passage of the Rhine in 1795, by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Bernadotte was employed in blockading Mayence on the Cassel side. He was afterwards sent with his division to the Hunsbruck.

"In 1796 his division distinguished itself very much in twice crossing the Rhine. The second passage, which was effected opposite the village of Berndorf, created general astonishment: it will serve as a perpetual proof of the superiority of an enterprising man over an adversary rendered negligent by too much confidence.

"Bernadotte was opposed to the arch-duke Charles at Neumark, at Teiningen, and at Eberach. His division sustained very great loss at Wurtzburg. He was not himself present, on account of illness, at this unfortunate battle, the disasters of which were increased by the dissentions that prevailed among the generals.

"Bonaparte having required reinforcements, general Bernadotte received orders in January 1797 to proceed to Italy, where he arrived about the middle of March. He was engaged in the battle of the Tagliamento. After taking Gradisca, he advanced upon Vienna. Upon the signing of the preliminaries at Leoben, he occupied the Frioul with 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry.

"Peace having been signed at Campo Formio, he was appointed ambassador to Vienna. He proceeded upon this new mission in April 1798. After having been exposed to great dangers, he was under the necessity of quitting the Austrian capital; he returned to France, and was ordered to blockade Philipsburg. His summons to the commander of that fortress is well known.

"In 1799 Bernadotte was appointed minister of war. He was dismissed by the directory under the pretext that he had sent in his resignation, though the fact was never officially made known: Bernadotte should have contradicted this. On the 18th of Brumaire he refused to assist Bonaparte. The hopes of his party being entirely destroyed by the events of that day, he privately withdrew with his wife from Paris, and secreted himself at Chateau-frayé, a country house belonging to general Sarrazin, four leagues from that city.

"Upon the assurances given to Bernadotte by general Sarrazin, that Bonaparte forgot every thing that had passed, *and was desirous of his friendship*, he returned to Paris. In March 1800 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the west, and he established his head-quarters at Rennes.

"In 1801 it was in contemplation

tion to send him out to Louisiana, with the authority of captain-general. In 1802 it was intended to appoint him ambassador to the United States. He passed the year 1803 at Paris without any employment. In 1804 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Hanover.

"He was present at the battle of Austerlitz, that of Jena, and the campaign against the Russians in Poland. He commanded the French army in Denmark when the marquis Romana succeeded in embarking his troops, and returned to defend his country.

"During the campaign of 1809, general Bernadotte served with the Saxon troops. He commanded at Antwerp when the expedition to Walcheren took place."

Bernadotte did not proceed to Sweden till towards the end of October: from the delay that occurred after his election, it was supposed by some that the Swedish nation were so enraged at it, that he did not conceive it to be safe or prudent to enter his new kingdom unless he were supported by a French army. He did however go unattended: and his reception, if the account given of it in the French papers be correct, was highly flattering. It is certain that there were no signs of any disturbance or discontent. The deputies of the diet met him at Drottningholm, and on the 1st of November he made his solemn entrance into the capital. On that day the ceremony of presentation took place, when Bernadotte addressed the members of the diet to the following purport.

After paying some compliments to the king for having stepped twice forward to support the cares of government when the throne was vacant, and for having at last permanently filled that throne, at the period of one of "those revolutions which heaven appears sometimes to permit as a lesson to princes;" he proceeded to paint the joyful surprise in which his whole soul was immersed, when the unexpected intelligence was conveyed to him, that the Swedish nation had thought him worthy of being elected their crown prince; and to express his fervent wishes that the king who then filled the throne would long give him an opportunity of learning from his conduct the arduous and important lessons of government.

Addressing himself then more particularly to the deputies of the nobility, he called upon them to assist him in defending the throne and the state; and reminded them, that having received their honours from ancestors who had acquired them by their merits, they could only hope to prove themselves worthy of such ancestors by giving an example of perfect disinterestedness; by an entire submission to the king and the laws, and by living without reproach.

To the members of the clergy he recalled the sublime morality of the gospel, which it was their duty to teach; and professed his willingness to receive from them every instruction which would enable him to perform the duty he owed to his people.

To the deputies of the burghers he spoke of the necessity and advantage of industry, arts, and commerce, both for their own individual comfort and profit, and as tending to ensure and increase the prosperity of the state: if they were industrious, and discovered talents and genius in their respective occupations, they well fulfilled their appropriate duties, and would have

great

great claims to the esteem of their sovereign.

Lastly, he addressed the Swedish peasantry: he congratulated them on the particular consideration that their country granted them; by giving them a place in the great assembly of the nation; and expressed his conviction, that men who defended their country by their bravery, and supported it by their industry, especially when such men were endowed with those virtues which had long distinguished the Swedes, were well deserving of this consideration and privilege.

The concluding part of Bernadotte's speech is well worth attention; it unfolds views of government and maxims of policy which could hardly have been expected from the mouth of one of Bonaparte's generals, and which if they are acted upon will make his election a blessing to the Swedes.

"Sound policy, (he observes) that alone which the laws of God authorize, must have for its basis justice and truth: such are the principles of the king: they shall also be mine. I have beheld war close at hand; I know all its ravages; there is no conquest which can console a country for the blood of its children shed in a foreign land. I have seen the great emperor of the French, so often crowned with the laurels of victory, surrounded by his invincible armies, sigh after the olive of peace. Yes, gentlemen, peace is the alone glorious object of a wise and enlightened government; it is not the extent of a state which constitutes its force and independence; it is its laws, its industry, its commerce, and above all its national spirit. Sweden, it is true, has sustained great losses; but the honour of the Swedish name has not suffered the least attaint. Let us submit, gentlemen, to the decrees of Providence; and let us recollect that it has left us a soil sufficient to supply our wants, and iron to defend it."

It was generally expected that the relations between Great Britain and Sweden would undergo an immediate, complete change, now that Bonaparte had succeeded in placing the prince of Ponte Corvo on the throne; for in fact, though not in name and appearance, he might be regarded as the king of Sweden. Bernadotte, however, seemed averse to open and positive hostility with this country; and for a long time permitted the commercial intercourse to be carried on nearly to the same extent and on the same footing on which it had existed since peace had been concluded with France. What his motives were for this forbearance and lenity it is not easy to conjecture: certainly, if his master had been in his situation, no feeling for the misery of Sweden would have made him hesitate a single instant in carrying into execution any measures that his ambition or his hatred to Great Britain might suggest; it may be indeed that this feeling did not operate on the disposition or conduct of the prince of Ponte Corvo; but that he had the same power for carrying his obnoxious and destructive measures into effect which his master possessed, and that a regard to his own interest and safety, rather than to the welfare of his new subjects, induced him to continue the commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Whatever was the cause of this conduct, it must have been mortifying to Bonaparte, and have excited his indignation, to perceive a country held by one of his vassal sovereigns,

reigns, not only consuming the manufactures and colonial produce of his enemy, but affording the means of their being sent through the whole of the north of Germany.

At length, in the month of December the Swedish declaration was issued: but it breathed nothing of that spirit of hostility which marks such papers in general. The necessity for peace, under which her unfortunate warfare had placed Sweden, was frankly acknowledged; and an avowal, almost equally explicit, was made, that the measure now announced of declaring war against England was resolved upon at the instigation of Bonaparte, who "considered it his duty to make some observations to the king, in order to do away his doubts respecting the relation which ought to subsist between Sweden and Great Britain."—At the period of this declaration the illness of the king prevented the British ministry from issuing a counter declaration, or giving orders for commencing hostilities against Sweden. The state of that country was, however, more the object of pity both with the British ministry and the British people than of resentment; and the war between the two countries has hitherto been little more than the restriction of commercial intercourse.

Of the two other northern powers, Denmark and Russia, the history for the year 1810 may be told in very few words. The former had no other mode of manifesting her hostility to this country than by fitting out ships of war and gun-boats in the Baltic to annoy our trade; and to this mode of warfare she applied herself with great activity and bravery, and with no inconsiderable success. There is however some reason for supposing that the disposition and feelings of the people, if not of the government, of Denmark are reverting into their old and accustomed channel of attachment to this country: at least, that rancorous spirit of hostility which our two successive attacks on Copenhagen gave rise to is evidently subsiding; and when it subsides, there can be little doubt that the inhabitants of Denmark, from similarity of character, national and individual, from long connexion, and from the influence of interest, will prefer the friendship and alliance of Great Britain to those of France.—This tendency to revert to their old connexions will also be much strengthened by the antipathy which the Danes and Swedes have long borne toward each other; and by the persuasion which must now be firmly impressed on their mind, that they hold their continental territories only on the sufferance and at the pleasure of Bonaparte, and that their insular territories can be protected from his power and dominion but by the assistance of the naval greatness of this country.

During the greater part of the year 1810, war was carried on between the Russians and the Turks: and if confirmation were wanting of the truth of the position,—which, when Russia is our ally, or when we soon expect her to be such, we readily admit; and when she becomes our foe, we as readily deny,—that this vast empire is absolutely powerless at a distance from the immediate seat of her government; and that her armies, in no one respect, except in that of mere animal courage, and in the most implicit and blind obedience to their officers, are fit to combat with the troops of the other European powers,

powers;—this confirmation might amply be found in the events of the war between Russia and Turkey. The Turks now are certainly despicable in point of military science or discipline: their government has approached so near its dissolution, that it might have been expected the very shock of a hostile power would have extinguished its last spark of life: and yet the war has been carried on with nearly equal success. The Russians certainly have achieved the conquest of some of the Turkish provinces: but their progress has been slow and difficult; and in more than one battle they have been completely beaten by the Turks. In the mean time Bonaparte laughs at the folly of Russia:—he first weakened her by fomenting the contest between her and Sweden; and now the protracted war between her and Turkey still further carries on his plans. If Russia conquers Turkey, and her armies reach and gain possession of Constantinople, she will have fought and conquered only for the advantage of Bonaparte. It is scarcely possible to conceive that he will permit any power to retain the capital of the empire of the East:—his ambition, which prompts him to become sovereign of Rome, and possessor of the iron crown of Lombardy, will urge him on to the acquisition of the *city* of Constantine: and this ambition will be strengthened and seconded by the facility that the possession of this city will give him of destroying the English commerce, and threatening with effect their possessions in the East Indies.

If we turn our attention to the state of Holland during the year 1810, and to the events which occurred in that country, we shall be able to trace still further marks of Bonaparte's ambition, and the dreadful effects which it uniformly produces. We have seen that he was set upon the destruction of the English commerce and maritime power, by preventing as much as possible the introduction of British manufactures and colonial goods into the continent. It became particularly necessary for him to guard Holland in order to further this project:—the coast of Holland indented by rivers and inlets, the whole of it at such a short distance from England that vessels might run over in a few hours, were circumstances much against his plan, and favourable to the introduction of prohibited goods. The character and necessities of the Dutch, too,—a nation who were indebted to commerce for the very land they inhabited,—who had been nurtured in trade till it had become a second nature to them,—and who foresaw in the accomplishment of Bonaparte's schemes not only the total overthrow of their ancient habits and character, but the ruin of themselves and their country,—operated powerfully against the French emperor; and made him issue the most strict and peremptory orders to his vassal king, his brother Louis, that his anti-commercial decrees should be most rigorously acted upon in Holland.—Louis however was very unfit to be the agent of his brother in this business: he was not stimulated by the same passions, or views of ambition:—he did not hate the English, nor did he hope or wish by destroying their commerce to effect their ruin, and thus remove the only obstacle to the empire of Europe. He was moreover of a mild disposition, and more prone to compassion than was compatible with the plans of his brother. He was in the midst of the misery

misery which the very attempt to carry those plans into partial execution produced; and he could not endure the sight of it. In vain did his brother insist on his looking solely to his orders, and neglecting entirely all consideration of their effects on the happiness of his subjects.—Louis for a short time obeyed; but the wretchedness he witnessed, and the petitions of those who were suffering, prevailed; and he repealed his decrees against English commerce.

At length, in the beginning of July, Louis, weary of his situation, formally renounced the crown in favour of his eldest son Napoleon Louis and of his brother Charles Louis Napoleon. In his declaration to that effect, he expressly stated that he was induced to take this step on account of the unfortunate condition in which the country was placed, arising from the displeasure that the emperor his brother had conceived against it.—All endeavours and sacrifices on the part of the Dutch had been unable to support the misery to which they were reduced: and as no hope of redress or prosperity remained while his brother was inimical, he had resolved to resign the throne of Holland.—At the same time, he called upon the Dutch to receive and treat in a suitable manner the French troops which the emperor would immediately send into Holland.

Bonaparte however was not yet satisfied. A very short time after Louis had abdicated the throne in favour of his children, a report was made to the emperor by Champagny on the subject of Holland. In the beginning of this report it is expressly declared, that the abdication of Louis, not having been previously concerted with Bonaparte, nor having received his approbation, was of no validity.—The report then proceeds to state with considerable minuteness all the different reasons that point out the necessity or the policy of uniting Holland with France. Since Belgium was united with the French empire, the independence of Holland had been in reality destroyed. Her commerce was transferred from Amsterdam to the more convenient port of Antwerp; and the merchants of the Low Countries had become rich and powerful at the expense of the merchants of Holland.—Her debt was enormous—amounting to nearly 90 millions: that is, to a fourth more than the debt of the whole empire of France; while under her separate form of government the necessary expenses rendered it impossible to diminish this debt. Some of the reasons for this incorporation are singular, and prove on how slight a basis of common sense ambition will be content to build her schemes of aggrandizement. Some of the rivers which rise in France have their mouths in Holland: and Champagny lays it down as a fundamental and general principle, that all the rivers which have their source in France, or which wash the frontiers, should belong to France as far as the sea.

From the address of Louis, on abdicating the throne, there can be no doubt that his brother behaved to him not only with great harshness and injustice, but with great duplicity and deceit. "It was only on the 16th of June that I received through the *chargé d'affaires* of the emperor an assurance, that it was by no means his intention to occupy Amsterdam; and this led me to the hope that a treaty, the conditions of which had been imposed by himself, would be strictly

observed, and in no respect infringed upon. Unfortunately this error was not of long duration; for I soon learnt that 20,000 French troops were assembling at Utrecht, and on the 20th I received official information that his majesty the emperor insisted upon occupying Amsterdam, and establishing the head quarters of the French army in that capital." Such is the uncontradicted statement of the brother of Bonaparte, openly and officially given to the world. Of Holland, since its annexation with France, the wretchedness and poverty has if possible been increasing: the anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte have been carried into execution there at the point of the bayonet, and by the infliction of the most dreadful punishment; but the absolute ruin of the country and the misery of its inhabitants are with him considerations infinitely inferior to the exclusion of British goods.

The internal state and domestic history of France during the year 1810, abundantly prove that the impolitic and tyrannical measures of the French emperor press with equal weight on his own subjects as on the inhabitants of the countries which he has conquered. A court uncommonly magnificent and splendid, to which he has contrived to attach most of the old noblesse who have returned from emigration; a series of victories and conquests unequalled in modern history, no doubt, flatter the national vanity of Frenchmen. But the justice with which they may arrogate to themselves the title of the Great Nation; and the conviction that their country has reached a pitch of external power which Louis XIV. in vain attempted to arrive at, are but poor and inadequate sources of consolation and support under a despotism such as Bonaparte exercises over them.

Ever since his marriage with Maria Louisa, the daughter of the emperor of Germany, he has confined himself within the limits of the French empire: that activity and those talents which he was wont to employ in the management of his armies, and in the defeat of his enemies, he has latterly applied almost exclusively to the destruction of that small portion of civil liberty which he had hitherto permitted France to enjoy.

Besides the several decrees which he issued under the pretext and with the hope of preventing the introduction of British goods into France, and which from the very nature of commerce must have operated as much to the prejudice of his own merchants as they could do to the prejudice of the merchants of this country; decrees the absurdity and nullity of which he himself proclaimed by his continual re-enactment of them under a different form and with more severe penalties;—he struck more directly and fatally at the liberty of his subjects, by his decrees respecting prisons, domestic servants, and the press.

In the decree respecting prisons it was explicitly declared, that there were many persons in France accused of various crimes against the state, whom it was neither safe to liberate nor to bring to trial: for the purpose of keeping these prisoners in safe custody, a certain number of strong prisons in various parts of France were specified, in which it was decreed that they should be confined.—There might have been some slight shadow of justice and reason in this mode of conduct during the convulsions of the

against 6000 of your countrymen? Portuguese, be not longer deceived. The powerful sovereign whose laws, strength, and genius, receive the grateful praises of so many nations, wishes to establish your prosperity. Put yourselves under his protection. Receive his troops like friends, and you will find security both for your persons and property. You are not ignorant of the miseries of war; you know that they extend to every thing that is most dear to you, your children, relatives, friends, property, private and political lives. Come to a determination then, that will secure to you all the advantages of peace. Remain quiet in your habitations, attend to your domestic affairs; and consider those only as your enemies who excite you to a war, by every event of which your country must suffer.

The marshal prince of Essling, commander-in-chief of the army in Portugal,

MASSENA.

Ciudad Rodrigo, Aug. 1.

PROCLAMATION BY LORD WELLINGTON.

Lord viscount Wellington, marshal-general, &c.

The time which has elapsed during which the enemy has remained on the frontiers of Portugal, must have proved to the Portuguese nation what they have to expect from the French. The inhabitants of some villages have remained in them, confiding in the promises of the enemy, and hoping that, by treating the enemies of their country well, they might conciliate and mollify them, and inspire them with humane sentiments; that their property would be respected, their females preserved from brutal violation, and their lives secured. Vain hopes! The inhabitants of these submissive places have suffered all the evils which a cruel enemy could inflict; their property has been plundered, their habitations burnt, their women atrociously violated, and those whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence which they placed in promises made only to be broken.

The Portuguese must now see that no other means remain to avoid the evils with which they are threatened, but a determined and vigorous resistance, and a firm resolution to obstruct as much as possible the advance of the enemy into the interior of the kingdom, by removing out of his reach all such things as may contribute to his subsistence, or facilitate his progress. These are the only and most certain means to prevent the evils with which the country is threatened. The army under my command will protect as large a portion of the country as is possible; but it is obvious that the people alone can deliver themselves by a vigorous resistance, and preserve their goods by removing them out of the reach of the enemy. The duties, therefore, that bind me to his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal, and to the Portuguese nation, oblige me to make use of the power and authority with which I am furnished, to compel the careless and indolent to make the necessary efforts to preserve themselves from the dangers which threaten them, and to save their country. In conformity with this, I make known and declare, that all magistrates and persons in authority, who shall remain in the villages or towns, after having received

ceived orders from the military officer to remove from them, and all persons, of whatever class they may be, who shall maintain the least communication with, or aid and assist in any manner, the enemy, shall be considered as traitors to the state, and tried and punished as such an enormous crime requires.

WELLINGTON.

Head-quarters, Aug. 4.

LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.—STATE OF HAYTI.—GENERAL ORDER OF THE ARMY, 17th October 1810, 7th year.

The rebellious and proud city of the Mole of St. Nicholas, and the forts which defend it, have fallen into the power of our army. After the extinction of the two successive chiefs, Lamarre and Eveillard, all the troops which compose the rebels' pretended army of expedition, and the body of the 9th regiment, which first raised the standard of revolt in that district, have been compelled to lay down their arms, to surrender at discretion, and to implore the clemency of his serene monseigneur the president, abjuring errors, and promising for the future a regular conduct which shall redeem every thing culpable in the former. They have experienced the generous effects of that clemency which knows how to pardon weakness and error, but which punishes crime.

His serene highness has ordered that the body of the 9th regiment rejoin the true number of its corps, and that the troops below upon the coast should be sent to the capital to take rank in the army. Among the troops who have laid down their arms, are about 400 wounded, who are to be brought to the capital in order to be treated and taken care of like the sick troops who have been faithful to the legitimate authority. About 200 women, inhabitants and cultivatrixes of different districts, who were shut up in the Mole, and who followed the rebels into the woods, have also given themselves up. Monseigneur the president has ordered that they be sent back to their habitations and to their respective districts.

The pacification is general in the district where the fire of revolt prevailed. All the corps of the army employed at the siege of the Mole have merited well of our country for the zeal, the constancy, the bravery, and the fidelity which they have employed in the hundred combats which took place under the walls of that city, where they triumphed over all obstacles, over the difficulties of nature, and a fury of rebellion without example. His serene highness feels a true pleasure in testifying to the army the whole extent of his satisfaction. He bestows applause upon the navy for the constancy of its cruizing on seas as stormy as those of the Mole, a constancy which has defied the fury of the elements, and has contributed to the success of the army, by preventing the revolted from feeding and supplying that rebel place. The last operations of the siege of the Mole shall be presented in a report which shall immediately appear.

His highness has ordered that the army should return into its respective garrisons and cantonments, and that every corps should be brought up to its full complement. He has also ordered that a general return of the force of the army should be presented to him, and that

sea forces, and the deputies of the city of Amsterdam, have the honour of presenting themselves at the feet of your majesty's throne, respectfully to declare the sentiments of admiration, confidence, and obedience with which they are animated.

"The Dutch people, sire, known in the annals of history by the exploits of their heroes, by the spotless character of their statesmen, and the exertions made by them to obtain and maintain their independence, are still possessed of a strong recollection of the virtues of their forefathers.

"The great events which Europe has witnessed in the course of the present century have completely changed the political supports and relations of states; and the independence, for the attainment of which our ancestors sacrificed their property, their blood, and all that is most dear to men, from the pressure of circumstances could not but undergo certain restrictions. At length united with the first nation in the world, called by the greatest prince in the universe to share in the favour which his exalted genius and paternal solicitude liberally bestow on his happy subjects, and of which Holland has already obtained so many proofs, the Dutch continue to flatter themselves that by their loyalty, their obedience, and their inviolable attachment to their prince and father, they shall deserve the protection of a mighty, generous, upright, and benevolent government."

His imperial majesty returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen deputies of the legislative body, of the land and sea forces of Holland, and gentlemen deputies of my good city of Amsterdam,—For these thirty years you have experienced many vicissitudes. You lost your liberty when one of the great officers of the republic, forced by England, employed Prussian bayonets to interrupt the deliberations of your councils. It was then that the wise constitution handed down to you by your forefathers was destroyed for ever.

"You formed a part of the coalition, in consequence of which French armies conquered your country—an event which was the unavoidable consequence of the alliance with England. After the conquest, a distinct government was formed, yet your republic formed part of the empire. Your strong fortresses, and the principal positions in your country, were occupied by French troops, and your government was changed according to the opinions which succeeded each other in France.

"When providence placed me on this first throne of the world, it fell to my lot to decide for ever the fate of France, and of all the nations which compose this vast empire, to bestow on all the signal advantages which arise from firmness, consistency, and order, and to destroy the baneful consequences of irregularity and weakness. I put a period to the wavering destinies of Italy, by placing the iron crown on my head. I annihilated the government which ruled Piedmont. By my act of mediation I justly appreciated the constitution of Switzerland, and brought the local circumstances of the country in unison with the safety and rights of this imperial crown. I gave you a prince of my blood for your ruler; this was intended as a bond to unite the concerns of your republic with the rights of the empire. My hopes have been deceived; and on this occasion I have shown more for-

bearance than my character generally admits, and my rights require. I have at length put a period to the painful uncertainty of your future fate, and warded off the fatal blow which threatened to annihilate all your property, all your resources. I have opened the continent to your national industry: the day shall come when you are to conduct my eagles to the seas celebrated by the exploits of your ancestors; then shall you show yourselves worthy of yourselves and of me. From this moment till that period all the changes that take place in Europe shall have for their first motive the destruction of that tyrannical and irrational system which the English government, unmindful of the pernicious consequences which arise therefrom to its own country, has adopted, to outlaw commerce and trade, and subject it to the arbitrary authority of English licenses.

"Gentlemen deputies of the legislative body, and of the land and sea forces of Holland, and gentlemen deputies of my good city of Amsterdam, tell my subjects of Holland, I feel perfectly satisfied they possess the sentiments they profess for me; tell them that I doubt not their loyal attachment, and depend on their heartily joining their exertions to those of the rest of my subjects, to reconquer the rights of the sea, the loss of which five coalitions incited by England have inflicted on the continent; tell them, that in all circumstances they may reckon on my peculiar protection."

PROCLAMATION BY THE FRENCH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Portuguese,—The armies of Napoleon the great are on your frontiers, and we are on the point of entering your country as friends, not as conquerors. They do not come to make war upon you, but to fight those who have induced you to take up arms. Portuguese, awake to your true interests. What has England done for you, that you endure her troops on your native soil? She has destroyed your manufactures, ruined your commerce, paralysed your industry, for the sole purpose of sending into your country articles of her own manufacture, and making you her tributaries. What does she do at present, that you should embrace the unjust cause which has roused the whole of the continent against her? She deceives you respecting the issue of a campaign in which she seems determined to incur no risk. She puts your battalions in advance, as if your blood was to reckon for nothing. She is prepared to abandon you when it will suit her interest, however disastrous the consequences may be to you; and to complete your misfortunes and her insatiable ambition, she sends her ships into your ports to transport to her colonies such of you as may escape from the dangers to which she has exposed you on the continent. Does not the conduct of her army before Ciudad Rodrigo sufficiently explain to you what you are to expect from such allies? Did they not encourage the garrison and the unfortunate inhabitants of that fortress, by deceitful promises, and did they discharge a single musket to assist them? Again; lately have they placed any of their troops in Almeida, except a commander who is put there to invite you to as ill-judged a resistance as that of Ciudad Rodrigo? What! is it not an insult to place one Englishman thus in the scale against

honourable house its true weight and character, may rescue our country from domestic discord, and secure it from the foreign foe, give stability to the throne, and perpetuate the constitution."

THE THANKSGIVING PRAYER.

Form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his mercy in having vouchsafed to bestow on this nation an abundant crop and favourable harvest.

"O Almighty God! who openest wide thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing, we thank thee that thou hast reserved unto us the appointed weeks of harvest, and caused our valleys to be covered with corn. Sustain and keep alive in us, we beseech thee, such a sense of thy bountiful goodness, that we forget not, in the pride of our heart, the hand from which every blessing flows. It is thy mercy, O God, that humbleth us in want. It is thy mercy that feedeth us with plenteousness. Protect and cover us, we pray thee, from the abuses of each; lest we be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest we be poor and steal, and take the name of our God in vain. More especially at this time dispose us to acknowledge, with all humility, thy good providence, in supplying our wants at the moment of approaching necessity, in upholding our cause against the increased aggression of our enemies, and in continuing thy protection to our most gracious sovereign, the father of his people, and the dispenser of thy mercies. These praises and prayers we humbly offer at the throne of grace, through the merits and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen."

PRAYER FOR THE RESTORATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S HEALTH.

By the archbishop of Canterbury.

"O God, who commandest us when we are in trouble to open our hearts, and to tell out our sorrows unto thee in prayer, and dost promise to listen with compassion to our humble supplications, give us grace so to approach thee, that we offend not in word or thought: put away from us every impatient feeling, silence every unworthy expression: let not our prayers assume the language of complaint, nor our sorrows the character of despair. Upon thee, O God, and upon the multitude of thy mercies, we repose our grief. To thee alone we look for that blessing for which our hearts bleed. Raise, we implore thee, our beloved sovereign from the bed of sickness and of affliction; soothe his parental cares; restore him to his family, and to his people.—And of thy great mercy, O God! look down with pity and compassion on the accumulated sorrows of the royal family. Give them strength, and courage, and virtue, to meet with pious submission the grievous trial to which they are exposed: and, whether it shall seem fit to thine unerring wisdom, presently to remove from us this great calamity, or for a time to suspend it over us, teach both them, and us, patiently to adore thy inscrutable Providence, and to bless thy holy name for ever and ever.—These prayers and supplications we humbly address to thy Divine Majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

AMERICA.

On the subject of the doubts existing as to the precise time and manner of carrying into effect the non-intercourse act against Great Britain and her dependencies, under the president's proclamation, the following official papers deserve attention: the letters are from the American secretary of state.

"*Treasury Department, Nov.* 2, 1810.

"SIR.—You will herewith receive a copy of the proclamation of the president of the United States, announcing the revocation of the edicts of France, which violated the neutral commerce of the United States, and that the restrictions imposed by the act of May 1st last accordingly cease from this day in relation to France. French armed vessels may therefore be admitted into the harbours and waters of the United States, any thing in that law to the contrary notwithstanding.

"It also follows, that if Great Britain shall not on the 2d of February next have revoked or modified in like manner her edicts violating the neutral commerce of the United States, the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 18th sections of the act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes, shall, in conformity with the act first above mentioned, be revived and have full force and effect, as far as relates to Great Britain and her dependencies, from and after the said 2d day of February next. Unless therefore you shall before that day be officially notified by this department of such revocation or modification, you will from and after the said day carry into effect the above-mentioned sections, which prohibit both the entrance of British vessels of every description into the harbours and waters of the United States; and the importation into the United States of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the dominions, colonies, and dependencies of Great Britain; and of any articles whatever brought from the said dominions, colonies, and dependencies.—I am respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

"ALBERT GALLATIN."

To the collector of the customs of the district of ———

PROCLAMATION.—Whereas, by the 4th section of an act of congress, passed on the 1st of May 1810, entitled, An act concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes, it is provided: That in case either Great Britain or France shall, before the third of March next, so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, which fact the president of the United States shall declare by proclamation; and if the other nation shall not, within three months thereafter, so revoke or modify her edicts in like manner, then the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eighteenth sections of the act, entitled An act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies, and for other purposes, shall, from and after the expiration of three months from the date of the proclamation aforesaid, be revived and have full force and effect,

so

that it may be newly clothed and equipped.

The wreck of the corps of troops composing the garrison of the city of the Mole, who have laid down their arms, are part of the artillery of the 2d division of the north, the 9th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th regiments, &c. part of the crews of two vessels of the rebels, the corvette Republicaine, and the brig Souffleur sunk at the Mole.

[Here follow the promotions made.]

(Signed) RICHARD, Sub-chief of the staff.

Seen and approved to be printed,
HENRY CHRISTOPHE.

THE HANSE TOWNS.

PROJECT OF AN ORGANIC SENATUS CONSULTUM.

ART. I. Holland, the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, and the territories which lie between the North Sea, and a line which shall extend from the place where the Lippe enters the Rhine, to its sources; from these sources to the Upper Ems; from the Ems to the entrance of the Werra into the Weser; and from Stolzenau on the Weser to the Elbe, above the junction of the Sleekniss, shall form an integral part of the French empire.

II. The said territories shall form 10 departments, namely:

The department of the Zuyder Zee, of the mouths of the Maese, of the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, East Friesland, the West Ems, the East Ems, the Upper Ems, the mouths of the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe.

III. The number of deputies from these departments to the legislative body shall be as follow:

For the department of the Zuyder Zee	4
——— Mouths of the Maese	4
——— Upper Yssel	3
——— Mouths of the Yssel	2
——— East Friesland	2
——— West Ems	2
——— East Ems	2
——— Upper Ems	4
——— Mouth of the Weser	3
——— Mouths of the Elbe	4

IV. These deputies shall be appointed in the year 1811, and shall be renewed in the year to which the series belongs, in which the department to which they belong shall be placed.

V. These departments shall be placed in the following series of the legislative body, namely:

First series, mouths of the Maese and West Ems; 2d series, Friesland and the Upper Ems; 3d series, the Zuyder Zee and East Ems; 4th series, mouths of the Yssel, and mouths of the Elbe; 5th series, Upper Yssel, and mouths of the Weser.

VI. For the departments of the Zuyder Zee, mouths of the Maese, Upper Yssel, mouths of the Yssel, Friesland, and West Ems, there shall be an imperial court of justice, whose seat shall be at the Hague.

VII. For the departments of East Ems, Upper Ems, the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe, there shall be an imperial court of justice, whose seat shall be at Hamburgh.

VIII. In the departments which belong to the jurisdiction of the imperial court of justice at the Hague, there shall be a council of senators; and another shall be erected in the departments which belong to the jurisdiction of the imperial court of justice at Hamburgh.

IX. The

IX. The cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck are placed among the number of good cities; their mayors are to be present at the oath of fealty to the emperors at their coronation.

X. A communication shall be formed with the Baltic by a canal, which, extending from the canal of Hamburgh to Lubeck, shall make a communication between the Elbe and the Weser, the Weser and the Ems, and the Ems and the Rhine.

KENT COUNTY MEETING FOR REFORM.

A very full meeting of the freeholders of the county of Kent took place at Maidstone, on Monday October 22, for the purpose of preparing a petition to the house of commons praying for a parliamentary reform. After some debate, a petition was agreed to unanimously in which are the following manly expressions:—

"To the wisdom and justice of the original design of convening in parliament the representatives of the people to deliberate, and coöperate with the sovereign and the peers upon every question of national concern, we give our unqualified approbation; but when we take into our consideration the decay of some boroughs, once prosperous and well-peopled, the rise and flourishing conditions of others, formerly of little note; when we reflect upon the effects of the heavy and insupportable expense of elections, which closes the doors of your honourable house to many of the best friends of their country, and robs it of their faithful services; when we think of these things, we are of opinion that your honourable house is at this time by no means a fair representation of the people; and from the manner in which a large portion of the individual members obtain and secure their seats in your honourable house, we cannot but infer, that the high and sacred office, intended for the public service, is frequently sought for and procured by unconstitutional means, and is too often perverted from its original design, and rendered subservient to private ends. To this cause we ascribe the greatest part of the national calamities we now have to deplore; the mean principles and narrow views which have too long governed the councils of the cabinet; the false ambition and little intrigues of its members; the continuance of a system of expenditure, lavish beyond example; the many disgraceful expeditions, in which the blood and treasure of our country have been too prodigally wasted; the decisions of your honourable house, in direct opposition to the general sentiments of the nation; the unwillingness hitherto evinced by your honourable house to promote inquiry into, or correct abuses in, the representation—an unwillingness which cannot fail to excite our distrust, and to diminish the respect we owe to the name and functions of your honourable house. The times demand this open avowal of our sentiments, and in the language employed to convey them we intend no disrespect; though we are persuaded that no words can be too strong to express our feelings upon this occasion. Therefore, we most earnestly entreat your honourable house to undertake, before it is too late, in a true and cordial spirit, the measure of reform, upon principles which, by conciliating the affections of the people, and restoring to your honourable

the revolution:—then it might not have been safe or prudent either to have brought to trial or to have liberated men, whose popular character or cause probably would in the one case have excited fresh disturbances; and in the other case have assured their acquittal, however strong and full the proofs of their guilt might be. But what a libel does Bonaparte pronounce upon his own government, when he declares France, after he has been the sovereign of it for so many years, to be in such a state that it was not safe either to try or to liberate men for crimes they had committed before or just after his accession to the throne? If the state of France actually required such a mode of procedure, then has it been little if at all meliorated by his government: if it did not require and justify this measure, what name does it deserve but that of the most cruel tyranny?

His decree respecting servants advances a step further towards the establishment of a despotism unknown even to the ignorant and enslaved nations of the East. By this decree, every domestic servant in Paris is obliged to have a card with his name and description from the commissaries of police: and no master is permitted to take into his service any servant who cannot produce this card. When a servant leaves his place, his master is obliged to send the card with the day of his departure inscribed on it to the prefecture of police; and within 48 hours the domestic must repair to the prefecture in order to obtain his card again: if the servant neglect to appear he is liable to imprisonment, which shall not exceed four days nor be less than 24 hours. No servant is allowed to hire any chamber or closet, unless they inform either their masters or the police, under the penalty of an imprisonment, that shall not exceed three months, nor be less than eight days. Every domestic who has been out of place for a month, and cannot give a satisfactory account of his mode of subsistence, shall be obliged to leave Paris; under pain of being punished as a vagabond. A suspicion immediately rises in the mind, in reading this decree, that its object is not confined to servants, but that it is meant, by putting them under such strict regulations, to have always at command spies in every family, and thus to establish a more regular and perfect system of *espionage*.

The last decree, respecting the press, is not so much calculated to excite astonishment as the former; since in all despotic countries the liberty of the press has been the object of the tyrant's fear and hatred. The effects which restraint on the press produces are also more slow and concealed in their operation; but at the same time they are more fatal and paralysing to the cause of truth and liberty. At no period did France ever enjoy a free press; but Bonaparte, who seems to have examined and compared all the tyrannical proceedings and measures of despotic governments both ancient and modern, with a view to improve upon them, and from them to establish a perfect system in France which should crush the powers of the human mind, has gone beyond all former precedent. —By his decree of the 5th of February 1810, only a certain number of printers were allowed to carry on their business within the French territories; and these were to be under the most strict and watchful super-

superintendance of the police; so that nothing should be printed but what government thought proper to allow and sanction. This has always been the object in despotic countries; but it was obtained with great difficulty, and never with such perfect success as was desired.—By diminishing the number of printers, Bonaparte however has removed one great difficulty towards destroying the liberty of the press; and succeeded in placing France in a state of mental bondage, perhaps without a parallel in the history of the world.

It is impossible to foresee how long the power of Bonaparte will be supported by these measures, or can stand against them: for, strange as it may appear, it is an undoubted fact, that the measures of tyrants which at first strengthen their government, gradually produce their fall; and that by a wise dispensation of Providence they work out their own ruin, at the very time when to their own imaginations they appear to have completely succeeded in all their desires and plans.

PRINCIPAL

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1810.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1810.

DECEMBER, 1809.

31. MRS. Vanryne was burnt to death at her house in Princes'-court, Duke-street, St. James's. An inquest was held on Monday, at the Bunch of Grapes in Duke-street. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased was near 80 years of age. She had lived in the house upwards of 40 years, and for several years past was unable to go about without assistance, and was attended by her daughter, who used frequently, at the desire of the deceased, to lock her into the parlour while she had occasion to be absent; and on Sunday evening the daughter went out and left her mother in the parlour as usual, with a book and candle. There was no other person in the house. Some time afterwards a smell of fire being very powerful alarmed a man that was passing; he went into the house, and broke open the parlour-door, when he beheld a most distressing spectacle: at some distance from the fire-place the floor was burned in the shape of a coffin, and of the unfortunate old lady only one leg, with a stocking on, remained in the parlour, the rest of the body having fallen into the lower apartment in a complete mass of cinders; the back-bone alone remained unconsumed. The jury returned a verdict of—Accidental death.

JANUARY, 1810.

1. About eleven o'clock on Monday night, a dreadful fire happened at the wharf of Messrs. Pocock and Buckley, Whitefriars Dock. The fire commenced at the dwelling-house of Mr. Pocock, coal-merchant, at the bottom of the wharf, and about twelve o'clock the flames illumined the horizon many miles round London. Several piles of deals which stood near the house caught the flames with astonishing rapidity, and the spectacle was awful, grand, and terrific. In Fleet-street and the Strand the light was almost as vivid as in the day-time. The timber-yard being close to the Thames, the light was thrown along the river, and presented a full view of the houses along the opposite bank. The drums beat, and the bugle sounded to summon the volunteers, who attended with alacrity to render assistance. The streets were crowded with people, with whose clamour, and the rattling of the engines coming to the spot from every quarter of the town, all was noise, bustle, and confusion. The bridges were covered with spectators, and the coal-craft on the river also displayed a multitude. The wind being south, it was generally expected that the houses at the entrance of the yard would have been down, and the efforts of the

firemen were chiefly directed to prevent the fronts of the buildings exposed to the heat from taking fire. Fortunately the wind shifted, and blew the flames another way, and all the houses escaped, with the exception of Mr. Pocock's house and a stable. During the confusion it was difficult to remove many valuable horses. There were nineteen in the stable, and nine of them were burnt. The carcases of these animals remained half-burnt on the ruins. About six o'clock the fire was greatly reduced; and hours after the deals, coals, and timber, which had produced the blaze of light, were burnt level with the ground, some apprehensions were entertained for the Grand Junction Canal store-house; and even in the Inner Temple several engines were brought down to the bottom of King's Bench Walk, under an idea that the fire might possibly extend to that quarter. Since the burning of Drury-lane theatre, there has been no fire in the metropolis of such terrific appearance. Nearly 30,000*l.* of timber, 7,000*l.* of which had only been landed a few days before, and was not insured, was burnt. Two or three empty barges caught fire and were damaged; the dwelling-house and all the premises were reduced to ashes. It does not appear that any persons were lost.

1. About nine o'clock a most daring robbery was attempted to be committed at a gentleman's house not far from Bedford-row. The family being out, and no one in the house but a footman and a little female child, which it is supposed the villains had proper intelligence of, four fellows went to the door, and knocked in an authoritative manner: the footman, imagining it to be the family who had returned, opened it, when the villains immediately rushed in, and bound him with cords which they had provided themselves with for that purpose; they then found out the plate, and employed themselves in putting it up in proper bundles. In the mean time the little girl, who, through fright from the first transaction, had hid herself, as soon as she found them gone into other parts of the house, made to the street-door, got out, and alarmed some of the neighbours, who, procuring proper assistance, went to the house, but the villains upon the alarm it is imagined made their escape.

3. At the mansion-house a Jew, of the name of De Younge, was charged by the solicitor of the mint, under an act of queen Elizabeth, with the offence of selling the current coin of the realm called guineas, at a higher rate than the current value. By the statute in question it is declared, that any person who shall extort, demand, or receive, for any of the current coin of the realm, more than the legal current value thereof, shall be esteemed guilty of felony. It appeared that the prisoner had sold fifty-six guineas for a sum amounting to about 22*s.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* for each guinea more than the legal price and current value. Evidence being adduced to prove this case, the prisoner was fully committed to take his trial for the offence.

The marquis of Waterford's house, in George-street, Hanover-square, was entered by three men. The porter, an elderly man, who had left the house for only half an hour, returned, and found the men in the second hall; they seized hold of him, and ordered him to show them where there was any property. There being no other servant in the house to assist him, he told them he was an infirm old man, and hoped they

they would not hurt him; and assured them, it was the wrong time of the year, as the family was out of town, and there was not any thing worth their notice, and if they would depart quietly he would not give any alarm. They took his advice and went away, after searching his box, and turning every thing out of it, but did not take any thing.

THEATRICAL RECONCILIATION DINNER, CROWN AND ANCHOR.

4. At five o'clock the doors of the great room being opened, the tables were in less than five minutes inaccessible; and many of the company, which in number exceeded three hundred, were unable to obtain seats.

Soon after five o'clock Mr. Clifford took the chair, Mr. Kemble and Mr. Harris jun. being seated on his right hand.

The first toast, after the removal of the cloth, was—

The king.

After which followed—

The voice of the people.

The trial by jury, with three times three.

The stage.

The ancient and unalienable judicature of the pit.

Mr. Clifford then entreated particular attention to the toast which he was about to propose, feeling confident that no toast could be more appropriate to the object of the meeting:

May this happy reconciliation be of equal advantage to the public in amusement and the proprietors in emolument!

The health of Mr. Clifford being given, he rose, and addressed the company to the following effect:—

"Gentlemen,—I return you most sincerely my thanks for the honour you have conferred on me, by placing me in this situation, and for the very kind manner in which I have been treated. Gentlemen, there is a circumstance collateral with that of the recent dispute, to which, I trust, I may advert without offence to any person present. It was my lot to be the plaintiff in an action at law, of the trial of which all my information is derived from the reports in the newspapers, not having been myself present on that occasion. In those reports it is stated, that during the course of the trial, or after it was over, I do not know which, it was publicly said that I was the leader of an infuriated mob, meeting to injure private property, to destroy the government, to subvert the constitution, and to overthrow the monarchy. Such, gentlemen, is what is stated in the reports of that trial in the newspapers to have been said. Gentlemen, I recollect full well, that when colonel Wardle introduced the charges against the duke of York into the house of commons, Mr. Canning made use of this very true, but certainly very dangerous expression—'That when the characters of others are attacked, infamy must attach somewhere—it must fall either on the accused or on the accuser.' Now, gentlemen, I have the honour of your authority—I have even the authority of the proprietors and managers of the theatre—and, what is still more, I have the authority of the public voice, from the Orkneys to the Land's End—to justify me in believing, that infamy does not attach on my conduct in these transactions. Gentlemen, I have the same authority of the public voice for asserting, that infamy does not attach on you. But infamy must attach somewhere. Let it attach, then, where it will best fit: and let it shine not as a brilliant and luminous planet, but as a dim and pale

halo, around the hoary head of him who dared to utter such a calumny. Gentlemen, I first had the honour of meeting you in this room at a period of disturbance and of great dissention between the public and the proprietors of the theatre. That such a dispute was not sooner terminated I, in common with every other person, sincerely deplored. For myself, I certainly was in some measure brought forward unwillingly, and was induced reluctantly to take the lead; but being placed in that situation, I did nothing that could tend to widen the breach, or to excite disturbance: so far from having appeared in such a character, I, on the contrary, have the pleasure of believing, that my humble efforts have contributed to restore peace and harmony between the public and the proprietors of the theatre at Covent-garden. Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely, from the bottom of my heart, for the attention with which you have honoured me, and beg leave to have the honour of drinking all your healths.

MR. BRANDON.

This gentleman published the following apology, and was admitted to his usual employment:

"To the public:—Now that the late unfortunate disputes relative to Covent-garden theatre are happily at an end, I trust that I shall not be accused of presumption in thus coming forward in my own behalf, and indulging the hope that I alone shall not be excluded from the general amnesty. I have been 39 years in the box-office of that theatre, and I humbly appeal to its visitors, whether, during that long period, I have not served them with the utmost fidelity, zeal, and impartiality. It was with the deepest regret, independently of all personal considerations, that, in my anxiety to discharge what I conceived to be my duty, I found I had given offence to any individual. I presume to hope, that the feelings which urged my dismission from a situation which I had so long held, have subsided, and that the public at large will accept of my hearty contrition as an atonement for every thing that has been deemed improper in my conduct. If, then, the characteristic generosity and clemency of Englishmen will accept this sincere expression of regret, and permit me to resume my station, it shall be my constant endeavour, by every exertion, to evince my gratitude for their kindness.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself, their most devoted and very humble servant.

"JAMES BRANDON."

18. The twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry upon the ordnance office has been printed. It is wholly occupied in detecting the peculations of the late treasurer, Mr. Hunt. The time during which he acted in this department is divided into two periods; the former extending from his appointment in 1803 till 1805, wherein the mode of conducting the pecuniary concerns of the office was only prescribed by an act of Charles II. This act, it appears, was however violated, as Mr. Hunt in his examination states, with the privity of the master-general: upon which the commissioners remark: "It might be observed also, that although the master-general and board of ordnance did not, as it is said, sanction Mr. Hunt in making use of the ordnance money to his private emolument, yet that their knowledge implied an approbation of a practice which put the public money in hazard, might at times

times greatly incommode and injure the service, from this money not being at immediate command, and might so naturally lead to delay in making up and closing the office accounts." During the second period, the treasurer acted under new regulations, his violation of which, and the consequent loss to the country, are but too well known. The particulars of the defalcation already discovered (but others may remain behind) are thus mentioned in the report: "From this evidence, and from the papers furnished by him, it appears, that between August 1807 and the 7th of January 1810 Mr. Hunt drew various sums from the bank without authority, amounting to £.189,101 12 10

On the petty account, also without authority £.12,500
And on account of salaries and allowances 7,500 — 20,000 0 0

209,101 12 10

To which must be added sums amounting to 2,152 1 2
Entered as received in the waste book, but not paid into the bank

Amounting altogether to £.211,553 14 0

with which Mr. Hunt is to be charged; but in discharge must be taken the amount of sums paid in to his account at the bank, of which no entries appear in the office-books, amounting to £.85,126 16 9
and the amount of payments of debentures and imprests entered in the waste-book, which were not paid by drafts on the bank..... 51,511 6 7 — 139,638 3 4

The difference therefore..... £.71,915 10 8
is the sum deficient on these transactions during his last treasurership; and if to this be added the balance due on his former treasurership, or 11,854 8 9

the sum now due from Mr. Hunt cannot be less than.. £.83,769 19 5

ASIA.

1. Some very interesting intelligence has been received from India relative to the Madras army; and which states that the officers of that army had drawn up a memorial to the supreme government of India, complaining of certain grievances, and making certain demands. The grievances complained of were, that the commander in chief, lieut.-general M'Dowal, had been excluded from the council; that colonel Monro, who had been ordered to be arrested by the general, had been released; and that the adjutant and deputy-adjutant general had been removed from their offices. The demand, or petition, which the officers made in this memorial was, that the supreme government would remove from his office the governor of Madras, sir G. Barlow, from whom they conceived their grievances to have proceeded. — The memorialists threaten, while they pretend to petition; and, after praying the governor-general to remove the governor of Fort St. George, give a very significant hint, that if this

this prayer be not complied with, they will take the matter into their own hands, and make a new governor themselves. Lord Minto and the supreme council of Bengal, on receiving the above memorial, have transmitted to sir George Barlow a long paper, showing the danger and unlawfulness of the military becoming a deliberative body; and surely a more unconstitutional proceeding could not be adopted, short of high treason.

Official dispatches have since been received, both by government and by the court of directors, dated from Ceylon in the end of August, and from the Cape in the middle of October, which agree in announcing, that the army on the Madras establishment was in a state of open mutiny and revolt. The mutineers had taken possession of many important places, among which Hyderabad and Seringapatam are particularly named. The last-mentioned place was their principal station.—Lord Minto had arrived at Madras, having left Calcutta to restore tranquillity by his presence before matters came to this extremity. The king's troops, to the amount of 11,000 men, had taken the field against the insurgents. General Maitland had sent a strong corps from Ceylon to co-operate, and two regiments had already left the Cape for the same destination.

Dispatches from the governor-general, dated Madras the 17th September, announce the restoration of discipline and obedience in the coast-army, by the submission of the committees of insurgents established at Seringapatam and Hyderabad. The committees at Seringapatam and Hyderabad had for some time disagreed as to the line of conduct to be pursued by the army; when the defeat of a large body of the insurgents under capt. Mackintosh determined them in their submission. Mackintosh, with two battalions of native troops, intercepted an escort with treasure belonging to the company to a considerable amount, between Chittledroog and Seringapatam, and was carrying it to the latter place, when he was overtaken by the 25th king's regiment, a body of Mysore horse, and some other native troops: a severe action ensued, in which the mutineers were defeated and dispersed, and Mackintosh was wounded and made prisoner.

In addition to the above important intelligence we are enabled to say, that the native troops on the Bombay establishment manifested, during the late alarming commotions, the utmost loyalty and attachment to the government, and had delivered up to punishment emissaries sent from Seringapatam to engage them in the revolt.

VERDUN.

In the vicinity of Verdun a village had been nearly destroyed by fire. The house in which the flames were first discovered, and most of those adjoining, were soon burnt to the ground. The people of the village fled in every direction, and the place was abandoned; when a large party of seamen, who volunteered their assistance, soon found means of stopping the progress of the flames, and finally succeeded in quenching the fire and saving the village. For this service their conduct was reported to the French government by the principal inhabitants, who solicited permission for the most active of the British, on that occasion, to return to England. This request was refused; but each person was rewarded with a gift of 50*l.* and ordered to be recorded a member of the legion of honour, by which they will be entitled to receive each about 9*l.* per annum.

PRO-

Produce of the Taxes.

An account of the income of, and charge upon, the consolidated fund, in the quarters ended 5th day of January 1809, and the 5th of January 1810.

INCOME.

January 5.	1809. £.	s.	d.	1810. £.	s.	d.
Customs	916,680	16	10½	1,114,651	10	3¼
Excise	3,627,772			3,893,255		
Stamps	1,272,987	2	3	1,311,714	12	
Incidents	2,535,886	14	6½	3,030,204	3	6¼
Surplus annual duties on sugar, &c.	55,149			101,402		
Do. land-tax on offices	18,626	15	7	31,742	16	2¼
Land-taxes	448,896	4	8¼	413,493	7	5¼
Revenue, Isle of Man	2,163	7	4	4,848	12	1
Interest, &c. on account of Ireland	585,678	3	6	604,325	8	5
Ditto Portugal						
Surplus exch. fees	11,800			12,000		
Imprest moneys, &c.	114,450	14	4½	24,115	6	10
Arrears of inc. duty 1799, 1800, and 1801	44	14	6½			
Do. ann. malt duties	829			151,883	3	7
Tontine money, 29th Geo. III. anno 1789	12,009	4	2¼	11,881	4	8¼
Rent of crown land	20,813	5		33,196	18	6
Fines of leases				5,696		
Brought from war taxes per acts 47 & 49 Geo. III.	314,363	17	7¼	314,363	17	7¼
Ditto 49				250,695	5	0¼
Def. 5th Jan. 1809				23,220	3	2
	£.9,261,371	3	8¼	£.11,313,042	6	3¼

Exchequer, Jan. 5.	*Charge.* Jan. 5, 1809. £.	s.	d.	*Estimated Charge.* at Jan. 5, 1810. £.	s.	d.
Exchequer, South Sea, and bank of England annuities	337,933	3	11½	337,919	2	1½
Bank dividends	1,659,989	19	1½	1,874,862	11	5¼
Towards redemption of national debt	1,513,408	12	1¼	1,476,291	10	8¾
Civil list	388,500			239,590		
Pensions and anns.	87,326	13	9¼	81,589	14	2½
Miscellaneous charges (estimated at)	123,212	15	3¼	89,887	1	5¼
Estimated charge				10,100,000		
Surplus, Jan. 5, 1810				1,213,002	6	3¼
	£.9,961,871	3	8¼	£.11,313,002	6	3¼

EXTRAORDINARY LEGACY.

A gentleman of Aberdeen, recently deceased, has by his will directed his executors to offer a sum of not less than 1200*l.* for the best treatise on "The evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom every thing exists; and, particularly, to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity: and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of written revelation; and, in the second place, from revelation; and, from the whole, to point out the inferences most necessary for and useful to mankind." The ministers of the established church of Aberdeen, the principals and professors of King's and Marischal colleges of Aberdeen, and the trustees of the testator, are appointed to nominate and make choice of three judges, who are to decide, after the 1st of January 1814, upon the comparative excellences of such treatises as shall be laid before them. There is also left, by the same testator, a further sum, not exceeding 400*l.* for a treatise on the same subjects, which shall be thought, pursuant to the same decision, next in merit to the first premium treatise.

9. A common hall was held for the purpose of receiving the report of the lord mayor and sheriffs, on the address voted by the livery to his majesty.

The clerk proceeded to read the report of the sheriffs, which stated, that the remembrancer had called at the secretary-of-state's office with the address, and an intimation that it was intended to present it on the levee day. Next day he was told that it must be left at the secretary-of-state's office, to be presented (as was usual with all addresses, except those from the two universities, and the corporation of London), by him to his majesty. On the levee day the lord mayor told the secretary of state, that he then had the address in his pocket, and wished to present it. The secretary said it was best to give it to him, and he would save the lord mayor all further trouble; to which his lordship replied, that he would not consent to present it to any one, except to the king in person; and that it was both the wish of himself and sheriffs to do it in any way which would save his majesty most trouble. The secretary said, the king's pleasure had been already taken and expressed as to the mode of presenting it. Mr. Sheriff Wood then demanded an audience of his majesty, which the secretary replied could not be granted, except upon some especial and expressed reason, and that no audience could be granted on a subject upon which his majesty had already expressed his pleasure. Such was the report, to receive which the hall had been called.

The following resolutions were then passed:

"1. That it is the undoubted right of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London to present their petitions to the king sitting on his throne; that out of personal feelings towards their sovereign, they did at the last common hall waive the exercise of this right.

"2. That it appears that the secretary of state informed the sheriffs, that the petition of the livery could be received only through his office; that they have been denied not only the usual access to his majesty, by a personal audience, but the undoubted right of presenting the same when they had actually

access

access to his majesty at the levee, where they attended to present, and did present, a petition from the court of common council.

"3. That such denial is not only subversive of the rights of the livery, but a flagrant violation of the right of petitioning, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, and confirmed to them by the bill of rights.

"4. That all complaints of the misconduct and incapacity of his majesty's servants are most likely to be nugatory, if such complaints must pass through the hands of those very servants, and the people can have no security that their complaints are heard.

"5. That whoever advised his majesty not to receive the petition of the livery in the accustomed and established mode, have committed a scandalous breach of their duty, violated one of the first principles of the constitution, and abused the confidence of their sovereign.

"6. That this common hall, disregarding all attempts and designs of interested and corrupt hirelings, who derive emoluments from the national burthens, to impute unworthy and disloyal motives to those who resist unprincipled and dangerous encroachments upon their established rights, are determined, to the utmost of their power, to maintain them against those evil counsellors, who have thus raised a barrier between the king and the people, and thereby prevented their just complaints from reaching the royal ear.

"7. That the following instructions be given to our representatives in parliament:

"Gentlemen—You are hereby instructed to move in the house of commons (or support such motion, if moved), for an humble address to his majesty, praying for an immediate and rigid inquiry into the cause of the unexampled failures and disasters which have attended our late expeditions to Spain, Portugal, and Holland, whereby the blood and treasure of the country have been shamefully sacrificed, without rendering any effectual assistance to our allies, checking the progress of the enemy, or tending to the glory or security of his majesty's crown or dominions. You are also instructed to support all motions which have for their object the violation of the right of petitioning,—the wasteful expenditure of the public money,—the correction of public abuses,—the abolition of all unnecessary places and pensions,—the shortening of the duration of parliaments, and restoring them to their constitutional purity and independence, as the only means of retrieving our public affairs, and enabling this country successfully to contend against surrounding nations.

"8. That the sheriffs, attended by the remembrancer, do forthwith wait upon his majesty, and deliver into his majesty's hand, in name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, a fair copy of the foregoing resolutions, signed by the town clerk.

"9. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. the lord mayor, for his independent behaviour upon all occasions, and particularly for his conduct this day.

"10. That the thanks of this meeting be given to sheriff Wood, for his general conduct, and for his having requested an audience of his majesty, agreeably to the instructions of this hall."

CITY ADDRESS TO THE KING.

The following is the address from the

the common hall, intended to be presented to the king:—

"To the king's most excellent majesty in council.

"The humble address and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled.

"Most gracious sovereign,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, most humbly approach your majesty at this awful crisis, to exercise a duty no less painful than imperious.

"It is to represent with humility to your majesty the present deplorable situation of public affairs, that we have again approached your royal person.

"Attached to your majesty's illustrious house from affection and from duty, we should ill demonstrate the sincerity of our loyalty, were we to conceal from your majesty that it is not amongst the least considerable of our grievances, that attempts should have been made to brand your majesty's faithful subjects with disaffection to your person and government, whenever they have exercised their indubitable right to complain of gross abuses in the state, or to attribute the disgraceful failure of expensive and calamitous enterprises to the ignorance and incapacity of those who either planned or executed them; as if infallibility were the appendage of office, and belonged of right to those who may be called into your majesty's councils.

"With equal grief and indignation we have seen the disastrous result of various expeditions, in which your majesty's armies have been unhappily engaged, and which most forcibly mark the imbecility of those distracted councils which have so scandalously lavished the blood and treasure of a gallant, loyal, and burthened people.

"Towards the close of the preceding year your faithful citizens humbly expressed to your majesty their deep concern and disappointment at the disgraceful convention of Cintra; but we have yet to deplore that due and efficient inquiry has not been made into that disgraceful transaction.

"It is equally painful to call to your majesty's recollection the melancholy fate of a second army assembled within the Peninsula, under the gallant commander sir John Moore. Ignorant alike of the state and disposition of the Spaniards, and the force and designs of the enemy, this army, being sent into the interior of Spain, was in imminent danger of being captured: in this critical emergency, and state of agonizing perplexity, abandoned to his own resources, this hapless but meritorious officer at length discovered that he had no safety but in flight: with the loss of his ammunition, horses, specie and baggage, and harassed and assailed on all sides, he secured the retreat of the remains of his gallant followers, by the sacrifice of his own invaluable life.

"Deriving no benefit from experience, a third well appointed army, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, was hurried into the interior of Spain, alike ignorant of the force and movements of the enemy, where, after an unprofitable display of British valour and a dreadful slaughter, this army, like the former, was compelled to seek its safety by a precipitate retreat, before (what we were led to believe) a vanquished foe, leaving thousands of our sick and wounded coun-

countrymen in the hands of the enemy. This loss, like others, has passed without inquiry; and, as if impunity had placed the servants of the crown above the reach of justice, your majesty has been advised to confer titles of honourable distinction on the general who had thus exhibited a rash and ostentatious display of unprofitable bravery.

"After these multiplied errors, and in defiance of reiterated experience, we have seen another expedition, yet more expensive, more disgraceful, and more calamitous than the former. This armament, delayed until the fate of Austria was decided, landed on the unwholesome shores of the Scheldt; where, after an unaccountable state of inaction, thousands of our brave soldiers have miserably and ingloriously perished by pestilence, privation, and disease, without having accomplished one national object. On such an expedition, planned and conducted by a minister, who it is now known had been pronounced unfit for his office by his colleagues—an expedition that touches all minds with shame, and fills all hearts with agony, it is too painful to dilate.

"We cannot refrain from representing to your majesty, that while the affairs of the nation have been so shamefully misconducted abroad, the most scandalous waste, profusion, and mismanagement, have prevailed at home; and your majesty's confidential advisers, destitute of all those qualities essential to good government, and regardless alike of the sufferings of the people and of the honour of their sovereign, and insensible or indifferent to the surrounding dangers and impending fate of the country, have been engaged in the most disgraceful squabbles, intrigues, and cabals, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation; and which cannot but be as disreputable to your majesty's government, as they are ruinous and dishonourable to the country.

"While we disclaim all interest in the views of contending parties, from a firm conviction that we cannot look for a reformation in the abuses of the state, from any persons or parties interested in the preservation of them; we cannot but express our ardent hope, that your majesty will be more fortunate in the choice of the men to whom you may hereafter confide the conduct of affairs; and that your councils will be no longer embarrassed, nor the country insulted and dishonoured, by those disgraceful occurrences; which, while they have exposed us to the ridicule of surrounding nations, may embolden the enemy to look forward with confidence to the subjugation of a nation so distracted in her councils, and so improvidently governed.

"That while we forbear enumerating a long train of internal grievances, we cannot but attribute such a series of failures and disasters to the abuses and corruptions of the state, and the consequent want of constitutional control over the public expenditures, and the servants of the crown, whereby the responsibility of ministers appears to exist only in name.

"We, therefore, humbly pray that your majesty will be graciously pleased to assure your loyal and affectionate people, that the object to which their wishes are directed, is neither to be abandoned nor eluded; and that your majesty will be pleased to institute a rigid, impartial, and general inquiry into these national misfortunes; into the plans upon which these expeditions were

were undertaken, and into the conduct of the commanders to whom they were intrusted.

"Signed, by order,
"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

BERKSHIRE COUNTY MEETING.

15. At a very large meeting of the freeholders of Berkshire the following address was voted:—

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the nobility, clergy, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Berks, beg leave to approach your majesty's throne with feelings of sincere attachment and devotion to your royal person, of anxious solicitude for the honour of your crown and the safety of your dominions, and at the same time with sentiments of the deepest affliction at the perilous situation of the public affairs of these kingdoms.

"It is unnecessary to remind your majesty of the enormous burdens imposed upon your people for supporting the war in which we are engaged; of the species of taxation it has given rise to, novel in its principle, offensive and invidious in its collection, and oppressive beyond all example in its magnitude.

"Your majesty has nevertheless seen that your subjects have patiently and even cheerfully submitted to sacrifices as unexampled in the history of this country, as they have been injurious to numerous classes of its inhabitants, in the hope and confidence that, the councils of your majesty being directed by wisdom, by prudence, and fidelity, the privations of your subjects would be but temporary, and that their zeal and sacrifices would be ultimately rewarded by the security of your majesty's throne, the prosperity of your dominions, and the confirmation of their own liberties and independence. It is, however, our duty and our misfortune to have it to state to your majesty, that we discover neither wisdom, prudence, nor fidelity, in your majesty's advisers; that their acts are marked by every appearance of rashness, incapacity, and folly: and that, under the government of persons so apparently inadequate to avert the dangers and difficulties of the country, we see no end to our misfortunes.

"We humbly crave leave particularly to call your majesty's attention to the fruitless efforts of your gallant army during the last year. Your majesty's advisers and commanders had for their guidance and instruction in the last campaign in Spain and Portugal, the melancholy experience of the ever-to-be-lamented sir John Moore, and the sufferings of his brave followers: and yet a second British army, superior in numbers to the first, and alike conspicuous for its gallantry and zeal, was sent there, and hurried on into the heart of Spain, for no other purpose than that of making an useless display of valour, and meeting its own destruction. We crave your majesty's gracious attention likewise to the fatal expedition to the Scheldt; when the flower of your troops, without the opportunity of performing any exploit worthy of them, were permitted for months to perish by diseases peculiar to the climate, and which your ministers must have known to be prevalent there at the time when they thus doomed your majesty's troops to destruction.

"It is with equal grief and shame we are compelled further to submit to your majesty's attention, that whilst the armies of your empire were perishing by famine and the sword in Spain, and diseases in Walcheren, your majesty's ministers,

sters, regardless alike of the honour of their sovereign and the dangers of the country, have consumed the time (which ought to have been exclusively devoted to the public service) in the most disgraceful squabbles, intrigues, and cabals; and have not hesitated, by publishing these transactions to the world, to expose your majesty's councils, and the character of your government, to the ridicule and contempt of surrounding nations; and to prove themselves the faithless and unworthy servants of your majesty and the public. We humbly, therefore, supplicate your majesty, that you will be pleased to institute a most rigid inquiry into the causes of the calamitous issue of the two expeditions to Spain and the Scheldt; and we rest assured that your majesty will do all that lies in your power to prevent the recurrence of similar disasters, by bringing to condign punishment the authors of our misfortunes. We cannot conclude this our humble petition to your majesty, without alluding to your majesty's gracious answer to a similar petition from the mayor and common council of the city of London, in which your majesty is pleased to refer the petitioners to the wisdom of parliament. We presume to state to your majesty, that we have seen for years past, with the deepest concern, that attempts to procure parliamentary inquiry upon the subject of our national misfortunes have in all cases been unsuccessful; and in the course of last sessions we witnessed with not less astonishment than indignation, that a system was adopted, and almost proclaimed, of protecting public men from public inquiry; a system which is in direct defiance of the uniform practice of the best periods in our history, and the most undoubted and invaluable principles of our constitution."

EXPLOSION AT FAVERSHAM POWDER-MILLS.

16. At half past two o'clock, the corning-house, No. 4, in the king's powder-mills at Faversham, blew up with a most tremendous explosion. Of the six men employed in the building at the time, four were blown to pieces, and their bodies and limbs were scattered to a distance of upwards of 400 yards from the site of the building. One of their arms was found on the top of a high elm tree. The fifth man was taken up alive, but no hopes of his recovery were entertained. The sixth man, George Holmes the foreman of the work, was found alive also, sitting in the midst of the smoking ruins, with his clothes burning; but he was otherwise not much injured, and is likely to do well. At the door of the counting-house was standing a tumbril, or covered waggon, with two horses and a driver. The waggon was blown to pieces, and the driver and horses were killed. Of three horses employed within the building, two have perished, but the third is living. The scattered remains of two of the men were collected for interment; those of the other three have not been found. No circumstances have transpired, from which an opinion can be formed with respect to the cause of the accident. It is the third of the kind that has happened at these mills within these seven years.

THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR.

17. This was the day appointed for the introduction of his excellency the Persian ambassador to her majesty, which was arranged so as to be conducted with equal attention and

and splendour to that of the introduction to his majesty. Soon after two o'clock, her majesty's carriage, with six beautiful bay horses, with three footmen, who, together with the coachman and postillion, were dressed in state liveries, arrived at his excellency's house in Mansfield-street. Soon after his excellency's master of the mule and page set off in his excellency's carriage to the queen's palace, with the presents brought by his excellency from his court to her majesty. In a short time after, his excellency followed in her majesty's carriage; a number of persons were attracted round his house in consequence, who behaved in a very respectful manner. His excellency arrived a few minutes before three o'clock at the queen's palace, preceded by the carriage of sir Stephen Cotterell the master of the ceremonies, and accompanied in her majesty's carriage by Mr. Chester, the assistant-master of the ceremonies (sir Stephen Cotterell being indisposed), and sir Gore Ouseley. His excellency was conducted by Mr. Chester to her majesty's drawing-room, and introduced to her majesty by the earl of Morton, her majesty's chamberlain, with the same form as if her majesty was holding a grand public drawing-room, all her majesty's state attendants being present—consisting of colonel Desbrow, her majesty's vice-chamberlain; earl Harcourt, master of the horse; colonel Upton, the equerry; master Anson, her majesty's page of honour, and the other pages; ladies J. Thynne and Ely; misses Courtney, Brudenell, S. Coleman, and Wrottesley. Her majesty was accompanied by the princesses, and the dukes of Kent, Cambridge, and Brunswick. His excellency delivered his credentials to her majesty, which were most graciously received. His excellency also delivered the presents from his court, consisting of three boxes of jewels, several choice shawls, and a curious carpet, which were also most graciously received. His excellency was in the palace about half an hour; he returned in her majesty's carriage through the park, and then got into his own carriage.

DREADFUL SUICIDE.

18. At seven o'clock in the evening an inquest was held in Upper Thames-street, before Thos. Shelton, esq. coroner for the city of London, on the body of Mr. Lyon Levy, who was found dead about noon that day in Monument-yard. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased had paid for admission into the Monument, observing to the keeper, that some ladies were shortly to join him; upon which the man said, "Sir, had not you better wait until the ladies come?" The deceased, however, proceeded onwards directly; he reached the gallery, precipitated himself over the railing, and falling on his head, expired without a groan. His fall appeared at first to be in such a straight perpendicular direction, that it was thought he would have fallen inside of the railing; his feet, however, striking against one of the griffins by the way, threw him some distance from the monument, and he fell into the yard surrounding it. He was one of the most extensive dealers in diamonds, pearls, rubies, topazes, emeralds, and other precious stones, in England. He was of the Jewish persuasion; and, besides some very extensive connexions abroad, he had nearly twenty Jews about the streets of London, who acted as hawkers or runners to his house, and each of whom had power to give

give credit to the jewellers to a great extent. Within the course of the last month he called on a person of responsibility in the trade, residing in Craven-buildings, and offered him diamonds and other precious stones to the amount of between two and 3000*l.* on credit; but the other prudently refused the offer, on account of the very great risk he ran of disposing of such a quantity of valuable gems in time sufficient for the repayment. The deceased was a man of such correctness in all his dealings, that up to the very day of his death he could have got credit, amongst the other merchants in his line of business, to almost any amount. He had been, however, unfortunate in several very extensive speculations to Gibraltar and other places abroad; he could not brook the idea of sustaining his credit for some time longer by the assistance of friends, whom, perhaps, he might not have it in his power to pay; and after having passed many years in the most honourable affluence, his altered circumstances made a deep impression on his mind; he was observed to be frequently of a gloomy habit, was totally absorbed in thought, and absent in every thing that was the topic of conversation around him. He has left a wife and eight children to bewail his loss, and it is supposed his wife is pregnant with a ninth child.—Under all these circumstances, the jury brought in their verdict—Insanity.

MR. BATHURST.

There is too much reason to fear that the account of the death of this gentleman, late British envoy to the emperor of Austria, inserted in a Paris paper, is correct as to the principal fact. It was stated, as an article of Berlin news, of the date of December 10, that Mr. Bathurst had evinced symptoms of insanity on his journey through that city, and that he had fallen by his own hand in the vicinity of Perleberg. Information, however, has been received within these few days, which forcibly tends to fix the guilt of Mr. Bathurst's death or disappearance on the French government. It appears that Mr. Bathurst left Berlin with passports from the Prussian government, and in excellent health both of mind and body. He was to proceed to Hamburgh to embark for this country—but Hamburgh he never reached. At some town near the French territories he was seized, as is supposed, by a party of French soldiers. What happened afterwards is not accurately known. His pantaloons have been found near the town where he was seized, and a letter in them to his wife; but nothing else. The Prussian government, upon receiving the intelligence, evinced the deepest regret, and offered a large reward for the discovery of his body.

COMMON HALL.

23. A common hall was held at Guildhall, to receive the report of the sheriffs of London, relative to the manner in which they had executed the instructions voted at the last common hall, for presenting to his majesty in person certain resolutions then voted, in consequence of the refusal of his majesty to receive the address of the livery otherwise than through the office of the secretary of state.

The report of the sheriffs to the lord mayor stated, that they had, in pursuance of the instructions of the livery, waited on Mr. Ryder, secretary of state for the home de-

partment, and explained their instructions, and the nature of the resolutions they were ordered to present to the sovereign at the levee. They were, however, informed by the secretary, that as these resolutions were of the same nature with those they had formerly tendered in the same way, the same objection still remained to their being presented to his majesty in person; and that although they had used every entreaty to be introduced to his majesty's presence, for the fulfilment of their purpose, their endeavours had failed of effect.

Mr. sheriff Wood corroborated the statement in a short speech, in which he acknowledged the zealous co-operation of his colleague, sheriff Atkins.

Mr. Favell then came forward and proposed a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, declaratory of the right of the city, and protesting against the denial of an audience as a new and alarming innovation, which, by interposing a ministerial authority heretofore unknown, must give the king's confidential advisers the discretion of cutting off, at all times, the constitutional channels of communication between the throne and the people.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

24. This day an action came on in the court of king's bench, on an indictment preferred by the attorney-general against Mr. Perry, the proprietor of The Morning Chronicle, for inserting in his paper the following paragraph:—

"What a crowd of ideas rush on one's mind, from considering the numberless blessings which a total change in the present system might produce! Of all our monarchs, indeed, since the Revolution, the successor of George III. will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular." The jury found him Not Guilty.

COMMON COUNCIL.

25. At a court of common council at Guildhall, the lord-mayor reported to the court his majesty's answer to the address and petition voted to him at the last court.

Upon the question for entering this answer upon the journals, Mr. Waithman observed, that from the tenor of this answer, and the proceedings in parliament, it was now clear that his former predictions were justified; and that clearly no inquiry whatever was intended, either by ministers or parliament: for of the latter, above 260 voted against that inquiry, of which he was confident there were not two hundred rational men in this country, out of parliament, who did not feel the indispensable necessity. It was, therefore, now the duty of those in that assembly, who admitted the necessity of that inquiry, and yet voted against the petition for that purpose, to move for a petition to parliament requesting it.

THANKS OF THE CITY TO COLONEL WARDLE.

30. Mr. Wardle attended at Guildhall to receive the thanks and the freedom of the city, in a gold box of the value of 100 guineas, voted him by the corporation, for his able and patriotic conduct in the house of commons, in bringing forward charges against the commander in chief. He was introduced to the chamberlain (who received him in the politest manner) by Mr. alderman Goodbehere and Mr. Waithman (the mover and seconder), attended by several of the livery. After administering the oath,

oath, Mr. chamberlain addressed him in the following words:—

"Gwillym Lloyd Wardle, esq. —I give you joy, and in the name of the right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen, and commoners of the city of London in common council assembled, and agreeably to their unanimous resolution, admit you to the freedom of the metropolis of the British empire.—The court has likewise unanimously resolved, that you, 'having, unawed by ministerial threats, exhibited serious charges against the commander in chief, which have been clearly substantiated, and which have in fact induced his royal highness to resign a situation, of which, in the opinion of this court, he is unworthy,' are entitled to the esteem and gratitude of this court and the country.—I am, therefore, sir, to return you the thanks of the court, together with a memorial of your admission to the freedom of this city, in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas, 'in grateful testimony of the high sense they entertain of the zeal, intrepidity, and patriotism, which were so eminently evinced in that arduous and laudable undertaking.' The court having so fully expressed their sense of the importance of the late investigation, and of your meritorious conduct and perseverance, there is nothing left for me to add upon that subject: but, sir, allow me to express a wish for your health and happiness, and that you may live to witness the good which we may hope will result from your exertions: and may mankind in general, and especially those of exalted rank and in confidential situations, be deeply imprest with the truth of what has been declared by the prince of historians, that *Femina, amissâ pudicitiâ, alia abnuerit!*"

Mr. Wardle then, on receiving a copy of the thanks and the box from the chamberlain, addressed him as follows:—

"Sir—With sentiments of the highest respect and gratitude I accept the freedom of the city of London. I am little capable of saying how much I feel honoured by so high and proud a mark of distinction: for, however strong my nerves may be when my duty calls me forth in defence of the rights and liberties of the people, still, when so highly respected a portion of that people are conferring upon me such an invaluable pledge of their approbation, I feel myself unequal to do more than offer my plain but heartfelt thanks. And yet, sir, it is not alone this mark of favour that I am bound to acknowledge; but I have also to express my gratitude for that uniform and steady support given me by the citizens of London, during the progress of those unexampled attacks that have been made upon me in consequence of that very conduct which has been so distinguished by their approbation. That support, sir, has enabled me successfully to defend myself against my enemies—the enemies of every public man who dares to expose and attack corruption. By continuing to expose and attack it, wherever it may offer itself, I trust to having continued to me the confidence and support of the first city in the world. It is no small satisfaction to me, to receive my freedom during the mayoralty of a gentleman who has already shown himself the firm friend of the rights and liberties of the people, and of our excellent constitution—such as it once was; and such as, I trust, it once more will be!—To you, sir, for the handsome and flattering manner in which you have con-

ferred this high honour upon me, much is due; and I beg leave to thank you kindly."

FEBRUARY.

ELOPEMENT.

1. Miss Elwes, daughter of George Elwes, esq., eloped with a clergyman of Oxford of the name of Duffield, who was assisted in the plot by two other gentlemen of the cloth. Mr. Elwes is, perhaps, the richest ready-moneyed commoner in England. He is heir to the peculiar virtues of his œconomical father, and is estimated to be worth near a million of floating disposable cash, and she is his only child. She is under age, but was not made a ward of chancery. The plan devised by the three clerical gentlemen was well conceived. One of them, under pretence of paying his addresses to a lady on a visit to Mrs. Elwes, contrived to be received into the family in the character of her lover, where he was treated with the utmost respect; and this gave him opportunities of arranging the matter for his friend Mr. Duffield. On Wednesday morning he prevailed on Mrs. Elwes to accompany his intended wife a-shopping; and in their absence he handed, with the utmost openness, miss Elwes to the door, near which a chaise-and-four was drawn up. He met Mr. Elwes in the hall, who asked them where they were going; she was without a hat or bonnet, and said she was going to her mamma, who was waiting for her. The reverend gentleman proceeded with her, placed her in the chaise by the side of her gallant, and returned to the house with the utmost unconcern. Mr. Elwes had inquired in the mean time how long Mrs. Elwes had been out, and, seeing her conductor return, inquired where his daughter was. The clergyman, with perfect *sang-froid*, told him he had delivered her to the man destined to make her happy; and that she was off to Gretna-green, where he advised him to follow, and assist in the ceremony. The distress of Mr. Elwes, and still more of Mrs. Elwes, on her return, may be conceived. They both set off in a post-chaise-and-four, on the North road; but we believe they proceeded no further than St. Albans, where not having heard the least account of their route, they resolved to return.

SWEDEN.

4. At Stockholm, on the 24th ult. the prince royal publicly and solemnly pronounced his oath of fidelity, and received the homage of the states. The ceremony took place in the hall of the throne. His majesty opened the assembly by a discourse, in which he declared his having adopted prince Christian Augustus for his son, giving him the name of Charles Gustavus. The hereditary prince mounted upon the steps of the throne, took off his crown, and upon his knees, with his hand upon the Bible, took the oath according to the formula which the minister for foreign affairs read to him. The prince royal then delivered a short harangue, replaced his crown upon his head, kissed his hand to the king, and seated himself in his chair; when the states did homage to him, according to the formula read also by the same minister.

EXPE-

EXPEDITION TO THE SCHELDT.

Return, showing the effective strength of the army which embarked for service in the Scheldt, in the month of July 1809; the casualties which occurred; the number of officers and men who returned to England; and the number of the reported sick according to the latest returns (with the exception of the 59th regiment, from which corps a proper return has not yet been received.)

Adjutant-General's Office, Feb. 1, 1810.

	Officers.	Rank and file.	Serjeants, trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	
Embarked for service		1,738		37,431
	Officers.	Rank and file.		
Killed	7	99		
Died on service	40	2,041		
Died since sent home	20	1,859	67	4,108
Deserted		84		
Discharged		25		
Total officers and men who returned, who are now borne on the strength of their respective corps			1,671	33,379
Of which number are reported sick			217	11,296

(Signed) HARRY CALVERT, adjutant-gen.

By a return made to the house of the number of officers and men, dead or reported as sick, since their return from Walcheren, it appears that we lost of

	Officers.	Rank and file.
Killed or died	47	4,108
Reported sick	217	11,296
	264	15,404

So that nearly one half of the whole effective strength of the expedition has been lost or disabled.

RUSSIA.

The court gazette of Feb. 7, contains a remarkable ukase relative to the finances. The principal articles follow:—"The bank-notes are declared a national debt: all the territorial riches of the empire are considered as mortgaged for the bank-notes. The number of these notes is not to be augmented. To reimburse the national debt, a loan shall be opened, the conditions of which shall be fixed by a particular decree. As this cessation of the issuing of bank-notes will diminish the resources of the crown, the most rigid œconomy has been introduced into all the branches of administration. The expenses for the current year have been reduced more than 20 millions; and will be yet further reduced by the suspension of many works. To meet the necessary expenses of government, the imposts must be brought back to the same real value they were of previous to the discredit of the bank-notes. To this end the capitation tax shall be two roubles; besides, each peasant shall pay, in addition to the land-tax, an extraordi-

nary tax of three roubles in governments of the first class; two and a half in those of the second; and two in the third. Citizens subject to the poll-tax, five roubles. Countrymen keeping open shops in towns, from 25 to 100 roubles. The imposts upon the capital in trade shall be augmented one half per cent. Salt, which the crown sold at 40 kopecks the pound, is to be a rouble; each pood of copper shall pay to the crown a new duty of three roubles; at the custom-houses the rix-dollar shall be valued at four roubles."

Vaccination is making a rapid progress in India. The governor, in a late proclamation, invited all the European and native inhabitants of Fort St. George to profit by that salutary discovery. By the report of the board of medicine, it appears that in the space of 18 months 145,806 persons were vaccinated and recovered. The rajah of Tanjore and the dewan of Travancore were among the number.

COURT-MARTIAL ON THE HONOURABLE CAPT. LAKE.

9. On Monday and Tuesday a court-martial was held at Portsmouth on the honourable captain Warwick Lake, of his majesty's ship Ulysses, for having, when commander of his majesty's ship Recruit, on the 13th of December 1807, at six o'clock in the afternoon, caused a seaman of the name of Robert Jeffery to be put on shore on the desert island of Sombrero in the West Indies.

It appeared, that in the month of November, 1807, Jeffery went into the gunner's cabin, and took out a bottle with some rum in it; that on the day he was sent on shore he broached a cask of spruce-beer, which had been brewed for the ship's company; and that his general character was that of a skulker. The Recruit being off the isle of Sombrero, captain Lake asked the master what island it was, and if there were not some thieves on board? To which the master answered, "Yes, there were two." Captain Lake then desired him to send Jeffery up to him: the man soon came up, and captain Lake said he would not keep such a man in the ship. He then ordered lieut. Mould to land the man, and return immediately to the ship. As soon as admiral Cochrane heard of the circumstance he reprimanded capt. Lake, and sent him to take the man off the island. Some of the officers of the Recruit landed, and explored the island, but they found nothing on it: it was a barren spot, covered in the middle with a kind of rough grass-weed. There was no house or inhabitant on it. It appeared, however, by the American newspapers afterwards received, that the man had been taken off the island by an American ship, and landed in America. Capt. Lake, in his defence, admitted that he put the man on shore, but denied that he ever intended to put his life in jeopardy, as he thought the island was inhabited; that in landing him he thought he would be more sensible of his want of conduct, and would reform in future. The court agreed that the charge had been proved, and did sentence capt. Lake to be —Dismissed from his majesty's service.

DREADFUL ACCIDENT AT LIVERPOOL.

Extract of a letter dated Feb. 12.

"Yesterday a dreadful accident occurred at the church of St. Nicholas, in this town: about half past

past ten, and just as divine service was beginning at that church, the key-stone of the tower gave way, and the north and east walls, with the whole of the spire, came down, and with a tremendous crash broke through the roof, carrying with it the whole peal of six bells, the west gallery, organ, &c. and buried a great number of the congregation in the ruins, 19 of whom have been dug out dead; five taken to the infirmary dangerously wounded, one since dead, and many more were taken home much bruised."

Further particulars.

Not more, perhaps, than from 15 to 20 grown persons were in the church at the time, and of these the greater part escaped; but the children of the Moor-fields charity-school, who are regularly marched in procession from the school to the church, somewhat earlier than the time of service, had partly entered. —The boys following last, all escaped; but of the girls, who were either entering the porch or proceeding up the aisle, we lament to state that a great number were instantly overwhelmed beneath the falling pile.—The whole number of bodies taken out from the ruins is 27. Of these 22 were either dead or died almost immediately after their removal; five were taken to the infirmary, and one of these is since dead. The hideous crash of the steeple, and the piercing shrieks which immediately issued from those who escaped in the church, or were witnesses of the catastrophe in the church-yard, immediately brought a large concourse of people to the spot; and we notice, with pleasure, the prompt exertions which were immediately made for rescuing the unfortunate victims, by the immediate removal of the fallen masonry, which were continued with unabated attention until the whole of the bodies were extricated, notwithstanding the menacing appearance of the remaining part of the tower, and the roof of the church, which every moment threatened a second fall. The scene was, throughout the whole of the forenoon, deeply affecting; the parents of the children in the school, and a number of others, hurrying from place to place, inquiring the fate of their children or relatives, in the utmost agitation, heightened, in many cases, by a long and awful suspense, and terminating in the extremes of joy or sorrow, as they found the objects of their search in safety or among the sufferers.—Accidents of this kind usually give rise to many hair-breadth and surprising escapes. We have collected the following from authentic information:—The ringers, though apparently exposed to the greatest danger, were all fortunate enough to escape, with the exception of one, who was caught in the ruins, along with a boy of 14 years of age, who was in the steeple at the same time. They were, however, both immediately extricated by the exertions of the other ringers. The man was but slightly wounded, but the boy is since dead. The alarm, it appears, was given to the ringers by the falling of a stone upon the fifth bell, which prevented its swinging; upon which they immediately ran out. A moment did not elapse before the bells, beams, and upper floor fell to the bottom of the tower; and their escape would have been impossible, had not the belfry been upon the ground floor.

DECREE UNITING ROME TO FRANCE.

12. At Paris on the 17th ult. the senate assembled under the presi-

dency of the prince arch-chancellor of the empire, and adopted the following senatus consultum:

Title I. Of the union of Rome to the empire.—1. The state of Rome is united to the French empire, and forms an integral part thereof.—2. It shall be divided into two departments: Rome and Thrasimene.—3. The department of Rome shall send seven deputies to the legislative body; Thrasimene, four.—4. The department of Rome shall be classed in the first series; Thrasimene, in the second.—5. A senatory shall be established in the departments of Rome and Thrasimene.—6. The city of Rome is the second of the empire. The mayor of Rome is to be present when the emperor takes the oaths on his accession; and is to rank, as are also all deputations from the city, on all occasions immediately after the mayors or deputations of the city of Paris.—7. The prince imperial is to assume the title, and receive the honours, of king of Rome.—8. A prince of the blood, or a grand dignitary of the empire, shall reside at Rome, who shall hold the emperor's court.—9. The property which composes the endowments of the imperial crown shall be regulated by a special senatus consultum.—10. After having been crowned in the church of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, the emperors shall, previous to the 10th year of their reign, be crowned in the church of St. Peter.—11. The city of Rome shall enjoy particular privileges and immunities, to be determined by the emperor Napoleon.

Title II. Of the independence of the imperial throne of all authority on earth.—12. Every foreign sovereign is incompatible with the exercise of any spiritual authority within the territory of the empire. 13. The popes shall, at their elevation, take an oath never to act contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican church, adopted in an assembly of the clergy in 1682.—14. The four propositions of the catholic church are declared common to all the catholic churches of the empire.

Title III. Of the temporal existence of the popes.—15. Palaces shall be prepared for the pope in the different parts of the empire in which he may wish to reside. He shall necessarily have one at Paris and another at Rome.—16. Two millions in rural property, free of all imposition, and lying in different parts of the empire, shall be assigned to the pope.—17. The expenses of the sacred college, and of the propaganda, shall be declared imperial.—18. The present organic senatus consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his majesty the emperor and king.

(Signed)

CAMBACERES, (prince arch-chancellor of the empire), and

FRANÇOIS JANCOURT CORNET, secretaries.

HOLLAND.

The following decree was published on the first instant at Paris:—"The isle of Walcheren shall be admitted to the rank of a sub-prefecturate. The principal seat of government shall be established at Middleburg. The sub-prefecturate of Walcheren shall be provisionally attached to the department of the Scheldt."

Napoleon, it appears, has not only pardoned Louis, but has been prevailed upon to spare Holland. A treaty is stated to have been signed on the 16th, at Paris; by which, with the exception of some unavoidable sacrifices, the integrity

tegrity and existence of that kingdom are preserved.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

The King v. *Frances Latham.*

Mr. Bolland opened the case. This was an indictment for perjury, in an affidavit sworn by the defendant, charging —— Barrett, esq. with the violation of her person.

Mr. serjeant Best, who from apparent ill-health addressed the court sitting, stated the case on the part of the prosecution. He said that the crime imputed to the defendant was corrupt and determined perjury, in a prosecution commenced against Mr. Barrett, to ensure a verdict, whose result must have been ruin to him—a death most certain and most ignominious. Before he concluded, he should show not only that Mr. Barrett was innocent, but that the defendant was not deceived—that there was no mistake in the charge—that nothing could be imputed to possible misapprehension—but that the crime which he then was to prosecute was wilful and inexcusable. The prosecutor in this trial is a respectable trader in London; the defendant is the daughter of a most valuable and meritorious man, The jury were probably acquainted with the general features of the case:—Miss Latham having gone down to Worthing for the benefit of her own, or her brother's health, was, according to report, insulted and brutally violated by a stranger who then resided near the town. A circumstance occurred in connexion with those facts, for which no explanation had been given. In a few weeks after the alleged crime, a letter was sent to Mr. Barrett detailing the transaction, and charging him as the perpetrator. He was then on the Kentish coast with his family. On returning to London, he was sent for by Dr. Latham; the defendant was in the room. On being asked if he knew her, he answered, "No;" but that he had heard of the affair by letter. On this Dr. Latham retorted on him, "that it was evident he knew all," and immediately gave him into the custody of an officer who was then in the house. He was then taken before a magistrate in Marlborough-street.

The counsel here read from his brief the narrative of the imputed injury:—In the evening of the 10th of July, miss Latham, walking in Worthing, as she passed along a lane leading to the road, was accosted by a stranger who said he had long wished to see her; after some similar language, he suffered her to leave him, and she returned home very much terrified. On the day after, as she was standing at her toilette, she saw him pass before the house, without being observed by him, and remarked his appearance distinctly. On the 13th, between seven and eight in the morning, returning to her apartments after bathing, she was disturbed by some person's pressing against the door. She conceived it to be the son of a Mrs. King who lodged in the house. She was so much overcome by terror, on seeing the stranger who had insulted her, that she swooned, and fell off the sofa on which she lay: on recovering she found his silk handkerchief tied over her mouth, and that she had suffered the injury of which she afterwards gave a most particular detail. The ravisher then took off the handkerchief, and importuned her to fly with him, offering her the command of money and servants; and telling

telling her he had taken off the handkerchief in hope of a complying answer. She screamed, and threatened him with her brother's return. He seized her again, bound her own handkerchief on her mouth, and escaped. In attempting to stand up, she fell and fainted; but on her recovery, still lying on the floor and bound, she tore off the bandage by rubbing her head against the window-seat, and called for assistance. It was by this feeble tissue of improbabilities that the guilt of the defendant was to be covered from the eyes of a jury. A stranger walks through an inhabited house, a house full of servants and lodgers—walks, as by intuition, directly to miss Latham's apartment; and there commits a crime which exposes him to instant seizure and instant ruin. She swooned on seeing him, but no violence was used in her swoon. The jury had heard the accurate observations which she made in the course of the assault. Who could conceive a woman so circumstanced to be capable of such observation—to be collected, calm, particular—to remember incidents which might escape the mind most at ease? She could recollect the change of the stranger's handkerchief for her own, the proposition of going off with him, her reply, and his rejoinder. She could remember the hurry of the ravisher on being threatened with her brother's return from the shore, the improbable spirit of decorum which worked upon his politeness to come back and raise the two chairs that he had overturned in his retreat. She could then devise a lucky expedient for freeing herself from her bonds, calmly call for Martha Lawrence, the servant, to complete the operation and set her free. He, in his office as counsel for the prosecution, had no wish to load her with an unqualified charge; he concluded that she had been made the tool of other and more artful persons. The case was accompanied by circumstances, which, if they were correctly stated, must make its truth undeniable. Were they stated to the magistrate? If so, they were still forthcoming in his notes. The transaction occupied the 10th, 11th, and 12th of July. Witnesses were now waiting to prove, that his client was not in Worthing on any of those days. The house in which the outrage was committed was, like those hastily built at watering-places, small, with but few apartments, and thin partitions, through which a scream, nay even a word, must be audible. Miss Latham screamed loudly!—"Gentlemen (said the learned serjeant), it has pleased Providence to make the scream of distress the most heart-rending, most piercing, most penetrating, of all other sounds that can be formed by the human voice." If miss Latham was violated on the 12th, why did she not communicate her misfortune to some friend—not of course to a male acquaintance, for there might be a restraint of natural modesty; but there was a female in the house, Mrs. King, with whom she was on terms of perfect intimacy. Why had not she been trusted? why not brought to give her testimony before the magistrate? The house in which Dr. Latham placed his daughter must have been respectable. Was not the mistress of that house fit to be intrusted with the circumstance? Had she been intrusted? Had she been brought before the magistrate? She should be at length brought, for she should be seen in court that day. Was

Martha

Martha Lawrence, the servant, acquainted with it? Where was the indelicacy of mentioning it to her? Had she been prohibited from telling it? or could any prohibition prevent her telling it, if it had been told to her?" The jury were now to prepare themselves for all the plausibility which genius and eloquence could throw round a falling cause. But he could bring 20 witnesses to prove his case. On the 4th of July Mr. Barrett came to London with his family, and remained in London till the 14th. It could be shown with whom he had done business during the time; when he slept in town; public officers could be called to prove his being present there. The signature of bonds, executed within those peculiar days, could be adduced to prove the point beyond all doubt. —The proof had already succeeded. His client's life had been saved, he was now to vindicate his honour. On the 14th, in the morning, he arrived at Worthing. If violence had been committed on the 12th, was it possible that he should stay there? Advertisements had been published describing the ravisher, and offering a reward for his apprehension. Did he fly? This was posted up on every house; he could not raise his eyes without meeting it, yet he remained in Worthing till the 18th or 19th unmolested. He went to all public places; he exhibited no fear, he practised no concealment. The act was said to have been committed between the hours of eight and nine in the morning, in miss Latham's room; that room was immediately over the shop. The mistress of the house would come forward to prove the total falsity of the statement: she had been in the shop from seven that morning; she heard no shrieks, no fall of chairs, no fall of a body, and miss Latham was of a form that must make her fall audible. If this misfortune occurred to her in the morning, in what situation must she have been afterwards? Would she not have been unfit to converse with any but her most intimate friends? She would continue affected, agitated, overpowered by the mingled feelings of such an injury. This was human nature. Her countenance must have betrayed, though her tongue were silent; she must have shrunk from the eye; she must have saddened and pined under the sensibilities of young and timid outraged innocence. Were those symptoms discoverable in her? She came down stairs in her usual spirits, with her dress unruffled, and arranged with its usual care, to altercate with the landlady about some three-pence or four-pence of a laundress's bill. The learned counsel concluded by declaring, that his object was to vindicate his client, not to ruin miss Latham. His client might have been justified in pushing the law to its utmost extent. It was not owing to this woman but to the providence of God, that instead of coming to that court to assert his innocence, he was not now sinking under the punishment of his imputed crime, languishing in Horsham gaol, loaded with irons, and preparing only to exchange a bitter captivity for a death of pain and infamy.

The attorney-general, on the part of the defendant, said, he had no objection to proceeding with the case; his evidence were ready, and they could satisfy the jury. But he had read the evidence given on the examination with great attention, and felt that no suspicion of the

the crime could remain on Mr. Barrett.

Mr. Alley.—"I declared before, that if the alibi were allowed, no further proceeding should be taken."

Mr. serjeant Best.—"My lord, Mr. Barrett is only anxious to declare, on oath, his own innocence; after that he puts himself in my hands, and I am in your lordship's."

Lord Ellenborough.—"I cannot change the course of proceedings; this cause must be tried like every other cause."

The attorney-general.—"My lord, you see into what dreadful evidence we must plunge by proceeding; I can show sufficient grounds to exculpate my client. But it cannot be for the general good to proceed. I should have interrupted my learned friend but for the moderation of his commencement. But even now I have no hesitation to withdraw all charge against his client, and spare the morality of the public and the feelings of a father."

Lord Ellenborough.—"Gentlemen of the jury, there has been no evidence adduced in this cause; you will therefore find a verdict for the defendant."

Munyard v. *Gilbert.*

21. This was a trial on an issue from the court of chancery to try the validity of a marriage.

Mr. Park stated the case. The defendant already named was a nominal one, and named only as connected with the deed on which this cause was originally moved in chancery. The real defendant was Mr. Daniels, lately a stockbroker, and now residing at Hampstead. The plaintiff was also a stockbroker.—Some months before the 8th of April 1809, the plaintiff, going to the defendant's house on business of his father's, a wholesale ironmonger in Castle-street, saw the defendant's daughter. His connexion with the Exchange enabled him to serve Mr. Daniels on some occasions in his business. This produced an intimacy, in the course of which the plaintiff paid his addresses to miss Daniels, and was desired to wait till she was a few months older. One evening, at supper, Mr. Daniels suddenly announced to his daughter his consent that she should be married to the object of her declared regard. She was a delicate girl, and the intelligence produced such an immediate nervous agitation that medical aid was necessary. She recovered soon after, and from her strong attachment, and her habitual irritability of frame, her friends advised that the marriage should not be delayed. If it were possible that a verdict should go against him this day, he could not conceive a man more hardly treated than his client: his addresses sanctioned, his marriage solemnized by consent of both families, and this without any hope of emolument, excepting the distant one of a very moderate fortune, from the precarious and capricious bounty, or rather from the inveterate and unaccountable enmity, of his father-in-law. On the 27th of March Mr. Daniels, his daughter, and a Mrs. Newman, her aunt, came to town from Hampstead, to buy clothes and trinkets for the wedding. On her return, miss Daniels went on a visit to the plaintiff's father, who lives at Camden Town. She remained there from the 1st to the 7th of March, without any appearance of the insanity which was now alleged as the cause of breaking off a marriage contracted in the face

face of the church, according to the forms of law. On the 3d of April a dinner was given at Mr. Daniels's house, to which the whole of the Munyard family was invited. Mr. Daniels was laid up in bed with the gout; but the females of the party were admitted to his apartment, and he expressed himself in terms of the warmest affection for his intended son-in-law; said that nothing should now delay the match, and that he might have taken a horse and rode from one end of London to the other before he could have met a man in every way so eligible. He afterwards went with his daughter to Doctors Commons, to execute the necessary papers for the marriage; in short, went every where with her but to the altar. If he saw her insane before that, why not forbid the marriage? if at the altar, why not stop her there? He attests the marriage, he signs the register, and yet now comes forward to invalidate the ceremony to which he had given his full sanction. I can believe nothing low or insulting of the church; there was a clergyman officiating—would he not have refused to go through the rite if he had seen insanity in either of the parties? The exhortation of the form of marriage was among the most solemn in the whole rubric. The clergyman read it so that it was heard by the parties; it was heard by the aunt, who was now to be brought forward full of testimony to the insanity of her niece, and acknowledging, with a base and bold defiance of the feelings of a relative, and the faith of a virtuous woman, that she allowed her niece to go a sacrifice to the altar, to swear to the performance of duties of which she could not know the nature; to vow obedience to a husband, while her brain was distorted with madness! to contract a marriage which that aunt knew must be a nullity; and to load an unhappy and doting husband with the shame, the burden, the misery of a lunatic wife, and propagate a race of unfortunates, cursed with the dreadful visitation of that malady which had made their mother an object of mingled compassion and horror. No; this was not credible; it was not in human nature to believe so weak a fiction; it was not in human artifice to believe that fiction strong; the jury would decide upon the simple question, whether at the time of solemnizing the marriage, the 8th of April, miss Sarah Ann Daniels was or was not possest of a sound and perfect mind.

On the part of the defendant, the attorney-general stated, that his object was to release an unfortunate woman from hands which could now only ill-treat her, and restore her to the protection and fondness of a father, who had consented to this disadvantageous match merely as a forlorn hope, to recover the lost mind of his daughter, and now was only anxious to have the power of protecting and cherishing her.

After the case had closed on both sides, lord Ellenborough recapitulated the evidence.—The issue which the lord chancellor had directed to be tried was, whether Sarah Ann Daniels was of competent mind on the 8th of April. It was recognised by the wisest principles of law, that the acts of a lunatic, done in the lucid intervals of his disorder, were valid. Particularity of conduct could not defeat those rights, so sacred in the eye of the law. There was the late case of a noble lord, who distinguished himself by the most eccentric oddities, sitting

sitting during the day in a woman's old red cloak in a window, having a particular dish every night for supper, and other deviations from the usual manner of society. But those should not invalidate the precious rights secured by the laws. Miss Daniels, doubtless, must have retained the vestiges of her disorder. Madness left its deep impression on the countenance: there was the wandering of the eyes, the paleness, the wild and melancholy look, even when the mind had shaken off the weight of its last and direst calamity. There could be no feeling for the defendant; his case was as weighty and as dark as ever came before the court. He had but an election of crimes. He had entered into a foul and infamous conspiracy with the aunt, to do an act which drew down the heaviest vengeance of the insulted laws, to violate the order which commands that marriage should not be contracted where this dreadful disease of the mind stood to prohibit its celebration; or he was guilty of the still more foul and infamous crime of conspiring with that woman to break down a lawful marriage, to tear a wife from her husband, to make her marriage an illegitimate rite, and her children bastards before the world. He defied the genius of man to find out any other than the miserable option of one of those great offences against feeling, against society, against law, and against religion.

The jury, after a short consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Millis v. *Flower.*

Mr. Park, who addressed the court, stated this to be an action for a breach of promise of marriage.

He said, the plaintiff in this case, a woman about 40 years of age, is the daughter of a respectable ribbon manufacturer residing at Coventry; the defendant is also a ribbon manufacturer at Coventry, and a wholesale dealer in Gutter-lane, Cheapside. The present action was brought to recover a compensation in damages. The circumstances which appeared in evidence were shortly these:—In the summer of 1804, the defendant, who is a methodist, being in bad health, went for change of air to the house of a friend at Coventry; whilst there he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, by which accident his shoulder was contused. Miss Millis, hearing of the accident, sent him a bottle of lotion to bathe the bruised limb with, and, induced by kindness of disposition, afterwards visited him, to see it properly applied: this kindness made a very strong impression on the mind of the defendant, who having recently lost his wife, and being not more than ten years older than the plaintiff, felt persuaded that she would prove a proper person to fill up the vacancy in his heart: he declared his affection in due form, and, it appeared, did not meet with a repulse; for on the defendant's return to London, which took place soon after, a correspondence commenced betwixt them, which continued till June 1805.

He would now proceed to read some of the letters: the first was dated the 9th of September, 1804, and was to the following effect:—

"My dear Mary,—I received your letter of the 29th of August; the contents cheered my heart very much. You may think me too old for

for these professions. I could not help kissing your dear letter over and over again before destroying it: you are very cruel to bid me destroy them. The world is full of vanities, but you are the only thing in it I wish to realize.

["Here," said the learned counsel, "comes an instance of abominable misuse of Scripture language—of an impudent practice of conceiving that all his trifling and foolish movements are objects of immediate interest to a particular providence."]

"I have been much ruffled in spirit this morning, by fighting with an impudent maid servant; I sent her off, however; but by the kindness of Providence, the trial has been made up to me in the sweetness of my girl's; I have been recompensed too by getting a maid from Oxford (rather a singular place of selection, said Mr. Park); she is likely to be a good one; but, my dear, I am tired of leading a single life; keep me near your heart."

["And here," said the learned counsel, "is one instance of what we have all heard so much about—the ingenuity of love. Mr. Flower would not condescend to use the common mode of writing the word *heart*—he takes the trouble of drawing an awkward emblem, a cheese-cake-heart, upon his paper, and sends this effigy of his passion to his only beloved."]

"I don't mind what the world says; I am accountable only to Providence. I don't know how I shall go to Coventry, for I cannot return and leave you behind; yet I would not wish to marry till March, as by that time my wife will have been *a year* dead."

He came to Coventry, quarrelled with the plaintiff on some frivolous pretence, returned to London, and finally married another. This was in 1805. "I am not inclined," said Mr. Park, "to approve of this delay; but much may be alleged for it; the uncertainty whether the defendant might not be prevailed on to do miss Millis justice; the shame and pain which a respectable female felt in becoming so much an object for the public eye as an appeal to public justice generally makes her; and last, though an inferior consideration, her wish to have him (Mr. Park) as her counsel. She might have found a much better; but such was her fancy, for he could call it nothing more. Some casual obstructions had hitherto prevented his being on the spot when the trial was to come on; and she had delayed it until he could, as on this day, discharge a duty which he felt one of the most painful and most important that was ever imposed upon him.—He felt that there could be no hope of throwing aspersions on her character: for if the attempt were made, it could only enhance the damages.

A book-keeper of the defendant's was then sworn to give evidence to the hand-writing of the letters.

Examined by Mr. Marryat.

Q. Do you know that hand?—A. I can't say that—I believe I do.

Q. Do you swear you don't know?—A. I am not sure that I don't.

By lord Ellenborough.—Q. If you received that letter in your hand, would you act upon it as if it were the defendant's writing?—A. I believe not.

Q. Answer me promptly, sir! a witness who hesitates as you have done only implicates his own character!—A. My lord, I hope my character is well known in London; but Mr. Flower used to write different hands; he was often unwell; he used to write short-hand;

hand; he was shy of letting me see him write.

Q. What, sir! in his ordinary business did he use short-hand? You must see the improbability, the gross improbability of your testimony where you attempt a fact, and its prevarication where you hazard a conjecture: Pray, sir, in what capacity were you connected with Mr. Flower?—A. I was his book-keeper.

Q. His book-keeper, and not have the faintest recollection of his hand? Go down from that box, sir, you have told us enough. Go along; you may read your history in the eyes of the gentlemen around you."

Another witness was then called, who proved the hand-writing.

The letters were then read. The first was that which we have already given; the second was dated October, and was in substance as follows:—

"My dear Mary,—This appears a long silence; but as I was going out of town, I was afraid your letters might fall into other hands than my own; I am truly weary of living alone. Oh! for the dear comforts of a woman's society! I long to see you at the head of my table—to see you my wife; that is the only hope that can make life desirable."

The next was November, 1804.

"My dear—Oh, how I long to see you! You say you have been too open with me. Don't be afraid of being too open; I shall soon go to the country; then I expect to find you ready to obey. I must have you all passive obedience and non-resistance. We have preaching every day and night in town here, but I still find that I want a taste for divine things. Keep your hand in, my love; your first letter was very legible, but your last I could not make out. God bless you! Yours, "B. F."

Some of the succeeding letters were occupied with censures of the talkative spirit of the country people. The last was dated April, 1805:—

"Dear Mary,—I regret to hear that you are unwell; but if ever I should see you *in the flesh*, I will make it up to you: I know you feel reluctance in parting with your father and mother; but you will be used to that. I have, since I saw you, been offered two large sums of money in marriage; but if I fail of you, I shall remain as I am: I would not have the queen! The moment I got your letter, I was consulting with the doctor about Maria's health—for, as Dr. Watts says—

"The dear delights we dote on now,
And fondly call our own,
Are but short favours borrow'd now,
To be repaid anon."

Every part of your letter gave me great joy; don't think of any unkindness in my answering you now. I am in great trouble. Yours,
"B. F."

This was followed by a note from Stoney Stratford, mentioning that the journey disagreed with his daughter, and that he would be in Coventry next day to dinner.

The Rev. Mr. Brooksbank, dissenting minister at Haberdasher's Hall, was called to prove that the defendant was now a married man, and that he had a child since his last marriage. On his cross-examination by Mr. Garrow, he stated that the defendant was remarkably sickly, and had had a paralytic stroke.

The defence set up was, that there

there was a concerted plan on the part of the plaintiff, to draw from the defendant, who was in a very infirm state, a promise of marriage, which neither the lady's age nor his own constitution would permit him to fulfil; and that he had since married a grave matronly woman, more suited to his age and infirmities. From the defendant's own evidence, however, it appeared that the lady whom he had married was several years younger than the plaintiff; and that since his marriage, notwithstanding his alleged infirm state of health, his family had been increased by the birth of a fine boy.

After a reply by Mr. Park,

Lord Ellenborough addressed the jury in a charge of great eloquence and impressiveness. He peculiarly animadverted upon the language of some of the letters, which he termed a disgusting mixture of lasciviousness and fanaticism, tending to degrade Christianity, by mingling its high and sacred names with the meanness and abomination of the lowest earthly impurity. After giving an able view of the innocence of the plaintiff's objects, and the manifest injury which had been done to her, he left the reparation to the jury.

The jury, after a few moments consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff—*Damages five hundred pounds.*

INTENDED DESCENT INTO ELDON-HOLE.

The following information is received from credible authority, respecting the descent intended to be made into the above tremendous chasm, in the peak of Derbyshire, for the purpose of exploring, if possible, the depth, extent, stratification, and other particulas of this unfathomed abyss.

A survey was made by Mr. Hutchinson, of Chapel-en-le-frith, author of the "Tour through the High Peak," and some old experienced miners, to ascertain the most proper place for laying a stage, and fixing the necessary apparatus for a descent into Eldon-hole; and there can be no doubt but this adventurous undertaking will prove highly interesting to the public, as well as useful to the scientific geologist.

The length of line let down into Eldon-hole has been stated by some writers to have been 2,800 fathoms, while others give a very different and far less calculation. Be this, however, as it may, it is very probable that different subterraneous passages will be discovered by the adventurers, extending in various directions, and communicating perhaps with the great Peak's-hole, or some other darksome cavern of the earth.

There is not any person now living who has descended into Eldon-hole; and indeed the descent formerly made by a person of the adjacent county, who was let down to the first perpendicular landing, to discover whether a human body, suspected to have been murdered, was thrown into this pit, could not be expected to produce any very authentic account, as the inducement arose from a mere casual circumstance, without any preparation, and perhaps without the spirit of investigation. The most minute attention is required on such an occasion, as the smallest cranny or aperture is often known to open into the magnificent apartments of the mineral kingdom. But we must yet remain in ignorance on

this subject; the dark and undiscovered extent of this dismal gulf must still bewilder the most intelligent, and paralyse the most bold and enterprising, with awe, conjecture, and amazement; for beyond these conceptions no human being can at present devise one single idea.

It is however some satisfaction for us to be enabled to inform our readers, that, in all probability, the above enterprise will be pursued with judgement, and executed with resolution.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The following instance of condescension and benevolence on the part of his royal higness cannot too generally be made known. A few days since, his royal highness was on a friendly visit at the house of lord Melbourne, at Whitehall, and upon his return, about two o'clock in the morning, he perceived a poor boy lying huddled up beneath the portico of the noble lord's house, where he had crept to avoid the inclemency of the weather, it having rained very hard during the evening. His royal highness accosted the boy, who replied that he had come from the country, and had neither parents nor home. His royal highness observed to his attendants, that the poor child must not remain there to perish, and ordered him to follow the carriage to Carleton-house. On their arrival, he directed every necessary refreshment to be given him, and that he should be put in a comfortable bed. In the morning his royal highness again interrogated the boy, and finding him to tell an artless and true tale, immediately directed that he should be employed in the household, having first given orders for his being newly clothed. The boy remains at Carleton-house.

MARCH.

THE EARL OF UXBRIDGE, MESSRS. HUGHES, WILLIAMS, AND GRENFELLS, *v.* TEED.

This was an action brought by the plaintiffs, proprietors of very extensive copper concerns, against the defendant, an inspector of the duties on income and property in the city of London, for a wilful and vexatious surcharge made by him, in respect of the plaintiffs' returns and profits for the year ending the 5th of April last. It was stated, that the defendant, without any information or ground of surcharge, except the circumstance of plaintiffs' having the year before made a much larger return of profits, surcharged them the sum of 28,357*l.* several months after their return of profits had been, upon examination, allowed by the additional commissioners, and the amount of the 10 per cent. duty thereon paid into the bank; the inspector at the time he made such surcharge having been also aware that Mr. Grenfells, one of the plaintiffs, had appeared before, and fully satisfied, the commissioners, previously to their passing the assessment upon which this surchage was afterwards made. Upon hearing, however, before the commissioners of appeal, the surcharge was disallowed; and plaintiffs, considering it a question of great public import to ascertain by the decision of a court of law, whether the inspectors were justified in making surcharges, as seems too much the practice, without any ground of information for doing so, (taking the chance of putting a proportion of the surcharge into their

their own pockets, in case of its being in any degree allowed,) brought this action. It, however, appearing, that one of the additional commissioners (Mr. James Dixon, who is since dead,) had in the present instance advised the defendant to make the surcharge, the court was of opinion that it removed from him all imputation of his having made the surcharge vexatiously; and the plaintiffs were of course nonsuited. It was, notwithstanding, distinctly understood that a surcharge made without any ground besides an inspector's own presumption is unwarrantable, and would be deemed vexatious. It also appeared, and was stated in court, that the circumstance of the inspector's having acted under the advice of Mr. Dixon was wholly unknown to the plaintiffs.

From this decision, it would appear that the subject is not protected by the law, as it now stands, against a false surcharge, provided the inspector acts under the advice, or at the suggestion, of any one of the commissioners; notwithstanding the assessment having been made by the commissioners before whom an investigation respecting the same had previously taken place.

Ann Flyn was indicted for stealing from a butcher in Whitechapel market a shoulder of mutton. It appeared in evidence, that the prosecutor being busy with his customers on a Saturday night, the prisoner availed herself of that opportunity, and carried away the shoulder of mutton.—She was however soon seized and brought back, and an officer being sent for, she was carried before a magistrate, and committed for trial. These facts being proved, the prisoner was called upon for her defence, and she told a tale of woe that penetrated every ear. She acknowledged the robbery, but solemnly declared that she was urged to it by the most afflicting distress; her husband had been ill and unable to earn a shilling for thirteen weeks, and she was driven to the last extremity with two infant children; and in that deplorable situation ventured to commit the crime with which she stood charged; and that she had been already confined five weeks. The jury found her guilty with a faltering accent; but the recorder immediately said, "Gentlemen, I understand you," and sentenced her to be fined one shilling, and discharged; which the jury themselves paid, but the officer of the prison gave it to her.

As soon as she was turned out of the dock, the prosecutor addressed the court, and said that the constable had done him more injury than the thief; for sir W. Parsons, the magistrate, having ordered him to take care of the shoulder of mutton, *he thought fit to cook it for his own dinner, and sit down and eat it.* [This new complaint, as might naturally be supposed, excited not a little the risible muscles of the court.] The constable was immediately called upon to account for his conduct, who said,—"My lord, I did take care of it; I kept it whilst it was worth keeping, and if my wife and I had not eaten it, the dogs must have dined on it."

The body of the hon. Frederick Eden was found off Millbank, by a bargeman of the name of Western. It was conveyed to the house of Mr. Grace, a publican, on the bank.

A coroner's inquest was held at the Brown Bear public-house, Horse-ferry, Westminster, on the body of this unfortunate gentleman; when the

jury found a special verdict of—"Found drowned in the river; but by what means it came there, there was no evidence before the jury."

MR. FULLER, THE MEMBER FOR THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

This gentleman, whose speeches in the house of commons frequently excite the risibility of the members, on Tuesday evening exhibited himself there in a new character. It seems the house being in a committee on the Walcheren inquiry, and lord Chatham under examination, this honourable representative conceived it proper to put several questions to his lordship, which, unfortunately for Mr. Fuller, were totally disregarded by that nobleman, and also by the house. This excited the wrath of the Sussex member, who exclaimed with menacing gestures—that his questions had as much right to be attended to as those of the chancellor of the exchequer.—"G—d d—n me, sir," said he, "*I have as much right to be heard as any man who is paid for filling the place he holds.*"

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, "that the words of the hon. member should be taken down;" which was agreed to.

The house then resumed; and sir J. Anstruther, the chairman, reported the expressions of Mr. Fuller.

The speaker then informed the house, that it had come to his knowledge that a member had used unparliamentary language, which was a breach of the privileges of that honourable house. He felt sorry that it would become his duty to name him.

Mr. Fuller—"You need not be diffident—it's I, *Jack Fuller.*"

The speaker ordered the hon. member to withdraw; but he declined, until several of his friends interfered.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, "that he should be taken into custody of the serjeant-at-arms;" which was agreed to without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Fuller, who was in the lobby, on the vote of the house being communicated to him, rushed into the body of the house, and, in a loud voice, said, the speaker had not the power or authority to order him into custody; he (the speaker) was only the servant of the members, and, by their submitting to him, they had made him their master; he meant "*the insignificant little fellow in the wig.*"

The speaker directed the serjeant-at-arms should collect the persons under his command, to remove Mr. Fuller by force from the house. It was with difficulty that the sergeant and four messengers took him into custody.

It will be seen by our parliamentary report, that on Thursday Mr. Fuller was brought to the bar of the house in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, where, on receiving a severe reprimand from the speaker, and a proper admonition in case of future similar transgressions, he was ordered to be discharged, on paying his fees.

It would be neither decent nor respectful to enter into further particulars of this curious scene: suffice it to say, that during the time it lasted, the uproar was very great. Mr. Fuller fought like a lion, and it was with the utmost difficulty that five persons could take him into custody.

Paris, March 1.

The senate met on the 27th ult. at half past one o'clock. The prince arch-

archchancellor, who presided on the occasion, read the following message from his majesty:—

"Senators,—we have dispatched to Vienna, as our ambassador extraordinary, our cousin the prince of Neufchatel, to solicit the hand of the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. We have given orders to our minister of foreign relations to lay before you the articles of the treaty of marriage between us and the archduchess Maria Louisa, which has been concluded, signed, and ratified. We have been desirous of eminently contributing to the happiness of the present generation. The enemies of the continent have founded their prosperity upon its dissensions and divisions. They can no longer nourish war, by imputing to us projects incompatible with the ties and duties of affinity, which we have just contracted with the imperial house reigning in Austria. The brilliant qualities which distinguish the archduchess Maria Louisa have acquired her the love of the people of Austria. They have fixed our regards.—Our people will love this princess from their love for us, until, being witnesses of all the virtues which have given her so high a place in our thoughts, they shall love her for herself.

"Given at our palace of the Thuilleries, this 27th of February, 1810. (Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

MR. WHITBREAD'S RESOLUTIONS.

6. The debate on Monday night was the most important defeat ministers have yet experienced. It was a regular pitched battle, both sides having from the preceding Friday to muster their entire strength. The first resolution of Mr. Whitbread, which was as follows, was passed by a majority of thirty-three:

"That John earl of Chatham, having requested permission of his majesty to present to him a narrative of his proceedings, did, on the 15th of January, privately submit to the king a paper, bearing date the 15th of October, purporting to be a narrative of the proceedings of his majesty's land forces under his command, of which he withheld all knowledge from his majesty's ministers, and from the admiral commanding the naval part of the expedition, whose conduct he had implicated in no fewer than twelve parts of his narrative; and that on the 10th of February it had been returned in consequence of a request from him to that effect; and that the same was again tendered on the 14th to his majesty, having been altered by the omission of a paragraph, containing an opinion, the substance of which, from the examination of lord Chatham, they had not been able to ascertain."

The second was as follows:

"That the earl of Chatham, by such private communication to his majesty, accompanied by such desire of secrecy, did unconstitutionally abuse the privilege of access to his sovereign, and thereby afforded an example most pernicious in its tendency to his majesty's service, and the general interest of the state."

This, on the suggestion of Mr. Canning, was altered to the following, which passed without a division:

"That the house saw with regret that any such communication as the narrative of lord Chatham should have been made to his majesty, without any knowledge of the other ministers; that such con-

duct is highly reprehensible, and deserves the censure of the house."

DREADFUL FIRES.

15. At half past two o'clock in the morning a fire was discovered in the premises of Mr. Coe, oilman and tallow-chandler, in Holles-street, Clare-market. From the combustible nature of the materials, the flames in a short time blazed up with the utmost fury. The house was full of lodgers, and five persons are supposed to have perished. A young female, who had been a considerable time in a dying state, was taken out by the watchman from the first floor, and on being removed to a house in the neighbourhood she expired in the arms of her mother. The unfortunate parent, in her anxiety to provide for the safety of her child, left behind her 200*l.* which she lost. The money had been acquired by the sale of a deceased husband's business. The flames soon spread with the greatest rapidity, and a poor woman, the wife of a tinman, on the second floor, endeavoured in vain to escape. She was seen at the window calling for aid, when assistance could not be afforded, and remained visible until she dropped by suffocation. The body appeared, after the fire was extinguished, hanging to a beam which supported the floor. The front of the house being without support, it was considered dangerous to venture up by a ladder to the body. A butcher, however, mounted, fearless of the consequence, and lowered the mutilated and scorched trunk down from the window by a rope. It was then put in a shell, and conveyed to the workhouse. After the body had been thus taken down, the fragment of the floor fell with a loud crash. It was said that the husband of this unfortunate woman, and two lodgers in the garret, had fallen with the ruins, as they had not been seen since. The inhabitants were unable to save much of the property of the sufferers, and the alarm and confusion which occurred are beyond description.

An alarming fire also happened about one o'clock the same morning at a bonnet-manufactory, the corner of Duke-street, Aldgate, which destroyed the whole of the premises and furniture. The watchman observed flames issuing from the window of the first floor of Mr. Noyes; he instantly gave the alarm, and at length Mrs. N., who slept in the third story, with her maid-servant and grand-daughter, five years old (Mr. N. being out of town), opened the window, and rushed to the room-door, leaving the window unclosed; but the moment she opened the door, the draft created by the window drew the devouring element up the stairs communicating with the room. She rushed through the flames, up another flight of stairs, calling on the servant to follow, and made her way into the shop, at the top of the house. Here she stood for some time, in a state of distraction, waiting the approach of her grand-daughter and servant. Vain, however, were her hopes, for so irresistible were the flames, that their retreat was cut off. They approached the window to call for aid, but in two minutes the floor sunk, and they were both plunged into the heart of the fire. Their remains were afterwards discovered. Mrs. N. having heard their last shriek, and concluding all was over, now opened the window of the workshop, clambered on the roof,

roof, almost in a state of nudity, and safely escaped.

19. Between one and two o'clock this morning an alarming fire broke out in the house of Mr. Cookesley, the distributor of Irish stamps, in New Boswell-court, Carey-street, Strand; which, with the house adjoining, was in a short time burned to the ground.—The fire continued to rage with great violence, and threatened destruction to the whole neighbourhood, until the arrival of the Lincoln's Inn engine, which threw an immense body of water, and contributed materially to abate the fury of the flames. Two houses were burnt in its progress. The immediate neighbourhood presented a frightful spectacle. Men, women, and children, half-naked, were seen flying in every direction. The fire, we understand, broke out in the lower part of Mr. Cookesley's house, but we do not hear that any lives were lost. A cow-house adjoins the court; and the cows were for safety driven into the open space at St. Clement's church, where they added to the melancholy of the scene, by their lowing and other demonstrations of terror and alarm. One cow remained in the house, motionless and panic-struck, as no force could drive her out.

A fire broke out at a sugar-baker's, in Tower-street, in the City, which raged with much violence, and burnt that house and the adjoining. Two other fires took place in the Borough, which destroyed the houses in which they broke out, but were extinguished without further damage.

The same evening a fire broke out in some wooden premises near the end of Bury-street, St. Mary-Axe, which greatly alarmed the neighbourhood, there being an extensive oil-warehouse nearly adjoining. The prompt arrival of the engines, however, speedily allayed their fears.

An inquest was held at the Grange inn, Carey-street, before A. Gell, esq. on two bodies that were dug out of the ruins of the place where the fire happened in Holles-street. Though the bodies were in a mutilated state, their friends were enabled, by some small minutiæ, to identify their persons:—the one was sworn to be the remains of Brodie, on whose wife an inquest was held a few days ago; and the other, those of Elizabeth Rake, a poor woman who lodged in the attic story. It is supposed that, finding the lower part of the house was all in flames, they were too much terrified to attempt a passage that way; and that the roof at length fell in upon them, and precipitated three or four unfortunate persons into the very heart of the fire. The verdict of course was—*Accidental death.*

The following letter was sent by Mr. Gale Jones to the speaker of the house of commons:—

"Sir,—The honourable house of commons having, for an alleged breach of their privileges, committed me to his majesty's gaol of Newgate during their pleasure, and having, in consequence of their commitment under your warrant, for a month incurred several heavy expenses and demands under the denomination of fees, &c. with no other allowance than half of a four-penny loaf per day, I request you will inform me whether any, and what provision, has been made for my maintenance in prison.

"When the honourable house of commons proceeded to impose a restraint upon my personal free-

dom, I presume that it was not in their contemplation also to levy a contribution upon my personal property, or leave me without the means of subsistence: conceiving, therefore, that I am here under the denomination of a 'state prisoner,' and entitled to 'state allowance' I shall feel greatly obliged if you will issue the necessary order, or, if it do not rest with yourself, that you will be pleased to refer me to the source whence I may obtain relief.

"I remain, sir, yours,

"with respectful consideration,

"JOHN GALE JONES."

State side, Newgate,
20th March, 1810.

To the hon. the speaker of the house of commons.

The secretary of the speaker of the house of commons has written a letter to Mr. Gale Jones, to state that his letter respecting allowance as "a state prisoner" has been transmitted to the secretary of state.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS; DENYING THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO IMPRISON THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

"No freeman shall be taken, "or imprisoned, or be disseised of "his freehold, or liberties, or free "customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; "nor will we pass upon him, nor "condemn him, but by *lawful "judgement of his peers*, or by the "*law of the land*. We will sell to "no man, we will not deny or defer "to any man, either justice or "right."—*Magna Charta*, chap. xxxix.

"Gentlemen:—The house of commons having passed a vote, which amounts to a declaration, that an order of theirs is to be of more weight than magna charta and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose characters as freemen, and even whose personal safety, depend in so great a degree upon the decision of this question—a question of no less importance than this: Whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or be to lie at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe.

"In order to give to this subject all the attention to which it is entitled, and to avoid the danger to be apprehended from partial views and personal feeling, it will be adviseable to argue the question on its own merits, putting the individual (however we may deplore his present sufferings) out of view; though, at the same time, every man ought to consider the case his own; because, should the principle upon which the gentlemen of the house of commons have thought proper to act in this instance be once admitted, it is impossible for any one to conjecture how soon he himself may be summoned from his dwelling, and be hurried, without trial, and without oath made against him, from the bosom of his family into the clutches of a jailor. It is therefore now the time to resist the doctrine, upon which Mr. Jones has been sent to Newgate; or it is high time to cease all pretensions to those liberties which were acquired by our forefathers, after so many struggles and so many sacrifices.

"Either the house of commons is authorized to dispense with the laws of the land, or it is not. If the constitution be of so delicate a texture, so weak a frame, so fragile a substance, that it is to be only

spoken

spoken of in terms of admiration, and to be viewed merely as a piece of curious but unprofitable workmanship; if magna charta and all the wholesome laws of England be a dead letter; in that case, the affirmative of the proposition may be admitted: but if the constitution lives, and is applicable to its ends; namely, the happiness of the community, the perfect security of the life, liberty, and property of each member and all the members of the society; then the affirmative of the proposition can never be admitted; then must we be freemen; for we need no better security, no more powerful protection for our rights and liberties, than the laws and constitution.

"We seek for, and we need seek for, nothing new; we ask for no more than what our forefathers insisted upon as their own; we ask for no more than what they bequeathed unto us; we ask for no more than what they, in the testament which some of them had sealed, and which the rest of them were ready to seal, with their blood, expressly declared to be the birthright of the people of England: namely, the laws of England. To these laws we have a right to look, with confidence, for security; to these laws the individual now imprisoned has, through me, applied for redress in vain. Those who have imprisoned him have refused to listen to my voice, weakly expressing the strong principles of the law, the undeniable claims of this Englishman's birth-right.

"Your voice may come with more force; may command greater respect; and I am not without hope that it may prove irresistible, if it proclaim to this house of commons, in the same tone as the tongues of our ancestors proclaimed to the kings of old, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari;* or, in our own more clear and not less forcible language, *The laws of England shall not be changed.*

"The principle, fellow-citizens, for which we are now contending, is the same principle for which the people of England have contended from the earliest ages, and their glorious success in which contests is down upon record in the great charter of our rights and liberties, and in divers other subsequent statutes of scarcely less importance. It was this same great principle which was again attacked by Charles the First, in the measure of ship-money, when again the people of England and an uncorrupted house of commons renewed the contest; a contest which ended in the imprisonment, the trial, the condemnation, and the execution of that ill-advised king. The self-same principle it was, that was so daringly violated by his son James the Second; for which violation he was compelled to flee from the just indignation of the people, who not only stripped him of his crown, but who prevented that crown from descending to his family. In all these contests, he courage, perseverance, and fortitude of our ancestors, conspicuous as they were, were not more so than their wisdom; for, talk as long as we will about rights, liberties, franchises, privileges, and immunities, of what avail are any or all of these together, if our persons can, at the sole will and command of any man, or set of men, be seized on, thrown into prison, and there kept during the pleasure of that man or set of men? If every one of you be liable, at any time, to be sent to jail without trial, and without oath made against you, and there to be detained

tained as long as it pleases the parties sending you there (perhaps to the end of your life), without any court to appeal to, without any means of redress; if this be the case, shall we still boast of the laws and of the liberties of England? Volumes have been written by foreigners, as well as by our own countrymen, in praise of that part of our law which, in so admirable a manner, provides for our personal safety against any attacks of men in power. This has, indeed, been in all ages the pride of our country; and it is the maintenance of this principle which enabled us to escape that bondage, in which all the states and kingdoms in Europe were enthralled by abandoning and yielding it up; and we may be assured, that if we now abandon it, the bright day of England's glory will set in the night of her disgrace.

"But I would fain believe that such is not to be our fate. Our forefathers made stern grim-visaged *prerogative* hide his head: they broke in pieces his sharp and massy sword. And shall we, their sons, be afraid to enter the lists with undefined *privilege*, assuming the powers of prerogative?

"I shall be told, perhaps, that there is not much danger of this power being *very frequently* exercised. The same apology may be made for the exercise of any power whatever. I do not suppose that the gentlemen of the house of commons will send any of you to jail when you do not displease them. Mr. Yorke did not move for the sending of Mr. Jones to jail, until Mr. Jones displeased him; but it is not a very great compliment to pay to any constitution, to say, that it does not permit a man to be imprisoned unless he has done something to displease persons in power. It would be difficult, I should suppose, to find any man upon earth, however despotic his disposition, who would not be contented with the power of sending to prison, during his pleasure, every one who should dare to do any thing to displease him. Besides, when I am told that there is little danger that the gentlemen in the house of commons will *often* exercise this power, I cannot help observing, that, though the examples may be few, their effect will naturally be great and general. At this moment, it is true, we see but one man actually in jail, for having displeased those gentlemen; but the fate of this one man (as the effect of all punishments) will deter others from expressing their opinions of the conduct of those who have had the power to punish him. And, moreover, it is in the nature of all power, and especially of assumed and undefined power, to increase as it advances in age: and, as magna charta and the law of the land have not been sufficient to protect Mr. Jones; as we have seen him sent to jail for having described the conduct of one of the members as an *outrage upon public feeling*, what security have we, unless this power of imprisonment be given up, that we shall not see other men sent to jail for stating their opinion respecting rotten boroughs, respecting placemen and pensioners sitting in the house; or, in short, for making any declaration, giving any opinion, stating any fact, betraying any feeling, whether by writing, by word of mouth, or by gesture, which may displease any of the gentlemen assembled in St. Stephen's chapel?

"Then, again, as to the *kind* of punishment; why should they stop at

at sending persons to jail? If they can send whom they please to jail; if they can keep the persons so sent, in jail as long as they please; if they can set their prisoners free at the end of the first hour, or keep them confined for seven years; if, in short, their absolute will is to have the force of law, what security can you have that they will stop at *imprisonment?* If they have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoners to York jail, as well as to a jail in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts? They have not gone these lengths yet; but what is there to restrain them, if they are to be the sole judges of the extent of their own powers, and if they are to exercise those powers without any control, and without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish, any mode of appeal, any means of redress?

"That a power such as this should exist in any country it is lamentable to be obliged to believe; but that it should be suffered to exist, and that its existence should be openly and even boastfully avowed, in a country whose chief glory has been its free constitution of government, is something too monstrous to be believed, if the proof were not before our eyes. Had the least doubt hung upon my mind of the illegality of the proceedings in the present case, it would have been altogether removed by the answers given to the references made by me to the great luminaries of our law, and to the laws themselves. The arguments, by which I endeavoured to convince the gentlemen of the house of commons, that their acts, in the case of Mr. Jones, were illegal, I shall now lay before you, in a more full and connected way than it could possibly be done by the parliamentary reporters: and, in doing this, I shall do all that now remains in my power towards the correction of this, as I deem it, most enormous abuse of power, and most dangerous of all encroachments upon the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

"I remain, gentlemen,
"Your most obedient,
"Humble servant,
"FRANCIS BURDETT.
"Piccadilly, March 23, 1810."

The sum of 1600*l.* was on Monday paid into the exchequer, by the direction of Mr. Perceval, to whom it had come inclosed in an anonymous letter, describing it to be the amount of certain duties which had been omitted to be paid, and of which the person who sent it was anxious not to defraud the public. A sum of 200*l.* received in a similar manner was paid into the exchequer by Mr. Perceval some months ago.

FRANCE.

Paris, March 30.

Her majesty the empress arrived at Compeigne on Tuesday evening. The emperor went to meet his august spouse. The entrance of their majesties was made by torchlight. —It is difficult to form an idea of the magnificence of the dress intended for her majesty at her marriage; suffice it to say, that it will be completely embroidered in diamonds; trimmings of Mechlin lace, richly folding at equal spaces, will adorn the front of the robe, which is valued at more than 500,000 francs.

GERMANY.

Banks of the Danube, March 18. —The empress Maria Louisa was accompanied by a great number of persons of distinction from Vienna to

to Brannau. Five hundred horses were ready at each post to facilitate her journey, besides a reserve of 100 horses.

It is now certain that the civil marriage of the emperor will take place on the 31st of March at St. Cloud, and the religious ceremony on the 1st of April at Paris. On the 31st of March and the 2d of April the theatres will be open *gratis*. The kings of Holland, of Westphalia, and Naples, the queen of Holland, the prince and princess of Borghese, vice-queen of Italy, are arrived at Compeigne.—Such is the interest which the great event which is preparing inspires, that there is not a window, not a light hole, from the Porte Maillot to the Place de la Concorde, which is not taken for less than five or six louis at least. The smallest room of the house of Doyen the restaurateur, at the Bois de Boulogne, which has a view of the road through which the procession is to pass, cannot be obtained under five or six hundred francs. The construction of a temple of Hymen, on the top of the towers of Nôtre Dame, is an idea truly new. This solid base will remain in obscurity, while the new edifice, adorned with thousands of lamps, will appear suspended in the air. The aerial temple will have as subsidiary decorations twelve blazing comets, and a great number of stars, which will illuminate the summit of the most elevated monuments of the capital. The empress set out from Vienna on the 13th, after having taken leave of her august parents. She was mounted in a chariot, accompanied by the archduke Charles. The procession marched on foot through the principal streets of Vienna. A salute of 100 pieces of cannon, and the ringing of all the bells, announced the departure of her majesty. She is accompanied by the vows and benedictions of all the inhabitants. The emperor, her father, went before the princess, in order that he might give her his last adieu at St. Polten, where he slept the same night.

Strasburgh, March 23.—The august spouse of our illustrious sovereign arrived here yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon. Several couriers preceded her. A numerous corps of cavalry, from several regiments, to which the cavalry of our fine guard of honour was joined, preceded and followed the coach of her majesty, who had with her the queen of Naples. The prince of Neufchatel accompanied the illustrious traveller, as well as the ladies and officers of the court.

PARTICULARS OF THE IMPERIAL WEDDING.

Vienna, March 12.—The procession arranged for the marriage ceremony moved through the apartments of the palace, which had been previously illuminated in the most illustrious style, and ornamented with suberb tapestry, girandoles, and candelabras. The body-guards formed the interior, and the grenadiers were drawn up in line on both sides as far as the church of Augustines.

When the royal family arrived at the appointed place, the prince archbishop, assisted by several bishops, having advanced towards the middle of the altar, his royal higness the archduke Charles took his place by the side of the evangelist, on the praying-desk, as representing the person of his majesty the emperor Napoleon. The illustrious bride then knelt by the side of the evangelist before a praying

ing-desk in the front of the high altar, and addressed to the almighty a short prayer. The archbishop, assisted by the minister of the imperial parish and the almoner of the court, moved to the altar, blessed the marriage ring which he found in a cup, and descended three steps. At the same moment the archduke Charles advanced with the illustrious bride to the altar, where the ceremony of marriage was performed in the German language. After the marriage rites an exchange of rings took place. The royal bride, however, took back the ring destined for the emperor Napoleon, in order that she might resign it herself to her illustrious spouse. *Te Deum* was then chanted, during which all the assembly remained on their knees, and six pages held lighted torches. The firing of the guns then commenced. The bells were rung, and the inhabitants were apprised of the happy event which had taken place. After *Te Deum*, the archbishop gave his benediction, and the royal family returned to court in the same order as they arrived. During their return, the firing of the artillery and the ringing of bells were resumed, and their majesties and the bride received the congratulations at the palace. The archduke Charles, attended by his gentlemen and the chamberlains, passed to his apartment, accompanied by the French ambassador, who complimented him, and withdrew. During the whole of the ceremony, a most splendid table was covered with delicacies in the new hall, which was lighted in the most brilliant style. The imperial family were seated at a table in the following order:—At the head, her majesty the empress: the empress of France on her right; the emperor on her left; the archdukes with the French ambassador on both sides. The officers, ministers of state, and the courtiers, in places according to rank. The theatres were opened to the public, and a general illumination prevailed, to see which their majesties passed through the city with the royal bride.

CEREMONY OBSERVED UPON THE EMPRESS QUITTING THE AUSTRIAN TERRITORY, AND BEING DELIVERED OVER TO THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS.

Brannau, March 18.—The empress, who had arrived at Ried on the 15th, set out on the 16th, at eight in the morning, and arrived about eleven at Altheim, where she stopped to change her dress. An hour afterwards she again set out, followed by the whole procession, and arrived at two at the place destined for her reception.

Near the village of St. Pierre, and at one league beyond Brannau, a building had been constructed, divided into three large saloons, having two entrances, one on the side of Brannau, and the other on that of Altheim. It had been carefully furnished and warmed with stoves. The saloon in the middle was ornamented by a canopy, below which was placed upon an elevation an arm chair of cloth of gold destined for her majesty. To the left of the canopy, and towards the entrance on the side of Brannau, was placed a large table covered with velvet, and destined for the signatures of the plenipotentiaries. A court had been marked out on both sides to contain the carriages of the double procession. Avenues planted with trees abutted on the two lateral saloons.

At half-past one the prince of Neufchatel, and all the persons forming

forming part of the procession destined to accompany the empress, proceeded into the first saloon, the men in full costume, and the ladies in court dresses. About two the empress arrived with all her suite, and alighted in the saloon on the side of Altheim. After resting for a moment, her majesty was introduced by the Austrian master of the ceremonies into the grand saloon, where she placed herself in the chair prepared for her. Around her were placed the ladies and chamberlains of her suite, the grand mistress and grand master occupying the first places on the side of the elevation. The prince of Trautmansdorff, appointed commissioner to make the delivery, placed himself fronting the table, and behind him the aulic counsellor Hudelitz, executing the office of secretary of the delivery. The bottom and two sides of the hall were occupied by twelve noble Hungarian guards, and as many German guards under arms and in full uniform. As soon as all were thus arranged, the Austrian master of the ceremonies, the baron de Lohr, tapped at the door of the saloon, in which were the prince of Neufchatel and the French court, and the French master of the ceremonies, the count de Seyssel, came forth. He then introduced the prince of Neufchatel, the commissioner of the emperor of the French, who entered, followed by the count de Laborde, executing the office of secretary of the delivery. After them came the duchess of Montebello, lady of honour, the count de Beauharnois, chevalier of honour, and all the ladies and chevaliers sent to attend the empress, who ranged themselves at the bottom of the saloon, opposite the Austrian procession. The prince of Neufchatel then advanced towards her majesty, and stated in few words the object for which they were assembled in that place. The two commissioners and their respective secretaries then signed the two acts, and, having affixed to them the seals of their arms, exchanged them. These formalities being finished, the prince of Trautmansdorff, commissioner of the emperor of Austria, advanced, bowing, towards the empress, and requested permission to kiss her hand on taking leave. Her majesty granted this permission to him, and also to all the chevaliers and ladies of her suite who had attended her from Vienna. Each according to their rank approached her majesty, and kissed her hand with an emotion produced by their bidding a last adieu to a dear princess. It is difficult to imagine a ceremony more noble or affecting. Her majesty could not refrain from tears at these last marks of respect and attachment from the old servants of her house, and the French who witnessed the scene partook of the general emotion. During this ceremony the Austrian and French secretaries took an account of the jewels of the empress, and exchanged an inventory.

The whole procession having resumed their places, the Austrian commissioner presented his hand to the empress to conduct her to the French commissioner, who, taking her majesty's hand, advanced towards the French court, and named the different persons composing it. At this moment the door of the first saloon opened, and the queen of Naples, who had arrived during the ceremony, advanced towards the empress, who embraced her with tenderness, and conversed for some time with her. The archduke

duke Anthony was then announced, whom the emperor of Austria had sent to compliment the queen of Naples, and who was to return immediately with news of the empress. After the queen had received and thanked him, the two princesses got into a carriage, and, followed by the prince of Neufchatel and their suite, proceeded to Brannau. The sides of the road were lined with troops, and cannon resounded on all sides.

APRIL.

NARRATIVE OF THE COMMITMENT OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT TO THE TOWER, AND OF THE EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING.

6.—At half-past seven o'clock in the morning, as soon as the division in the house of commons was known, Mr. Jones Burdett, accompanied by Mr. O'Connor, who had remained all night at the house of commons, set off in a post-chaise to Wimbledon, and informed sir Francis Burdett of the result. Sir Francis immediately mounted his horse, and rode to town; the other two returned in the chaise. Sir Francis found a letter on his table from Mr. Colman, the serjeant-at-arms, acquainting him that he had received a warrant signed by the right honourable the speaker of the house of commons to arrest and convey him to the Tower, and he begged to know when he might wait on him; that it was his wish to show him the utmost respect, and therefore, if he preferred to take his horse and ride to the tower, he would meet him there. To this letter sir Francis Burdett wrote an answer to the following effect:—

"Sir,—On my return from Wimbledon I found your polite letter, and shall be happy to receive you here at twelve o'clock to-morrow.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"F. J. Colman, Esq.

"*Piccadilly, April* 6, 1810."

Before this letter could be delivered, Mr. Colman came himself to sir Francis's house, and told him he had a warrant to arrest him. Sir Francis said he had received his letter; and had written an answer, in which he told him, that he would be ready to receive him the next day at twelve o'clock; upon which Mr. Colman politely bowed and withdrew.

About seven o'clock in the evening his friend Mr. O'Connor went to the Tower to see that preparation should be made to receive him, as sir Francis entertained no doubt but that the next day the sergeant-at-arms would come with a force to compel him to surrender. Mr. O'Connor saw colonel Smith, who told him that every preparation had been made for his reception; that the house next to his own had been well aired: and that, from a sense of duty as well as from respect, he might depend every attention should be paid to sir Francis.

About eight o'clock, the same evening, Mr. Colman and a messenger came back to sir Francis's house, and the serjeant told him he had received a severe reprimand from the speaker for not executing the warrant in the morning, and remaining with sir Francis; and he hoped that he would now submit to be his prisoner.

Sir Francis answered, that he was sure the speaker would not, upon consideration, think him to blame; for that it would not have been in his power to remain with him;

him; as, without any personal offence to him, he (sir Francis) would not have permitted him to remain.

The serjeant-at-arms said, "I shall be obliged, sir, to resort to force, as it is my duty to execute the warrant."

Sir Francis answered, "If you bring an overwhelming force, I must submit; but I dare not, from my allegiance to the king, and my respect for his laws, yield a voluntary submission to such a warrant—it is illegal."

The serjeant again urged him to permit him to remain with him.

Sir Francis said, "You must leave my house; but I have written a letter to the speaker, which, if you please, you may take with you, and deliver it—it contains my resolution as to your warrant."

The serjeant begged leave to decline taking charge of any such letter; he said he had already incurred blame by not executing the warrant, and he should be considered as more criminal if he carried any letter in contradiction to it; and he withdrew.

Sir Francis then sent this letter by his own son, Robert Burdett, a youth of 14, and his brother, Mr. Jones Burdett, to the speaker, and it was accordingly delivered at ten o'clock at night. [See the Proceedings in the house of commons.]

In the course of this night, much tumultuary indignation was expressed by the people—windows were broken, and a very general disposition to riot and excess was manifested.

On Saturday morning sir Francis breakfasted at the house of his friend Mr. O'Connor, in Maddox-street, Hanover-square. After breakfast they walked to Half-Moon-street, where sir Francis mounted his horse, and took a ride in the park, accompanied only by his groom. On Mr. O'Connor's return to sir F.'s house in Piccadilly, he found one of the messengers of the house of commons waiting for sir Francis. He said he had the warrant for his arrest in his pocket, and he wished to see him, as he had orders to remain with him. On sir Francis's return, he found in his room a number of his friends waiting for him, and he was told of the messenger in waiting. He desired him to be shown up.

"Well, my good friend (said sir Francis), what is your business?"

Mess.—"Sir, I am desired to show you the order of the house of commons upon which the warrant is issued—to serve that warrant upon you, and to remain with you."

He delivered the warrant to sir Francis, which he read, and put it into his pocket. It is as follows—

"Veneris, 6° die Aprilis, 1810.

"Whereas the house of commons has this day adjudged that sir Francis Burdett, baronet, who has admitted that a letter signed 'Francis Burdett,' and a further part of a paper entitled 'Argument,' in Cobbett's Weekly Register of March 24, 1810, was printed by his authority (which letter and argument the said house has resolved to be a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting on the just rights and privileges of the said house), has been thereby guilty of a breach of the privileges of the said house:

"And whereas the house of commons hath thereupon ordered, that the said sir Francis Burdett be, for his said offence, committed to his majesty's Tower of London:

"There-

"These are therefore to require you to take into custody the body of the said sir Francis Burdett, and then forthwith to deliver him over into the custody of the lieutenant of his majesty's Tower of London.

"And all mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, constables, and headboroughs, and every other person or persons, are hereby required to be aiding and assisting to you in the execution hereof; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand, the 6th day of April, 1810.

"CHAS. ABBOT, speaker."

"To the sergeant-at-arms attending the house of commons, or his deputy."

Sir Francis—"My friend, this is not a sufficient warrant. You may return and inform the speaker that I will not obey it."

Mess.—"Sir, it is my orders to remain with you, and I must obey, unless I am forced to withdraw."

Sir Francis—"You must instantly withdraw."

He was accordingly shown down stairs by Mr. O'Connor. The person wished force to be used. Mr. O'Connor said, "There is the door open for you; you must go; but it is not my practice to be so uncivil as to lay violent hands on any one, and I hope you will not make it necessary now." The messenger bowed, and retired.

Between twelve and one o'clock a troop of life guards arrived, and were drawn up before the house of sir Francis, and their horses were made to prance about on the foot pavement as well as the street, for the purpose of dispersing the people. There was much hissing. In about a quarter of an hour Mr. Read the magistrate arrived. He mounted a dragoon horse and read the riot act, and warned all people peaceably to depart. The guards were then planted across Piccadilly, from Dover-street on the one side to Bolton-row on the other, so as to block up the thoroughfare. Mr. Jones Burdett was not suffered to pass through the line to his dinner until he procured a constable. During all this time sir Francis was at home with his family. His colleague lord Cochrane, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Jones Burdett dined with him.

In consequence of this demonstration of military force, he wrote the following requisition to the sheriffs of Middlesex, which was delivered into the hands of Mr. sheriff Wood in the street:—

"Gentlemen,—In furtherance of an attempt to deprive me of my liberty, under the authority of an instrument which I know to be illegal, viz. a warrant by the speaker of the house of commons, my house is at this moment beset by a military force.

"As I am determined never to yield a voluntary obedience to an act contrary to the laws, I am resolved to resist the execution of such a warrant by all the legal means in my power; and as you are the constitutional officers appointed to protect the inhabitants of your bailiwick from violence and oppression, from whatever quarter they may come, I make this requisition to you, gentlemen, to furnish me with your aid, with which the laws have provided you, either by calling out the *posse comitatus*, or such other as the case and circumstances may require.

"It is for you to consider, how far you are liable, should I, by any unlawful force, acting under an unlawful authority, be taken from my house. I have the honour to

be, gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) "FRANCIS BURDETT.

"Piccadilly, April 7, 1810.

"Matthew Wood, esq. and
John Atkins, esq. sheriffs of Middlesex."

On Monday morning he breakfasted in his drawing-room on the first floor, with lady Burdett, the countess of Guildford, and lady Maria, lady Jane, lady Georgina North, Mrs. Coutts, his son Robert Burdett, his brother, and Mr. O'Connor. Mr. Coutts had just retired. Breakfast was finished, and sir Francis was employed in hearing his son (who had just come from Eton school) read and translate Magna Charta, when Mr. O'Connor observed a man's face at one of the windows: he had mounted by a ladder, had already thrown up the sash, and was in the act of entering; in the attempt to do which he broke some panes of glass. Mr. O'Connor ran up to him. Sir Francis Burdett called out not to hurt the man, as it would have been easy at that moment for Mr. O'Connor, by the mere shifting of the ladder, to have precipitated the person into the area, a height of at least twenty feet: but he contented himself with putting one hand to his breast, and with the other shutting the window. Sir Francis, his son, and brother, shut down all the other windows—while they saw an immense body of troops drawn up in front of the house. During this moment, so alarming to the delicacy of the sex, and to the affection of a wife and mother, seeing her husband and only son exposed to the possible discharge of artillery and musketry, both she and all the ladies maintained the most perfect constancy of mind; and both in this moment, and in the scene which ensued, displayed a courage that did honour to their understandings and their hearts.

Mr. O'Connor ran down stairs to see if all was safe below. He met about twenty men with constables' staves in their hands. They had descended the area, and had burst open a window, sashes, frame and all, by which they entered through a small servant's room. He asked them, what they wanted? They answered—Sir Francis Burdett; Was he at home? He replied, that sir Francis was at home; What did they want with him? They rushed up to the drawing-room, where sir Francis and his family, with the ladies, still were. At this time there were constables only; the sergeant-at-arms did not show himself, nor was there any magistrate; but the sergeant-at-arms (Mr. Colman) followed the posse of constables up stairs, and said—

Sergeant—"Sir Francis, you are my prisoner."

Sir Francis—"By what authority do you act, Mr. sergeant? By what power, sir, have you broken into my house, in violation of the laws of the land?"

Sergeant—"Sir Francis, I am authorized by the warrant of Mr. speaker of the house of commons."

Sir Francis—"I contest the authority of such a warrant. Exhibit to me the legal warrant upon which you have dared to violate my house. Where is the sheriff? Where is the magistrate?" (At this time there was no magistrate, but he soon afterwards appeared.)

Sergeant—"Sir Francis, my authority is in my hand—I will read it to you: it is the warrant of the right honourable the speaker of the house of commons." (And here Mr. Colman attempted to read the warrant;

warrant; but which he did with great trepidation.)

Sir Francis—"I repeat to you, That is no sufficient warrant. No—not to arrest my person in the open street—much less to break open my house, in violation of all law. If you have a warrant from his majesty, or from a proper officer of the king, I will pay instant obedience to it; but I will not yield to an illegal order."

Sergeant—"Sir Francis, I demand you to yield in the name of the commons house of parliament, and I trust you will not compel me to use force. I entreat you to believe that I wish to show you every respect."

Sir Francis—"I tell you distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order; and I demand in the king's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house."

Sergeant—"Then, sir, I must call in assistance, and force you to yield."

Upon which the constables laid hold of sir Francis. Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor immediately stepped up, and each took him under an arm. The constables closed in on all three, and drew them down stairs.

Sir Francis then said,—"I protest in the king's name against this violation of my person and of my house. It is superior force only that hurries me out of it, and you do it at your peril."

The ladies were still present, and betrayed no symptoms of alarm: no doubt from the confidence which they had in sir Francis's temper, and in their persuasion that no outrage beyond the actual arrest would be committed.

In descending the stairs, sir Francis hoped that his brother and his friend might be allowed to accompany him; which Mr. Colman promised.

A coach was drawn up at the door. It was instantly surrounded by cavalry. The baronet stepped in first, followed by the sergeant and a constable. Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor also got in; but the latter was taken out, and the cavalcade instantly set off at a rapid pace.

The procession moved from sir Francis Burdett's house in the following order:—Two squadrons of the 15th light dragoons, two troops of life guards, with Mr. Read the magistrate at their head—the coach with sir Francis; two more troops of life guards, a troop of the 15th light dragoons; two battalions of foot guards; marching in open order, and a party of the 15th light dragoons forming the rear. In this order they proceeded to Albemarle-street, where they halted, and then turned up that street, with the exception of two battalions of foot guards, who marched forward through Piccadilly, the Haymarket, and Strand, to the Tower.

The escort proceeded along Albemarle-street, Bond-street, Conduit-street, across Hanover-square, into Oxford-street, along John-street, Great Portland-street, Portland-road, the New-road, Mary-le-bone, by Pentonville, across Islington, along the City-road to Moorfields, from thence by Sun-street into Aldgate High-street, and along the Minories to the Tower.

The procession went on at its outset at a quick rate: and the capture having been made at an earlier hour than the crowd had been in the habit of assembling, the event was not immediately or generally known. The baronet had passed up Albemarle-street before a cry was set up, "They have taken

him—they have dragged him out of his house!" The cry spread immediately far and wide; and an immense crowd soon attended the cavalcade, which increased to such an extent that, by the time sir Francis reached the Tower, the crowd had blocked up the Minories and all the streets in its vicinity, and it became impossible for cart or carriage to pass. Additional preparations had been made in the contemplation of a disturbance near the Tower. Troops were stationed near it, and a fresh regiment came up by water from Tilbury-fort the same morning. They were quartered in the New Mint, Tower-hill.

The foot guards who had marched along the Strand and through the city, arrived upon Tower-hill five minutes before twelve. They came down Mark-lane, headed by the city marshal and a civil officer. They drew up three deep in the line from the Tower gates, which were shut, covering the entrance.

Ten minutes past twelve, an officer of the 15th light dragoons rode smartly out from Jewry-street, by the further side of the Trinity-house, making signals for the mob to clear the way. Great shouting and scampering.

A quarter past twelve, arrived about twenty of the horse guards, who rode up towards the Tower gates. At the distance of 100 yards came about 300 of the 15th light dragoons, then about 200 of the horse guards, having in the middle of them the coach containing sir Francis Burdett.

The windows of the coach were all down; sir Francis sat on the right, behind; he sat forward, and was well seen. As he passed there was much huzzaing, and the guards flourished their swords to intimidate the mob.

After the horse guards, came about 200 more of the 15th. As the procession entered by the further side of the Trinity-house, it came on Tower-hill, in a serpentine form, and the military spectacle was very grand.

This state of things remained for full half an hour, the carriage covered by about 200 horse guards, the line of foot guards stretching from it up Tower-hill, the 15th lining the sides of Tower-hill, to keep off the mob, which began to disperse.

The two squadrons of the 15th light dragoons opened right and left, and cleared the ground in all directions, forming a circle, two deep, around the entrance, through which the remainder of the force, with the prisoner, proceeded without any material interruption; though there was much hooting and huzzaing—"Burdett for ever!" and some who had taken refuge within the palings even pelted the cavalry, who, in return, cut at them with their swords, happily without any material injury on either side. Many of the mob were, however, forced into the Tower ditch, but without mischief, as there was but little water. On the arrival of the carriage at the gate, sir Francis alighted, and was received with the usual formalities, firing of cannon, &c. The gate was immediately shut.

Sir Francis was admitted about one o'clock,

During the whole of this period the populace did not commit much violence; they chiefly vented their rage in hissing and hooting the troops, and contented themselves on the other hand with huzzaing sir Francis. Upon the return of the troops, however, several acts of outrage were resorted to by the multitude, which had continued to increase.

increase. The soldiers were pelted with mud and stones in great quantities. When opposite the Trinity-house, they determined to endure the assault no longer, and charged the multitude sword in hand. The firing of the carbines and horse-pistols became now pretty general, and several people fell. The contest continued all the way up Fenchurch-street, where a shot entered the shop of Mr. Goodeve, a bootmaker, and wounded a man in conversation with Mr. Goodeve at the time. Another shot penetrated into Mr. Philip's carpet warehouse, but did no mischief. Several were wounded: amongst them was a poor old bricklayer, in the service of Mr. Thomas, shot through the neck; one person shot in the groin dangerously; Willis, of John-street, Blackfriars, through the foot; another in the arm, carried to Mr. Davis, a surgeon on Tower-hill; and many with sore wounds. A sailor, in Rood-lane, received a shot on the back of the head; a corn-meter in the Minories was wounded: several shots entered windows on first floors. It being market-day in Mark-lane, the place was crowded with persons about their ordinary business; the balls whistled about their heads.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OPINION UPON SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S ARREST.

"*Query.*—The sergeant-at-arms attending the house of commons having in the execution of this warrant been resisted, and turned out of sir Francis Burdett's private dwelling-house by force:

"Your opinion is desired, whether in the execution of this warrant he will be justified in breaking open the outer or any inner door of the private dwelling-house of sir Francis Burdett, or of any other person in which there is reasonable cause to suspect he is concealed, for the purpose of apprehending him. And whether he may take to his assistance a sufficient civil or military force for that purpose, such force acting under the direction of a civil magistrate. And whether such proceedings will be justifiable during the night as well as in the day-time."

Opinion.—"No instance is stated to me, and I presume that none is to be found, in which the outer door of a house has been broken open under the speaker's warrant for the purpose of apprehending the person against whom such warrant issued being therein. I must, therefore, form my opinion altogether upon cases which have arisen upon the execution of writs or warrants issuing from other courts, and which seem to fall within the same principle.

"I find it laid down in Semayne's case, 5 Co. 91, that where the king is a party, the sheriff may break open the defendant's house, either to arrest him or to do other execution of the king's process; if otherwise, he cannot enter. So if the defendant be in the house of another man, the sheriff may do the same; but he cannot break into the house of the defendant in the execution of any process at the suit of an individual. This distinction proceeds, as I apprehend, upon the greater importance of enforcing the process of the crown for the public benefit, than that of individuals for the support of their private rights. Reasoning from hence, I should think that the speaker's warrant, which had issued to apprehend a man under sentence of commitment for a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, might be executed in the

same manner with criminal process in the name of the king, inasmuch as those privileges were given to the house of commons for the benefit of the public only; and the public are interested in the due support of them.—If the act had been done, and I had been asked whether it could be defended, I should say that it could; but where it is previously known that the execution of the warrant will be resisted by force, and if death should ensue in such conflict, the officer who executes the warrant would stand justified, or not, as the breaking of the house may be held lawful or unlawful; I feel myself obliged to bring this under his notice, leaving him to judge for himself whether he will venture to act upon my opinion, which has no direct authority in point to support it, but rests upon reasoning from other cases, which appear to me to fall within the same principle. Should the officer resolve to break into the house if it be found necessary, he must be careful, first, to signify the cause of his coming, and make request to open the doors, and not use any force until it appears that those within will not comply; and he should be assured that the party whom he seeks to apprehend is within the house. For the purpose of executing the warrant, he may take with him a sufficient force of such description as the nature of the case renders necessary. If he has reason to apprehend a degree of resistance which can only be expelled by a military force, he may take such force with him; but in this case it will be prudent to take with him also a civil magistrate.

"I do not think it adviseable to execute the warrant in the night. The officer should understand, that when sir Francis Burdett has once been arrested, if he afterwards effects his escape or is rescued, his own house, or the house of any other person into which he retreats, may be broken for the purpose of retaking him. V. GIBBS."

"Lincoln's Inn, April 8."

WILFUL MURDER.

A coroner's inquest was held before Thomas Shelton, esq. on the body of Thomas Ebrall, who was killed in Mr. Goodeve's shop, Mincing-lane, on Monday the 9th inst. The jury sat five hours.

The jury retired for about five minutes, and brought in a verdict of—Wilful murder against a soldier in the rear of the life guards, that passed through Fenchurch-street, about one o'clock on Monday the 9th of April.

LETTER ADDRESSED TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT BY THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

[See Parliamentary Debates, for their petitions in his behalf.]

"Sir,—We nominated you to be our representative, without your knowledge, and we elected you without your interference. We were confident you would perform the duties of a representative in parliament with ability and fidelity. In every respect, you have not only fulfilled but exceeded our expectation. We derive the utmost satisfaction from having pointed out to the nation the way to be fairly represented. Had it been possible that our example could have been followed, and a proper representation thereby produced, the scenes we have lately witnessed would not have disgraced our country.

"We understood the nobleness of your mind, and were confident that you would not descend to barter

ter your trust for a place under government, nor be the partisan or leader of those who support or reject measures, just as they happen to be proposed on this or on that side of the house.

"We feel the indignity that has been offered to you; but we are not surprised to find, when every excuse is made for public delinquents, that the utmost rigour is exercised against him who pleads for the ancient and constitutional rights of the people.

"You nobly stepped forward in defence of a fellow-subject unjustly imprisoned; and you questioned, with great ability and knowledge of the laws, the warrant issued upon that occasion. The house of commons have answered your argument by breaking into your house with a military force, seizing your person, and conveying you by a large body of troops to the Tower.

"Your distinction between privilege and power remains unaltered—the privileges of the house of commons are for the protection, not for the destruction, of the people.

"We have resolved to remonstrate with the house of commons on the outrages committed under their order, and to call upon them to restore you to your seat in parliament, which the present state of the country renders more than ever necessary for the furtherance of your and our object—a reform of the representation in that house.

"While so many members are collected together by means 'which it is not necessary for us to describe,' we cannot but entertain the greatest apprehensions for the remainder of our liberties; and the employment of a military force againt one of their own body, is but a sad presage of what may be expected by those who, like you, have the courage to stand forward in defence of the rights of the people.

"When we reflect on your generous exertions to destroy the horrors of secret and solitary confinement—to mitigate the severity of punishment in the army—to prevent the cashiering of its officers, without cause assigned—to remove, for the comfort of the worn-out soldier, the public property conveyed by a job to an individual—to prevent the extension of the barrack system, the obvious effect of which is to separate the soldier from the citizen—to prevent the introduction of foreign troops—to bring to light an atrocious act of tyranny, by which a British sailor was left to perish on a barren rock—and above all, your unremitted exertions to obtain a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament—when we reflect on the firmness, the unshaken constancy which you have invariably shown 'in evil report and good report,' we are eager to express the sentiments of gratitude and attachment to you with which we are impressed, and we are convinced that those sentiments are not only felt by the inhabitants of this city, but by every person throughout the land, who is not interested in the continuance of public abuses."

(Signed) &c.

LETTER FROM SIR FRANCIS BURDETT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS, THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,

In answer to the letter addressed to him, and signed by twenty-five inhabitant householders, electors of Westminster, in the name of the meeting held in Palace-yard on the 17th inst.; and which was presented to sir Francis Burdett by the high bailiff, pur-

suant to the unanimous resolutions of that meeting.

"*Tower, April* 20, 1810.

"Sir Francis Burdett presents his respectful compliments to the high bailiff of Westminster, and transmits to him his answer to the letter of the electors of that city, which he did him the honour to present to him this morning,

"Arthur Morris, esq. high bailiff for the city and liberties of Westminster."

"Gentlemen,—If any thing could increase or confirm the constant resolution of my life, never to betray the confidence you have placed in me, it is the kindness and affection which your letter of the 17th inst. testifies to me, and the wisdom and propriety of your conduct at the late meeting.

"A scrupulous adherence to the common law of this land, and the wise provisions of the ancient statutes declaratory of that law, which together form what I understand by the constitution, raised our country to an unexampled height of happiness and prosperity; and in an exact proportion to the invasion and neglect of them has the country declined.

"In defence of these laws and this constitution, I smile at any privation to which, personally, I may be subjected, thinking, as I do, that life cannot so well and so happily, because it cannot be so honourably and usefully, expended, as in defence of this our best inheritance, and in the maintenance of the good old cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sidney and Russell on the scaffold.

"Laws, to be entitled to respect and willing obedience, must be pure—must come from a pure source—that is, from common consent; and through an uncorrupt channel—that is, a house of commons freely elected by the people. Moreover, they who pay the reckoning ought to examine and control the account; and the only control the people can have, is by a fair representation in parliament. The necessity of obtaining this check by constitutional reform is now acknowledged by all, except those who, contrary to law, have possessed themselves of a property in the house of commons, by whom this land, this England—

'———this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leas'd out
Like to a tenement, or pelting farm:
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious surge
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds.'

"From this foul and traitorous traffic our borough-monger sovereigns derive an immense revenue, cruelly wrung from the hard hand of honest labour. I do however now entertain an ardent hope, that this degraded and degrading system, to which all our difficulties, grievances and dangers are owing, will at length give way to the moderate but determined perseverance of a whole united people.

"Magna Charta and the old law of the land will then resume their empire—freedom will revive—the caterpillars of the state, coiling themselves up in their own naturally narrow sphere, will fall off, and perish—property and political power, which the law never separates, will be re-united,—the king replaced in the happy and dignified station allotted him by the constitution—

tution—the people relieved from the bitterest of all curses, the curse of Canaan—that of being the servants of servants—and restored to their just and indisputable rights.

"To effect these great, important, and necessary purposes, no exertions of mine shall ever be wanting;—without their attainment, no efforts of mine can avail. The people of England must speak out—they must do more—they must act; and if, following the example of the electors of Westminster, they do act, in a firm and regular manner, upon a concerted plan—ever keeping the law and constitution in view—they must finally succeed in recovering that to which they are legally entitled—the appointment of their own guardians and trustees for the protection of their own liberty and property. They must either do this, or they must inevitably fall a sacrifice to one or the other of the most contemptible factions that ever disgraced this or any other country.

"The question is now at issue; it must now be ultimately determined, whether we are henceforth to be slaves or be free. Hold to the laws—this great country may recover;—forsake them—and it will certainly perish.

"I am, gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
"FRANCIS BURDETT.
"To the electors of Westminster."

REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF GENERAL POLICE TO THE EMPEROR.

"*Paris, April* 27.

"I informed your majesty that the sieur Berthemy, officer of the staff attached to prince Ferdinand, and commandant of the castle of Valancay, had acquainted me with the introduction into that castle of a baron de Kolli, calling himself minister of England to prince Ferdinand, in his pretended quality of king of Spain. This individual having been brought to my office, I transmit to your majesty, 1st, The letter of M. Berthemy, announcing the arrest and forwarding of Kolli; 2, A copy of a letter from prince Ferdinand to the sieur Berthemy, relative to the arrival of Kolli; 3, A copy of Kolli's examination; 4, 5, and 6, Copies of three letters, of which Kolli was the bearer. Two of these letters are addressed by king George to prince Ferdinand; one of them is in Latin. Nos. 7 and 8 are copies of a letter from M. Berthemy, and one from prince Ferdinand.

"I have committed Kolli to safe custody. He is a close prisoner in the castle of Vincennes, and I wait the orders of your majesty upon this affair. The diamonds and other effects of which this individual was the bearer, are deposited at the office of general police.

(Signed) "FOUCHE."

No. I.—Copy of a letter addressed to the senator, the minister of general police, by M. Berthemy, announcing Kolli's arrest, and his being forwarded to Paris.

"*Valancay, April* 6.

"Monseigneur,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, by a courier extraordinary, of the event which has just taken place at Valancay.

"M. D'Amezaga, intendant of the household of the Spanish princes, came to apprise me, on the part of his highness prince Ferdinand, that an English emissary had introduced himself into the castle. I instantly repaired to the prince's apartments, and found him in a state of great emotion.

"'The English,' said he, address himself to me, 'have done much injury

injury to the Spanish nation. They continue to cause blood to be shed in my name. The English ministers, deceived by the false idea that I am detained here by force, have proposed to me means of escape. They have sent to me an individual, who, under the pretext of selling some objects of art, engaged to deliver to me a message from his majesty the king of England.'

"I speedily discovered and arrested this emissary, who stated himself to be the baron de Kolli, an Irishman, and minister from his majesty the king of England to prince Ferdinand. I forward him post to your excellency, with the pretty numerous papers of which he was the bearer. The examination to which you will subject him, I have no doubt, must disclose all the details of his plans, and the accomplices he may have had. According to the preliminary inquiries which I have made here, I am induced to think that he has come alone, and that he is totally unacquainted in this place.

"I think it my duty, sir, to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat to your excellency what I have already had the honour to communicate to you. Prince Ferdinand is animated with the best disposition; he is profoundly impressed with the opinion that his majesty the emperor is his only support and his best protector. A profound sense of gratitude, the wish and hope of being declared the adopted son of his majesty the emperor—such are the sentiments which fill the heart of his highness; and under such circumstances it was,—and at the time when the prince had assembled every person of distinction in the province, at the castle of Valancay, to participate in the brilliant entertainments which he gave in celebration of their majesties' marriage,—that the baron de Kolli came to deliver his wicked and ridiculous messages. Assuredly nothing could have been more easily anticipated than the reception he has experienced.

"I request that your excellency will transmit to me a detailed acknowledgment of the receipt of the various articles which I have addressed to you.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

(Signed) "BERTHEMY."

No. II.—Copy of a letter from prince Ferdinand to M. Berthemy, governor of the castle of Valancay, dated April 6, apprising him of the conduct of Kolli.

"Sir, An unknown person having introduced himself into this place, under the pretence of working in the turnery line, has subsequently ventured to make to M. D'Amezaga, our first equerry and intendant, the proposition of carrying me off from Valancay, of delivering to me some letters which he had, and in short of bringing to its issue the project and plan of this horrid enterprise.

"Our honour, our repose, the good opinion due to our principles, all would have been singularly compromised, had not M. D'Amezaga been at the head of our household, and had he not on this perilous occasion given a fresh proof of his fidelity and his inviolable attachment, both to his majesty the emperor and king and to me. This officer, whose first step was to inform you at the very instant of the enterprise in question, apprised me of it immediately after.

"I am anxious, sir, to inform you, personally, that I am unacquainted with this affair, and to take this occasion of again manifesting my sentiments of inviolable fidelity

ty towards the emperor Napoleon, and the horror which I feel at this infernal project, of which I wish the authors and abettors to meet with condign punishment. Accept, sir, the sentiments and esteem of your affectionate

(Signed) "PRINCE FERDINAND.

"P. S. I request that you will come to M. D'Amezaga's at half-past three o'clock."

No. III.—Copy of Kolli's examination at the office of general police.

On the 8th of April, 1810, was brought to the ministry of general police, an individual arrested at Valancay on the 6th, who was interrogated as follows :—

Q. What are your name, surname, age, place of nativity, profession, and domicile?—A. Charles Leopold, baron de Kolli, aged 32 years, born in Ireland, minister from his majesty king George III. to the prince of the Asturias, Ferdinand VII.

Q. To whom did you apply in London to propose, and to procure the acceptance, of the project which has brought you to France?—A. To his royal highness the duke of Kent, who mentioned it to his father the king. The affair was afterwards conducted by the marquis Wellesley.

Q. What were the means put at your disposal for executing this enterprise?—A. There were delivered to me—1. A letter of credence to remove all doubts as to my person and my mission to prince Ferdinand. 2. Two letters from the king of England to the prince, which have been found among my papers. 3. Forged passports, routes, orders from the ministers of marine and war, stamps, seals, signatures, of the offices in the department of the secretary of state, all of them seized at the time I was arrested, and which I carried with me, to convince the prince of the means I had. 4. As to the funds requisite for the undertaking, I had about 200,000 francs, and eventually an unlimited credit on the house of Maensoff and Clanoy, of London. Finally, the vessels that were necessary, viz. the Incomparable of 74 guns, the Dedaigneuse of 50 guns, the Piquante galliot, and a brig. This squadron, which is victualled for five months, waits for my return on the coast of Quiberon. Thus provided, after taking leave of the king and his minister on the 24th of January, I left London on the 26th, for Plymouth, with commodore Cockburn, to whom the command of the squadron was confided, M. Albert de St. Bonnel, to whom I communicated my plan, remained in London to receive the passports, itineraries, stamps, seals, &c. that were ordered. The departure of M. de St. Bonnel was delayed by the indisposition of marquis Wellesley; he did not join me before the end of February, and we sailed some days after. I landed at Quiberon on the 9th of March.

Q. What precautions did you adopt on your landing to conceal the documents explaining the object of your journey?—A. I put the letter of credence I mentioned in my cane. The two letters of his majesty the king of England were concealed in the lining of my coat; part of the diamonds were sewed up in the collar of my surtout and the waistband of my small-clothes. M. de St. Bonnel had the remainder, which he secreted in the same way, and in his cravat.

Q. Before your departure from France for England, had you established any communication with Valancay?—A. None.

Q. Where did you go after you landed?

landed?—A. To Paris. I travelled with the help of one of the itineraries, which was given me in England, and which I filled up.

Q. Did you remain long at Paris?—A. I was employed in selling the diamonds which marquis Wellesley gave me. I bought a horse and cabriolet from M. de Couvert, who resides at the hotel d'Angleterre, in the street Filles de St. Thomas. M. de St. Bonnel purchased two horses for persons whose names I do not recollect. He was to buy one from Franconia, after I set out for Valancay, and another from the princess of Carignan.

Q. How did you gain admittance into the castle of Valancay?—A. Under pretence of having some curious articles to sell. I was in hopes to have been able by these means to deliver to the prince the letters with which I was intrusted, to put him in possession of my plan, and to obtain his consent. I could only communicate with the prince Don Antonio and the intendant. Prince Ferdinand refused either to hear or see me. Indeed, I have reason to believe, from the strange manner in which my proposals were received, that he sent information to the governor of the castle, in consequence of which I was arrested.

Q. What means had you prepared to convey prince Ferdinand to the coast, in case he consented to accompany you?—A. The object of my first journey to Valancay was to impart my plan to the prince; and in case he agreed to it, to fix with him a time when I should return to take him up. Afterwards I would have proceeded to the coast, to apprize the commander of my squadron of the day appointed. I would then have returned to Paris, to procure men and horses necessary for the relays on the road. On the evening of the day appointed the prince would have left his apartment, and by the help of the relays we would have proceeded to a great distance from Valancay before he was missed.

Q. Whither did you intend to carry the prince after you got on board?—A. It was marquis Wellesley's intention to send him to Spain. The duke of Kent was for sending him to Gibraltar. But this plan disgusted me; it was in fact sending him to prison. I intended to propose to him to make his own choice, and to carry him wherever he pleased, for I was informed that captain Cockburn had orders to obey my directions.

Q. Who are the persons you intended to employ?—A. M. St. Bonnel was the only person acquainted with my design. I did not intend to look out for any one to assist me in executing it, until I became acquainted with the prince's determination. I should have employed but few persons.

Q. Are you acquainted with the neighbourhood of Valancay and the country you were to pass through? A. Not in the least; but I purchased some excellent maps at Paris on my arrival, which would have afforded me ample information.

Q. What was your reason for forming such a design?—A. It appeared to me an honourable one.

Q. Do you know this parcel?—A. I do. It contains the documents, stamps, seals, and other things I have mentioned, and which were found upon me when I was taken up. (Signed) "KOLLI."

No. IV.—Is a letter from Charles IV. addressed to the king of England, in 1802, announcing the marriage of the prince of Asturias. It was given to Kolli, with a mar-

a marginal note by the marquis Wellesley, to be used as a credential to prince Ferdinand. On the back of this letter the following was written, in the hand of marquis Wellesley:—

"The secretary of state of his Britannic majesty declares, that this letter is the same that his catholic majesty Charles IV. addressed to his Britannic majesty, on occasion of the marriage of the prince of Asturias, actually king Ferdinand VII. This authentic document is confided to the person who will have the honour of laying it before his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. to verify his mission.

"WELLESLEY.

"Downing-street, Feb. 29, 1810."

No. V.—Letter from king George III. signed in his proper hand, to prince Ferdinand, intrusted to Kolli.

"Sir, my brother,—I have long wished for an opportunity to transmit to your majesty a letter signed in my proper hand, expressing the lively interest and profound regret I have felt since your majesty has been removed from your kingdom. Notwithstanding the violence and cruelty with which the usurper of the throne of Spain overwhelms the Spanish nation, it must prove a great consolation to your majesty, to learn that your people preserve their loyalty and attachment to the person of their lawful king, and that Spain makes continual efforts to uphold your majesty's rights, and to re-establish the independence of the monarchy. The resources of my kingdom, my fleets and armies, shall be employed to assist your majesty's subjects in this great cause, and my ally the prince regent of Portugal has also contributed to it with all the zeal and perseverance of a faithful friend.

"To your majesty's faithful subjects, as well as your allies, your presence only is wanting in Spain, where it would inspire a new energy.

"I therefore intreat your majesty with all the frankness of the alliance and friendship which bind me to your majesty's interests, to consider of the most prudent and effectual means of escaping from the indignities you experience, and of showing yourself among a people who are unanimous in their wishes for your majesty's happiness and glory.

"I annex to this letter a copy of the credentials which my minister in Spain is to present to the central junta, that governs there in the name and by the authority of your majesty.

"I entreat your majesty to rest assured of my sincere friendship, and of the true attachment with which I am, sir, my brother,

"Your worthy brother,

(Signed) "GEORGE R.

(Countersigned) "WELLESLEY."

At the queen's palace,
London, Jan. 31, 1810.

No. VI.—Is a letter from George III. to prince Ferdinand, being a copy of the full powers granted to Henry Wellesley.

No. VII.—This is a letter from M. de Berthemy, giving a description of the festivities at the castle of Valancay, on the 1st of April, in honour of the emperor's marriage; upon which occasion the Spanish princes are represented as having studiously embraced every opportunity of manifesting their joy at the event. They attended the chapel at the castle, and at the conclusion of the Te Deum, prince Ferdinand was the first to exclaim "Long live the emperor!—long live the empress!" The toasts after dinner were; by prince Ferdinand, "Our august sovereigns, Napoleon the Great,

Great, and Maria Louisa his august spouse."—By prince Charles, "The two imperial and royal families of France and Austria."—By prince Anthony, "The happy union of Napoleon the Great and Maria Louisa."—M. D'Amezaga, at the table of the officers of their household, gave, "Napoleon the Great, and Maria Louisa the glory and delight of France and Germany; may divine Providence grant them a long and happy life!" The castle and park were illuminated in the evening with between eight and nine thousand lamps.

No. VIII.—Copy of a letter addressed to M. Berthemy, by prince Ferdinand, acquainting him with his wish to become the adopted son of his majesty.

"*Valançay, April* 4.

"Being desirous of having some conversation with you upon various matters which have long occupied my attention, I request that you will come to M. D'Amezaga's, our first equerry, at three o'clock this afternoon. This individual, exclusively, enjoys our entire confidence, which he has for a great length of time justly merited from his excellent conduct in all respects, and the perfect knowledge he possesses of our affairs, which he has always directed to our great satisfaction and to our advantage.

"M. D'Amezaga, who has on my part had the honour of conversing with you upon the matters above alluded to, and other affairs which concern us, tells me that you are already acquainted with them. Our conversation, sir, will consequently be short, and will not interfere with your own affairs.

"That which at present occupies my attention is to me an object of the greatest interest. My first wish is to become the adopted son of his majesty the emperor, our august sovereign. I conceive myself to be worthy of this adoption, which would truly constitute the happiness of my life, as well from my perfect love and attachment to the sacred person of his majesty, as by my submission and entire obedience to his intentions and desires. I am, moreover, extremely anxious to leave Valançay, because this residence, which has nothing about it but what is unpleasant to us, is not in any respect suitable for us. I feel a pleasure in confiding in that magnanimity of conduct, and that generous beneficence which distinguish his imperial and royal majesty, and in believing that my most ardent wishes will soon be accomplished. "Accept, &c.

(Signed) "FERDINAND."

MAY.

1. The commencement of the fourth century from the foundation of St. Paul's School was this day celebrated at Freemasons'-Hall, by the gentlemen who received their education in that respectable seminary. The lord bishop of Salisbury, sir Philip Francis, K. B. the rev. Dr. Roberts, the high master, and many others, equally the ornaments of that excellent foundation and of society, whom the commemoration of this event had attracted even from distant parts of the country, graced the social board. After dinner, *Non nobis, Domine*, and many excellent songs were sung. The pious memory of the revered founder was gratefully recollected; and the healths of the Bishop, sir Philip Francis, the masters of the school, the school-warden of the Mercers' company, &c. were given, and greeted with enthusiasm. Sir Philip Francis took the occasion which the good wishes of

of his schoolfellows presented, to expatiate, in an animated speech, on the merits of that truly excellent man dean Colet, and the happy consequences which, in an age of ignorance and superstition, his enlightened and penetrating mind, and his liberal bounty, had produced, by the encouragement and dissemination of useful learning; and passed a just encomium on the attention which the Mercers' Company, the trustees of the school, had always paid to its interests.

A Paris paper of the 7th inst. contained the following *Senatus Consultum:*—"Art. 1. All the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, from the limits of the departments of the Roer and Lower Meuse, following the Thalweg of the Rhine to the sea, are united to the French empire, and form an integral part.—2. The countries situated between the course of the Waal, the river Dogne, and the frontiers of the department of the Nettes, the Lower Meuse and the Roer, shall form a department, under the name of The Department of the Mouths of the Rhine. Bois-le-Duc shall be the chief city.—3. The countries situated at the west of the Dogne, with the isles of Schowen, Tholen, North and South Beveland, and Walcheren, shall be united to the department of the Two Nettes.—4. The department of The Mouths of the Rhine shall have two deputies to the legislative body.—The department of the Two Nettes, which has three, shall have five.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON.—CAMBACERES."

MEETING OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON.

4. In pursuance of a requisition, signed by a number of liverymen, a common hall was held, to take into consideration the conduct of the house of commons in the recent imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett. When the requisition had been read, the lord mayor came forward, and recommended an impartial hearing to every person. Mr. Favell then rose to submit some resolutions for their adoption. He said, The men whose extraordinary conduct they were now to consider, boasted of their moderation, and said, if they wanted reform, they must be more moderate; but surely the most moderate men in the country would not have put a warrant in force by military power, which could have been executed by the civil power. An instance of their moderation was, the shutting their doors when inquiring into their own actions: but the moderator received the sense of the county of Cambridge on his conduct; yet, although dismissed with disgrace by his constituents, he has been admitted into the cabinet of his majesty, and raised to offices of great trust and pecuniary emolument.—(*Loud applause.*)—The present subject which they were to discuss, he could assure them, was much more interesting than the case of general warrants, inasmuch as the mere search for papers is exceeded by actual imprisonment. In the early part of the last century, the house of lords resolved on an address to queen Anne, that no person can be imprisoned contrary to law, without losing his title to being a freeman. If the honourable house should imprison one half of the people of England, it would be impossible for it to convince the other half of the people that they had a right to do so.—(*Loud applause.*)—If he was to declare his opinion,

opinion, as a juryman, who were the worst enemies of this country, he would say—(*The present ministers!* exclaimed several voices)—those men who were enemies to reform, and friends to corruption. About forty years back, colonel Barre said, in that honourable house, "since he had the honour (he should say, the *dishonour*)—(*Applause*) to sit in that house, he had been witness to the most dreadful acts. What did they mean by extirpating all honour and virtue? Did they mean to make all men like themselves? Did they think they could reduce all good men to their own level? Did they think that a vote would settle it? No;—for all men knew by what means they obtained that."—Mr. Favell then proposed the following resolutions.

1. "Resolved, That the livery of London, impressed with the deepest sentiments of alarm, regret, and indignation, at the late extraordinary and unconstitutional proceedings of the house of commons, which by the arrest and imprisonment of two of their fellow-subjects, have, as they conceive, superseded the laws of the land, and set up in their stead, under the claim of privilege, an undefined, capricious, and arbitray power—feel themselves irresistibly called upon to express, at a crisis so new, so arduous, and so fatal to their rights and liberties, their unqualified reprobation of measures equally subversive of the first principles of the constitution, derogatory to the real interests and dignity of the house of commons, and injurious to the honour, glory, and happiness of the sovereign, and the people of these realms.

2. "Resolved, That it appears to us, that the commons house of parliament, in committing to prison Mr. John Gale Jones, and in breaking open the house of, and also in committing to prison, one of their members, sir Francis Burdett, bart. for alleged libels upon themselves, (offences which, if established, were provided against by the laws of the country), have been at once accusers, legislators, judges, jurors, and executioners in their own cause, sheltering themselves under the pretence of privilege, and exercising a partial and summary jurisdiction, without redress or appeal.

3. "Resolved, That the whole system of British jurisprudence has been thus shaken to its foundation, and a discretionary power assumed over the liberties of the people, as declared and established by the great charter, repeated and confirmed by the petition of right, and the bill of rights, and recognised, enforced, and illustrated by a multiplicity of statutes.

4. "Resolved, That it has been idly and vainly enacted and re-enacted, 'That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or be out-lawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgement of his peers, or of the law of the land,' if the house of commons, which is itself but a single branch of the legislature, do, to use the language of the bill of rights against the detestable tyranny of James II. 'by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the executing of laws without the consent of parliament, set itself above parliament, making itself greater than the whole of which it is but a part, dispensing with the laws which give to all a remedy against commitments by the king himself, and thus erecting itself into

into a new and monstrous executive, the more dangerous to the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the subject, inasmuch as it claims for its rule of action its own discretion, will, or caprice.

5. "Resolved, That the true privilege of parliament, meaning nothing more than a protective right, was really designed as an immunity and safeguard, to be wielded as a safeguard against the encroachments, usurpations, and tyranny of the crown; not to be converted into an active power of violating the rights of others—into an instrument of arrogance, and a sword of destruction against the people.

6. "Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to that illustrious patriot sir Francis Burdett, for his upright and independent conduct in parliament; for his truly constitutional and irresistible argument, disproving the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England; and for his legal and manly resistance to the speaker's warrant, whereby he has given a practical illustration of its inefficiency, and demonstrated that, as there is no legal power without the legal means of execution, it could not be carried into effect without the aid of a standing army, a violation of the ancient laws and rights of Englishmen, and which in this instance was so lamentably exemplified in the breaking open of his castle, and so fatally preceded and followed by the murder of peaceable and unoffending citizens.

7. "Resolved, that this resolution be communicated to sir Francis Burdett by the sheriffs, and a deputation of the livery, who are desired at the same time to assure him, that, however grateful his release from arbitrary confinement would prove to the citizens of London, his liberation would be no jubilee to the British people, unless obtained by the triumph of those grand principles which in his person have been so shamefully and flagrantly violated.

8. "Resolved, That this meeting would become accomplices in the ruin of their constitution and country, were they to decline stating, what appears to them to be the fact, that the house of commons, which has repeatedly rejected just and necessary inquiry, screened public delinquents and peculators from punishment, encouraged the scandalous traffic of seats in their own house, a traffic 'at the mention of which their ancestors would have startled with indignation,' —sanctioned the most profligate waste of the public money, and approved and justified an expedition the most numerous, formidable, and expensive that ever left the shores of England, but the most degraded, disgraced, and ruinous that ever returned; alike destructive of the genuine energies of the empire, and holding out to the contempt and ridicule of the enemy the folly and imbecility of corrupt and wicked ministers.

9. "Resolved, That under all these evils and calamities, these accumulated and accumulating grievances, it appears to this meeting, that the only means left to save the constitution and the country from impending ruin, is a reform in the representation of the people in the commons house of parliament, which, to be efficient, must be speedy and radical.

10. "Resolved, That the people of the united kingdom are hereby entreated to co-operate by petition, remonstrance, and all constitu-

tional means, in the attainment of this salutary and indispensable object.

11. "Resolved, That a petition, founded on these resolutions, be presented to the honourable the house of commons.

12. "Resolved, That the petition now read be fairly transcribed, and signed by two aldermen and twelve liverymen, and presented to the honourable the house of commons by H. C. Combe, esq. sir W. Curtis, sir C. Price, and sir J. Shaw, bart.; and they are hereby instructed, as representatives of this city, to support the same.

"To the honourable the commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled.

"The humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, this 4th May, 1810.

"We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, beg leave, with feelings of the most anxious concern, to present this our humble address, petition, and remonstrance; and we earnestly entreat your honourable house to give to it a favourable reception; for how can we hope for redress and relief, if the bare statement of the wrongs and grievances of which we complain be rejected? We also beg your honourable house to believe, that, in the language we may have occasion, and are indeed compelled, to employ, no offence is intended to your honourable house.

"The circumstance which most deeply afflicts us, and which most strongly impels us at this time to approach your honourable house, is, what appears to us to have been, on your part, a violation of the personal security of the people of the land. We humbly conceive, that without law, and against law, you have imprisoned two of your fellow-subjects; and that, without a trial, without a hearing, you have condemned them. Law requires legal process and trial by jury of our equals: justice demands that no person shall be prosecutor, juror, judge, and executioner in his own cause. We beg leave to express our conviction that this eternal principle of immutable justice cannot be annulled by any house of commons—by any king—by any parliament—by any legislature upon earth. But it appears to us that your honourable house has, in the instances of Mr. John Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, assumed, accumulated and exercised all these offices.

"We feel it a duty which we owe to you, to ourselves, to our posterity, to state, that, in our conception, this jurisdiction is unfounded; and we humbly but firmly declare our opinion against the existence of this power in any hands;—a jurisdiction unknown—a power above the law, and which could be enforced only by military violence—a violence made manifest by the breaking open of an Englishman's castle, and by the preceding and subsequent murder of peaceable and unoffending citizens.

"Permit us humbly to observe, that the construction of your honourable house prevents our surprise at this conduct of your honourable house. We will not enter into the details, so often and so ably stated to your honourable house, by which it appears, that upwards of three hundred members of your honourable house, in England and Wales only, are not elected by

by the people, in any honest sense of the word people, but are sent to your honourable house by the absolute nomination or powerful influence of about one hundred and fifty peers and others, as averred in a petition to your honourable house in the year 1793, and which remains on your journals uncontroverted. This is the great constitutional disease of our country. This is the true root of all the evils, corruptions, and oppressions under which we labour. If it be not eradicated, the nation must perish.

"In support of this our sincere conviction, we need only refer to the never-to-be-forgotten vote of your honourable house, refusing to examine evidence on a charge against lord Castlereagh and Mr. S. Perceval, then two of the king's ministers, for trafficking in seats in your honourable house.

"We remember well, that when it was gravely averred, and proof offered, in a petition which stands on your journals, and the complaints whereof are now unredressed for more than twenty years, 'That seats for legislation in the house of commons were as notoriously rented and bought as the standings for cattle at a fair,' the then honourable house treated the assertion with affected indignation, and the minister threatened to punish the petitioner for presenting a 'scandalous and libellous petition.' But we have lived to see a house of commons avow the traffic, and screen those accused of this breach of law and right, because it has been equally committed by all parties, and was a practice 'as notorious as the sun at noon-day.' At this vote, and at these practices, we feel as 'our ancestors would have felt,' and cannot repress the expression of 'our indignation' and disgust.

"Under these circumstances, may we not be permitted to ask, where is your justice, where your dignity? Mr. John Gale Jones is confined within the walls of Newgate, for an alleged offence against yourselves, which, if committed against any other subjects of these realms, or even against the king himself, must have been judged by the established rules and laws of the land! Lord Castlereagh continued to be a principal minister of the crown, and is now a free member of your honourable house! Sir Francis Burdett, dragged by a military force from the bosom of his family, is committed to the Tower for exercising the right of constitutional discussion, common, and indeed undeniable, to you, to us, to all. Mr. Spencer Perceval continues a member of your honourable house, taking a lead in your deliberations, the first minister of the crown, and the chief adviser of the royal councils!

"Under the agonizing feelings excited by the late imprisonment of our fellow-subjects, can it be necessary for us to recapitulate the many instances, as they appear to us, of refusals to institute just and necessary inquiry, to pursue to condign punishment public delinquents and peculators, to œconomize the means and resources of the state, to administer to the people relief and redress for the various disgraces which the national honour has sustained, for the lavish profusion of British blood and treasure, extravagantly wasted in ill-contrived and fruitless campaigns, and more particularly in the humiliating and ignominious expedition to the coast of Holland, in which the greatest armament that ever left our shores was exposed to the scorn, contempt, and ridicule of the enemy; the

flower of our youth wastefully and wantonly left ingloriously to perish in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren, without succour, without necessity, without object, without hope?

"These and similar proceedings of your honourable house require no comment; but we cannot by our silence become accomplices in the ruin of our country, and dare not conceal from you the wholesome though unpleasant truth, that they appear to us to have materially shaken what remained of the confidence of the subjects of these realms in the wisdom of your honourable house.

"We therefore humbly, but firmly, entreat you to reconsider your conduct, to retrace your steps, and to expunge from your journals all your orders, declarations, and resolutions, respecting Mr. Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett; and that as sir Francis Burdett has not been expelled from your honourable house, he be no longer prevented from exercising therein all the duties of a member of the same.

"Above all, we earnestly pray your honourable house, in conjunction with sir Francis Burdett, and in conformity to the notice he has given, to devise and adopt such measures as will effect an immediate and radical reform in the commons house of parliament, and ensure to the people a full, fair, and substantial representation, without which they must inevitably cease to exist as a great, a free, a glorious, and independent nation."

The petition was adopted unanimously, with the exception of the votes of Mr. deputy Kemble, Mr. Samuel Dixon, and another.

EXTRAORDINARY ROBBERY.

On Tuesday night, about eleven o'clock, as an old gentleman, who resides in the neighbourhood of Manchester-street, was sitting in his front parlour, no other person being in the house, he was extremely alarmed by the sudden appearance of a man with a black crape over his face, imitating the barking of a mastiff dog, who forced him into the back parlour, and made signs for him to open an iron safe in it; which not being complied with, the robber proceeded to take the keys from him, and in the scuffle the old gentleman was severely wounded. The villain, who appeared to know the key of the safe, took out gold watches and jewellery to the value of 500*l.* Then, after giving the old gentleman several severe blows, he took the candle, left the room, and locked the door. After some time the old gentleman recovered himself, and gave an alarm; and on some of his neighbours gaining admittance by a ladder, they found that the villain had placed the candle against the wainscoting of the parlour, with an intent to set fire to the house. The robber was supposed to have been a discarded servant in the family.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

CHARGE OF CRUELTY.

The King v. *Barrow.*

24.—The defendant was found guilty upon an indictment, charging him with cruelty to a little boy aged about seven years. By the evidence it appeared, that he had exercised a variety of unusual modes of annoying the child, such as shutting him up in a room alone, attempting to singe him with fire, burning his hand with hot irons, and firing pistols over his head to terrify him. There were a variety of complaints made by the neighbours of these circumstances, and at length the parish where the defendant

fendant lives, viz. the parish of Hounslow, took up the prosecution.

It appeared that the child had been purchased by the defendant from a common beggar woman; and if there was any thing whimsical in his method of unkindness, there was also something extremely whimsical in his method of kindness towards him; for he actually adopted him as his own, and instead of Dicky Stranger, which he first named him, he called him (after himself) Dicky Barrow, and publicly announced his intention of bringing him up either to surgery (his own profession), or to one of the learned professions.

On behalf of the defendant, several affidavits were put in, which certainly showed that Mr. Barrow was a very humane man, and that he bore the reputation of a kind and benevolent man.

This day he was brought into court to receive judgement; but his counsel having proposed, on behalf of his client, to make a provision for the child, and the counsel for the prosecution assenting to it, judgement was deferred. The terms proposed were as follow, viz. —For the child's support till 13 years old (he being now seven), 20*l.* a year; for an apprentice fee, 30*l.*; and to deposit now 50*l.* and allow the same to remain in the Bank, and with its interest to accumulate till Dicky shall reach the age of 21 years, and then to receive it.

REVOLUTION IN SPANISH AMERICA.

The Musette, which arrived on Thursday at Spithead from Curacoa, brought dispatches for government of a most important nature. They state that the whole of the inhabitants of the Caraccas had proclaimed themselves independent in consequence of having received intelligence of the sudden departure of the Spanish junta, and of the approach of the French to Seville. In their proclamation of independence, the inhabitants of the Caraccas have expressed, in the strongest language, their determined hatred to the French, their attachment to Great Britain, and their desire to form an alliance with us. Several private letters respecting this transaction have reached town, by which we learn that the revolution took place on the 19th of April. If no narrow policy interfere, the advantage, both political and commercial, which may be expected from this event, are incalculable. The following are extracts from private letters:—

Curacoa, May 9.—We have now to inform you that the long-expected explosion has at length taken place in the province of the Caraccas. An insurrection has broken out there, and has extended to the neighbouring provinces, in consequence of the indignation which the people felt at the conduct of the governing junta in Old Spain. The captain-general, the intendant, and some others, who were supposed to have an attachment to the French, or who at least would have wished at all events to maintain the dependence of the colonies on Spain, were arrested. No violence was, however, done to their persons. They were merely conveyed to a place of security on the coast, and immediately embarked either for Cuba or Portugal. It is remarkable that not the least excess has taken place in consequence of the revolution. The people say that all they want is to establish a free and independent government.

They are therefore anxious for the alliance and protection of England.

Extract of another Letter.

On the 19th of April the inhabitants of the Caraccas, to the number of 34,000 persons, rose and arrested all the chief officers This being done, they formed a provisional government out of their own citizens, and caused the former officers to be immediately embarked. They have since lowered the inward and outward duties considerably, and have declared that commerce is to be free from all its former impolitic restraints. Every thing is quiet at present. It is supposed they will solicit the protection of Great Britain.

31. A most extraordinary and atrocious attempt was made early this morning to assassinate the duke of Cumberland. His royal highness dined on Wednesday at Greenwich, returned to town in the evening, and went to the concert for the benefit of the royal society of musicians. He returned home about half-past twelve, and went to bed about one. About half-past two, he received two violent blows and cuts on his head. The first impression upon his mind was, that a bat had got into the room, and was beating about his head: he was soon convinced to the contrary, by receiving a third blow; he jumped out of bed, when he received a number of other blows: from the glimmering light, and the motion of the instrument that inflicted the wounds, reflected from a dull lamp in the fire-place, they appeared like flashes of lightning before his eyes. He made for a door near the head of his bed, leading to a small room, to which the assassin followed him, and cut him across his thighs. His Royal Highness not being able to find his alarm-bells, which there is no doubt the villain had concealed, called with a loud voice for Neale, his valet in waiting, several times, who came to his assistance, and together with his royal highness alarmed the house. The duke desired Neale not to leave him, as he feared there were others in the room. His royal highness, however, shortly afterwards proceeded to the porter's room, and Neale went to awaken Sellis (a Piedmontese), another of the duke's valets. The door of Sellis's room was locked, and Neale called out to him, saying, "The duke is murdered." No answer being given, the door was broke open, and Sellis was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear.—It is supposed that Sellis, conscious of his own guilt (for there appears no doubt that he was the assassin), imagined, when the alarm was given at his door, that they were about to take him into custody, and immediately cut his throat. His blue coat was found folded up on a chair in one corner of the room, the inside of which was stained with blood; and as he had cut his throat in another part of the room, the blood must have been that of his master. A pair of his slippers were also found in the closet adjoining the duke's chamber, where he had concealed himself until his royal highness was asleep. The assassin seems to have stood rather back towards the head of the bed, which was placed in a small recess, in order to avoid discovery, and was therefore obliged to strike down at the duke's head in a slanting direction; in consequence of which, the curtains which hung from the top impeded the action of the sword; and to this alone can his royal highness's preservation be imputed—several

of

of the tassels of the curtain were cut off. The sword was a large military sabre of the duke's, and had been lately sharpened. The whole edge appeared hacked and blunted with the force of the blows. His royal highness's shirt was cut through in several places, and a great splinter was shivered from the door through which he made his escape. Adjoining the room itself, and communicating with it, is the little closet where the murderer secreted himself. There is in this closet a small press, in which the bolsters were usually put, and in which he hid himself, as the scabbard of the sabre was found in it. Sellis had five different rooms to pass through from the duke's bedroom to his own, and his traces were distinctly marked by the blood left by his left arm upon the sides of the narrow door; and when his coat was examined, the left sleeve was found to be covered with blood. His royal highness, we understand, received six distinct wounds; one upon the forehead, towards the top of the head, another down the cheek, one upon the arm, another by which his little finger was nearly severed from the hand, one on the front of the body, and another on the thigh, besides several punctures in different parts with the point of the sabre. Mr. Home the surgeon was immediately sent for, who pronounced that none of them were mortal. Sir H. Halford was also called in. The prince of Wales went to the Palace early in the morning to visit his royal brother; and about eight o'clock set off for Windsor, to communicate to the royal family the intelligence of the attack made upon the duke. A coroner's inquest was held on the body of Sellis, who, after sitting four hours, to hear evidence, &c. deliberated about an hour, and then returned a verdict of *Felo de se*.

In pursuance of a petition to the house of commons, from the trustees of the British Museum, Mr. Greville's minerals have been valued by Drs. Babington and Wollaston, C. Hatchett, esq. and four other gentlemen, who report that the whole collection consists of about 20,000 specimens; that the series of crystallized rubies, sapphires, emeralds, topazes, rubelites, diamonds, and precious stones in general, as well as the series of the various ores, far surpass any that are known to them in the different European collections: and that the value of the whole is 13,727*l.* including that of the cabinets, which cost 1690*l.*

JUNE.

THE DUKE OF KENT.

4. His royal highness conceiving that Mrs. Clarke's publication tends to implicate him as being the *first cause* of the recent inquiry into the conduct of his royal brother, has thought proper to publish the following assertions of major Dodd. The questions were proposed to that gentleman as early as July last, but from some cause or another have not been made public until now.

Queries put to capt. Doddly his royal highness the duke of Kent; and his answers thereto, 26th July 1809.

Query—Have I either directly or indirectly sanctioned, advised, or encouraged any attack upon the duke of York?—A. Never.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

Query—Have I had, to your knowledge, any acquaintance or communication with colonel Wardle, or any of the persons concerned in bringing forward the investigation respecting the duke of York's

conduct which took place in parliament last winter, either direct or indirect?—A. I feel confident that your royal highness has no such knowledge or acquaintance.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

Query—Have I, to your knowledge, ever had any acquaintance with or knowledge of Mrs. Clarke, or any communication with her, direct or indirect, upon the subject above named, or any other?—A. I am confident your royal highness never had. (Signed T. Dodd.)

Query—Have I ever expressed to you any sentiment which could induce you to believe that I approved of what was brought forward in parliament against the duke of York, or of any proceeding that would tend to his obloquy and disgrace?—A. Never. I have heard your royal highness lament the business *vivâ voce*: and you made the same communication to me in writing. (Signed T. Dodd.)

Query—Have you ever, to your recollection, expressed yourself, either by word or in writing, either to colonel Wardle or Mrs. Clarke, or to any other person connected with the investigation on the duke of York's conduct, in any way that could give them reason to suppose that I approved of the measure, or would countenance those concerned in bringing it forward?—A. Never. But I have on the contrary expressed myself, that your royal highness would have a very different feeling.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

Query—What were my expressions on the subject of the pamphlet which appeared, passing censure on the conduct of the duke of York, and others of my family, and holding up my character to praise; and what have been the sentiments which I have uniformly expressed on similar publications, whether in the newspapers or otherwise?—A. I have invariably heard your royal highness regret that any person should attempt to do justice to your own character at the expense of that of the duke of York, or any other member of your family.

(Signed T. Dodd.)

Query.—During the ten years you have been my private secretary, when, in the most confidential moments, I have given vent to my wounded feelings upon professional subjects, did you ever hear me express myself inimical to the duke of York, or that I entertained an expectation of raising myself by his fall?—A. Never: On the contrary, I have frequently heard your royal highness express yourself very differently. (Signed T. Dodd.)

The above questions, written in col. Vesey's hand, were all dictated by me.

(Signed) EDWARD,

In the presence of lord Harrington.

(Signed) HARRINGTON.

J. A. VESEY.

TRIAL OF MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

Court of king's bench.

14. This important case came on to be tried before the right hon. lord Ellenborough, at Westminster-hall, at nine o'clock on Friday morning. The pannel being called over, the following were sworn of the jury:—

Thomas Rhodes, Hampstead-road.
John Davis, Southampton-place, do.
James Ellis, Tottenham-court road.
John Richards, Bayswater.
Thomas Marsham, Baker-street.
Robert Heathcote, High-street, Mary-le-bone.
John Maude, York-place, ditto.
George Bagster, Church-terrace, Pancras.
Thomas Taylor, Red Lion-square.
David Dean, 110, St. John's-street.
William Palmer, Upper-street, Islington.

Joseph

Joseph West (talesman) was about to be sworn, but

Mr. Cobbett objected to him, and he was withdrawn without assigning any reason, on the consent of the attorney-general.

Henry Faver, a talesman, was then sworn, and made up the twelve.

The attorney-general then opened the case on behalf of the crown. In 1808, lord Castlereagh brought in his bill by which the local militia might be called out for 28 days, though they had only been called out 20 days. When the Cambridgeshire militia was called out, some disaffected persons in the isle of Ely caused them to mutiny, and it was found necessary to call in the military in the neighbourhood, and five of the ringleaders were sentenced to receive 500 lashes, part only of which they received. The German legion, who were thus called in, is composed of a body of brave men, who, when Hanover was overrun, quitted their country, and, entering into his majesty's service, have conducted themselves with bravery, and it was no disparagement to the British army to say, that the German legion even shared the glory with them. At the battle of Talavera the German legion took three standards. No troops had ever conducted themselves in a more quiet, orderly, and sober manner, and he could not find that any complaint had been made against them. Mr. Wardle, in a motion in the house of commons, had proposed to disband the German legion, against which Mr. Huskisson offered sufficient reasons. A paragraph soon after appeared in The Courier, which he would read—

"The mutiny amongst the local "militia, which broke out at Ely, "was *fortunately* suppressed on "Wednesday, by the arrival of "four squadrons of the German "legion cavalry from Bury, under "the command of general Auck-"land. Five of the ringleaders "were tried by a court-martial, and "*sentenced to receive* 500 *lashes each*, "part of which punishment *they* "*received on Wednesday*, and a part "was remitted. A *stoppage for* "*their knapsacks* was the ground of "complaint that excited this *muti-*"*nous* spirit, which occasioned the "men to surround their officers, "and demand what *they deemed* "their arrears. The first division "of the German legion halted yes-"terday at Newmarket, on their "return to Bury."—*Courier (Ministerial) Newspaper, Saturday, June* 24, 1809.

With this paragraph, as a text to a sermon, had Mr. Cobbett headed his paper.

The attorney-general then read the alleged libel.

"LOCAL MILITIA AND GERMAN "LEGION.

"See the motto, English reader! "See the motto, and then do pray "recollect all that has been said "about the way in which Bona-"parte raises his soldiers.—Well "done, lord Castlereagh! This "is just what it was thought your "plan would produce. Well said, "Mr. Huskisson! It really was "not without reason that you dwelt "with so much earnestness upon "the great utility of the foreign "troops, whom Mr. Wardle ap-"peared to think of no utility at "all. Poor gentleman! he little "imagined how a great genius "might find useful employment "for such troops. He little ima-"gined, that they might be made "the means of compelling English-"men to submit to that sort of "*discipline*, which is so conducive "to

"to the producing in them a disposition to defend the country, at the risk of their lives. Let Mr. Wardle look at my motto, and then say, whether the German soldiers are of *no use*—*Five hundred lashes each!*—Aye, that is right! Flog them; flog them; flog them! They deserve it, and a great deal more. They deserve a flogging at every meal time. 'Lash them daily, lash them duly.' What! shall the rascals dare to *mutiny*, and that too when the German legion is so near at hand! Lash them, lash them, lash them! They deserve it. O, yes; they merit a double-tailed cat. Base dogs! What, mutiny for the sake of *the price of a knapsack!* Lash them! flog them! Base rascals! Mutiny for the price of a goat's skin!—And then, upon the appearance of the *German soldiers*, they take a flogging as quietly as so many trunks of trees!—I do not know what sort of a place Ely is; but I really should like to know how the inhabitants looked one another in the face, while this scene was exhibiting in their town. I should like to have been able to see their faces, and to hear their observations to each other at the time. This occurrence at home will, one would hope, teach *the loyal* a little caution in speaking of the means which Napoleon employs (or rather, which they say he employs,) in order to get together and to discipline his conscripts. There is scarcely any one of these loyal persons, who has not, at various times, cited the *band-suffings*, and other means *of force*, said to be used in drawing out the young men of France; there is scarcely one of the loyal, who has not cited these means as a proof, a complete proof, that the people of France *hate Napoleon and his government*, assist *with reluctance in his wars*, and would *fain see another revolution*. I hope, I say, that the loyal will, hereafter, be more cautious in drawing such conclusions, now that they see that our 'gallant defenders' not only require physical restraint, in certain cases, but even a little blood drawn from their backs, and that, too, with the aid and assistance of *German* troops. Yes; I hope the loyal will be a little more upon their guard in drawing conclusions against Napoleon's popularity.—At any rate, every time they do, in future, burst out in execrations against the French for suffering themselves to be 'chained together and forced, at the point of the bayonet, to do military duty,' I shall just re-publish the passage which I have taken for a motto to the present sheet. I have *heard* of some other pretty little things of the same sort; but I rather choose to take my instance (and a very complete one it is) from a public print notoriously under the sway of the ministry."

The jury would observe with how much reproach Mr. Cobbett mentioned the word "loyal." He would not suffer it to be believed that Napoleon would use such means to raise an army. He not only rendered it a vehicle of attack on this country, but as a defence of the emperor of France; he would not permit the country to believe the tyranny of Bonaparte. So that the author meant to represent that the treatment of ministers was as tyrannical as the chaining together the conscripts of France. The object of the libel was to give to all men a distaste to the German legion,

legion, into which some must enter, and to persuade people that the tyranny of the measure of the local militia was greater than that of Bonaparte. For these reasons he felt himself called upon to bring the publication before a jury. Whatever the author had to allege, he would be patiently heard. He had considered the paper attentively, and could give it no character but that which he had described it to be.

Mr. Cobbett defended himself, and the jury found him Guilty.

JEFFERY THE SEAMAN.—On Tuesday the following deposition was received by government:—"This is to certify, that personally appeared before me, John Adams, master of the American schooner Adams, belonging to Marblehead, in the state of Massachusets, and voluntarily made oath, that in the month of December, 1809, he did, whilst passing the island of Sombrero, in the Sombrero passage, in the West Indies, discover from his vessel a man waving his hand on the said island; whereupon the said deponent hove his vessel to, and sent his boat on shore with the mate, who found a man on the said island extremely reduced and exhausted, so as not to be able to speak. That the man having been brought on board the schooner, and somewhat recovered, declared, that his name was Robert Jeffery, a seaman, belonging to his majesty's brig of war Recruit, commanded by captain Warwick Lake, and that he had been eight days on the said island. This deponent further said, that the said Robert Jeffery became quite recovered, and went to Beverly, where he resided, working at his trade of a blacksmith, when deponent saw him last.

"JOHN DENNIS.

"Sworn before me, at Corunna, 19th May, 1810.

"J. L. MANJAC, vice-cons.

"Done in the presence of George Digby, captain of his majesty's ship Cossack, and George White, assistant-commissary.

"(A true copy) "GEO. DIGBY."

LIBERATION OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT AND MR. GALE JONES.

21. It being generally known that parliament was to be prorogued on Thursday, the expectation of the procession, which was expected to have taken place for the purpose of conducting sir Francis Burdett from the Tower, excited great interest. The town was all in a bustle during the whole of the forenoon. Due precautions for preserving the peace were taken by the civil magistrates, and the number of military assembled in and about the metropolis was very considerable. The 12th light dragoons arrived from Woolwich. A park of artillery was stationed on the parade in St. James's park. A regiment of horse was stationed in Somerset-house. The volunteers mustered strong in their respective parishes, in consequence of circular letters having been sent to the whole of the volunteer corps, requiring each volunteer to appear with arms in full uniform on their respective stations, for the purpose of assisting the civil power in the preservation of peace, should their services be required. A detachment of the queen's dragoons was stationed near the Asylum.

The fineness of the day afforded a favourable opportunity for the populace to assemble on Tower-hill, which they did at a very early hour. Crowds were collected there at eight in the morning, and all along the line of streets from the Tower to

sir

sir Francis Burdett's house in Piccadilly, every point was thickly planted with people towards the afternoon. Every window and elevated station was occupied, and all eyes were eagerly turned toward the east, whence the spectacle so much desired was expected to come. The display of beautiful females could not have been equalled in any other city in the world.

Most of the ladies wore the garter blue ribbon. From many houses rods with ribbons of the same colour were suspended. In every convenient situation, waggons, carts, and chairs, were filled with well-dressed females. In Piccadilly, &c. scaffoldings were erected. A severe disappointment was, however, experienced, in consequence of sir Francis Burdett having declined to join the procession. Numerous bodies of the Westminster electors began to repair to the Tower about one o'clock. A party of about 500, from Soho, with blue cockades and colours flying, proceeded down Catherine-street and the Strand for the city. They marched two and two, and invited every passenger whom they met to join them. They were met in the Strand by the 12th light dragoons, on their way to Hyde Park corner. The 14th light dragoons followed; both regiments mustered very strong. The one body was preceded by a military band of music, and three blue silk banners. On the first was inscribed, "The constitution;" on the second, "Trial by jury;" and on the third, "Burdett and freedom." About 300 gentlemen assembled on horseback in different parts of the city, and arrived on Tower-hill about two o'clock. Among them we observed major Cartwright, and a number of gentlemen who compose the Westminster committee. In the Minories the carriages were arranged about two hundred in number. There were about twenty gentlemen's carriages, the remainder were stage and hackney-coaches. The latter were crowded outside and in with men and women, who wore blue favours and other tokens of their attachment to sir Francis Burdett. As early as twelve o'clock the greater part of the shop windows by which the procession was to pass were shut, and the other front windows were left for the accommodation of persons who wished to witness it. The sides of all the streets were also nearly lined with teams and carts, which were filled by men, women and children. The north and west side of Tower-hill were immensely crowded by people of every description, which absolutely prevented the procession from being arranged in that regular order which was originally intended. The ramparts of the Tower were filled by soldiers, chiefly in their slop-dress, and without arms. They were frequently cheered by the people on Tower-hill, but did not once return it. After a long and anxious suspense for the appearance of sir Francis Burdett, a soldier in the Tower called several times through a speaking-trumpet—"He is gone by water;" but no person seemed to give any credit to what he had said to them. A little afterwards, one of the constables, with much difficulty, assured the people that sir Francis Burdett had gone by water; but he received no more credit for his assertion than the person who spoke from the Tower. At half past four o'clock, however, three placards were suspended over the gates of the Tower, with the following inscription:—

"Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three."

The

The appearance of this notice soon spread the utmost astonishment and consternation among the whole people assembled; and gave rise to very different and contradictory surmises. Some asserted that sir Francis Burdett never would depart by water, and disappoint the good intentions of his friends, unless he were compelled to do so. Others said he had withdrawn himself privately, lest his appearance should excite tumult, and he should afterwards be blamed for the consequences; and many even asserted that he had been ordered to attend the house of commons, where he was to receive a reprimand previous to his discharge.

Mr. sheriff Wood and Mr. sheriff Atkins at last came to the Tower gate on horseback, and appeared as little able as the rest to account for the non-appearance of the hon. baronet. They then entered the Tower, where they remained about a quarter of an hour; when they returned, and informed Major Cartwright and the other gentlemen who were appointed to conduct the procession, that sir F. Burdett had actually left the Tower in a boat, accompanied by two gentlemen.

Mr. John Gale Jones was liberated from Newgate about four o'clock, when he took a hackney-coach, and proceeded to join the procession at Tower-hill. His name was chalked upon the pannels, and he repeatedly addressed the people; but the confusion was so great that we could scarce hear a word he said, excepting that he complained he had been turned out of prison at two minutes notice.

The following letter was received by Mr. sheriff Wood, while in waiting, on Thursday, at the Tower, in expectation of sir Francis Burdett:—

"*Tower, June* 21, 1810, *half-past four, p. m.*

"Sir—At the request of the bearer, John Stock, esq. of Poplar, I beg leave to assure you, upon my honour, that at half-past three o'clock this afternoon, I saw sir Francis Burdett, accompanied by three friends, get into a boat, and he was instantly rowed down the river.—I have the honour to be,

"Sir, your obedient servant,

"DANIEL WILLIAMS,

"Magistrate at the police-office,

"Whitechapel."

Mr. Sheriff Wood.

REPORT BY THE MINISTER OF WAR TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING OF FRANCE.

"I have the honour to inform your majesty, in consequence of the orders I received, that the number of English prisoners who distinguished themselves at the fire that broke out at the town of Auxone is 21: to wit, 12 of the first class of captains of merchant vessels; 3 of the second class; 4 passengers; one merchant detained as a hostage, and a sailor.—Ten of them received hurts; viz. Messrs. West, Humble, Dobbins, Hurst, Fenil, and Topping, (rather severe ones); and Messrs. Mosely, Welsh, (who had before saved a child from the flames at Arras,) Robinson, and Davies, less severely; they are all recovered.—Those who appeared to have exposed themselves the longest, without having received any injury, are Messrs. Atkinson (Robert), Macginnis, Pemberton, Delivet, and Smaile. Great praise is due to Messrs. Thornhill, Hollby, Miller, Atkinson (Thomas), and Collins. They also gave proofs of zeal, and afforded

afforded great assistance.—The account transmitted by the prefect of the Côte d'Or, will put your majesty in possession, if you will deign to look at it, of fuller particulars respecting the conduct of these prisoners, and the nature of the reward which your majesty seems inclined to bestow on them.

"*Paris.* Duke of FELTRE."

"The minister of war will express to them my satisfaction; will order them to be paid a reward amounting to six months pay, and will send them to their own country, under their promise not to serve until they are exchanged.

"*Antwerp.* NAPOLEON."

JULY.

SWEDEN.

1. The following article details the particulars of a disturbance which took place at Stockholm on the burial of the late crown prince, and in which count Fersen lost his life. The Stockholm Gazette alludes to this tumult; and a reward is offered for the apprehension of those concerned, without affording any clue as to the cause. The private letters represent it to have arisen from the suspicions entertained that the crown prince had met with an untimely death. The court, to purge itself, and to quiet the public mind, has offered a reward of 20,000 rix-dollars to any person who shall bring forward any evidence in proof that his highness's death was occasioned by criminal means.

A private letter from Stockholm, dated the 22d ult. gives the following particulars:—"The funeral procession of the crown prince arrived here yesterday. It was led by count Axell Fersen, in a carriage drawn by six horses. An immense assemblage of people had collected. No symptoms of riot or outrage were observable until the corpse had reached New-street *(Nygatan)*; when the populace began to hiss and shout at the count, who did not seem to suppose that the indignity was directed to him; but, on a stone being thrown into the carriage, the count put his head out of the window, and, if I may judge from his gestures, which were too significant to be mistaken, set the mob at defiance. This exasperated them to such a degree, that they discharged a volley of stones at the coach, one of which struck the count in the face. The count immediately ordered the postillions to stop, jumped out of the coach, and with great difficulty reached the nearest house. At that moment baron Silversparre, the adjutant-general, arrived; and, on demanding the cause of the riot, the general exclamation was, Count Fersen has murdered the crown prince. Silversparre then told them, that the king had ordered him to declare that the count should be arrested and tried. The mob then huzzaed, and began to disperse. The carriage had in the mean time advanced a little, and stopped in the square. In half an hour after, the count came out of the house; and, in approaching the carriage, the mob suddenly rushed upon him, tore the star from his coat, pelted him with stones, and murdered him! So ferocious were the assassins, that they tore the clothes off the body of the count, and exposed his naked corpse in the street. The life guards came up; the people were told to disperse, but in vain; they pelted the officers, &c. used most threatening and

and abusive language respecting the queen and countess Piper, and became more and more outrageous. The soldiers fired, and a great many were shot. The council of state assembled. Countess Piper, sister of count Fersen, was arrested, as well as Mr. Rossi, principal physician of the deceased crown prince, and sent to the fortress of Wrexholm. When the insurgents were informed of these proceedings, and that count Fabian Fersen had resigned his office as lord chamberlain, the public tranquillity was somewhat restored. In the night, the mob attacked count Ugglas's house, and broke all the windows, but did no further damage. To-day cannon is planted in the squares; and orders have been issued for several regiments to march with all possible expedition to the capital."

2. The two petitions for liberty of conscience, lately presented to the house of commons by Mr. Whitbread, were neither confined to the case of Roman catholics, nor did they come from dissenters. They both originated from Mr. Wyvil, a well-known clerical character, and were signed by several ministers and members of the establishment. Of this description were almost all the parties to the petition *first* presented; whilst the *other* was signed by 1560 "christians of various denominations." The petitioners, conceiving it to be the duty of *all* men to examine for themselves the principles of religion, and to worship their Maker according to the dictates of their own understandings, contend that they ought not to be impeded by any human authority in the discharge of such duties. Certainly they ought not; provided they be content with having their own way, and do not *impede* others.

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS OF THE KING OF HOLLAND TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

"Gentlemen—I charge the ministers to present to your assembly the resolution which I find myself compelled to take, in consequence of the military occupation of my capital. The brave French soldiers have no other enemies than such as are enemies to the common cause of Holland and myself. They are, and ought to be, received with all the regard and civility possible; but it is not less true, that in the actual situation of Holland, when an entire army, a crowd of custom-house officers, and when even the national army is taken from under the power of government—when every place, with the exception of the capital, was under the orders of a foreign officer—I thought it right to declare to marshal the duke of Reggio, and the chargé d'affaires from the emperor, that if they occupied the capital and its vicinity, I should consider that operation as a manifest violation of the rights of the people, and of the most sacred rights among men.

"It was this which made me refuse the custom-house officers' entrance into Mayden, Naarden, and Damme. I was justified in doing so, because the treaty did not authorize the presence of custom-house officers, except upon the coast, and at the mouths of rivers.

"On the 16th of June I received, through the chargé d'affaires of his majesty the emperor and king, an assurance that it was not his intention to occupy Amsterdam; and that led me to hope that he would abide strictly by a treaty, the

the conditions of which were drawn up by his majesty the emperor himself. Unfortunately, my error was not of long duration, as I received a communication, that 20,000 French troops had united in the environs of Utrecht. I continued, notwithstanding the extreme penury and embarrassments of our finances, to furnish them with subsistence and other necessary things, although the treaty precisely expressed that there should be 6000 men only maintained at the expense of this kingdom; but I feared that this collecting of troops was done with other views unfavourable to our government; and late in the night of the 20th, I received official information that his majesty the emperor insisted upon the occupation of Amsterdam, and the establishment of the French head-quarters in that capital.

"Under these circumstances, gentlemen, you cannot doubt that I was willing to suffer for my people fresh humiliations, if I could have preserved the hope of being able to support such a state; and, above all, to prevent new evils; but I could not deceive myself any longer.

"I have signed a treaty, dictated by France, under the conviction that measures the most disagreeable for the nation and for myself would not be followed up; and that, satisfied with my voluntary abdication, which is the consequence of the said treaty, every thing would go on smoothly between France and Holland.

"The treaty presents, indeed, a great number of pretences, and of new grievances and accusations; but can pretences be ever wanting? I ought then to have confided in the explanations and communications which have been made to me, besides this treaty, and in the formal and circumstantial declaration, which I have not failed to do; such as, that the custom-house officers would only interfere in the measures relating to the blockade; that the French troops should only remain on the coast; that the domains of the state, and those of the crown, should be respected; that the debts of the countries which had been ceded would be charged to France: in a word, that from the number of troops which were to be furnished, there should be deducted those which, at this moment, are at the disposal of France, Spain, and even that, for the maritime strength, the necessary time should be allowed.

"I have always flattered myself that the treaty would be respected. I have been mistaken; and if the entire devotion I have manifested for my duty, on the 1st of last April, has only tended to drag on and prolong the existence of the country for three months, I have the cruelly grievous satisfaction (yet the only one which now I can have) that I have fulfilled the obligations to the end; that I have (if I am permitted to say so) sacrificed to the existence and to the welfare of this country, all that was possible. But after the submission and the resignation of the 1st of April, 1810, I should be much to blame if I consented to retain the title of king, being no longer but an instrument; no longer commanding, not only in the country, but even in my own capital, and, perhaps, soon, not even in my palace.

"I should be, nevertheless, a witness of every thing that might be going on, without being able to do any thing for my people; responsible

sponsible for all occurrences, without the power to prevent them or their influence. I should have exposed myself to the complaints of both sides, and, perhaps, have occasioned great misfortunes, by doing which I should have betrayed my conscience, my people, and my duty.

"I have for a long time foreseen the extremity to which I am reduced; but I could not have prevented it without sacrificing my most sacred duties, without ceasing to have at heart the interest of my people, and without ceasing to connect my fate with that of the country. Now that Holland is reduced to that condition, I have, as king, but one course to take, and that is, to abdicate the throne in favour of my children. Any other course would have only augmented the misfortunes of my reign. I should have perhaps seen the peaceable inhabitants, victims to contentions of government, destroyed at once. How, then, could an idea of resistance ever enter my mind?

"My children, born Frenchmen, like myself, would have seen in a just cause (but which they would not have believed to be solely mine) the blood of their countrymen flow; I had then but one course to take.

"My brother, so violently irritated against me, is not so against my children; and doubtless he will not destroy what he has done, and deprive them of their inheritance, since he has not, nor can have, any subject of complaint against one who will not, for a long time to come, reign himself. His mother, to whom the regency appertains by the constitution, will do every thing that shall be agreeable to the emperor my brother, and will succeed better than myself, who have had the misfortune never to be successful in my endeavours of that kind. And at the conclusion of a maritime peace, perhaps before, my brother, knowing the state of things in this country, the esteem its inhabitants merit, how much their welfare accords with the interests well understood of his empire, will do for this country all it has a right to expect, as the reward of its numerous sacrifices to France, of its fidelity, and of the interest with which it cannot fail to inspire those who judge of it without prejudice.

"Perhaps I am the only obstacle to the reconciliation of this country with France; and should that be so, I might find some consolation in dragging out the remainder of a wandering and languishing life at a distance from the first objects of my whole affection, this good people, and my son.

"These are my principal motives — there are others equally powerful, with respect to which I must be silent; but they are easily divined. The emperor, my brother, though strongly prejudiced against me, must feel that I could not act otherwise—he is great, and he *ought* to be just.

"As to you, gentlemen, I should be much more unhappy even than I am, if possible, could I imagine that you would not do justice to my intentions. May the end of my career prove to the nation, and to you, that I have never deceived you—that I have had but one aim, the true interest of the country—that the faults I may have committed are solely to be ascribed to my zeal, which caused me to employ, not always the best, but the most practicable means of overcoming the difficulty of circumstances! I had never proposed to myself to govern a nation so interesting, yet so difficult, as yours.

"Be, gentlemen, my advocates with the nation: inspire it with attachment for the prince royal, who deserves it, if I may judge from his happy natural disposition. The queen has the same interest as myself.

"I cannot, gentlemen, conclude, without recommending to you, in the most earnest manner, and in the name of the interests and of the existence of so many families, whose lives and property would be infallibly compromised, to receive the French with attention, with kindness, and the cordiality which is due to the brave people of the first nation in the universe; to your friends, to your allies, who consider obedience as the first of duties, but which they cannot fail to esteem the more, in proportion as they become acquainted with a nation brave, industrious, and worthy of esteem under every consideration.

"In whatever place I may happen to terminate my days, the name of Holland, and the most lively prayers for its happiness, will be my last words—will be my last thoughts.

"July 1st. LOUIS NAPOLEON."

THE INSTALLATION.

Oxford, July 3. The first annual commemoration since the installation of lord Grenville, which has excited so much public interest and expectation, commenced this day. The morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, of which there is a profusion in all parts of this city.—At nine o'clock the outer gates of the yard of the theatre were opened, when the rush to gain admittance with such a genteel assemblage exceeded belief. Ladies and gentlemen had their clothes actually torn to rags, and lost their shoes, rings, &c. A number of rings and trinkets were afterwards picked up out of the mud. The rising semicircle was reserved empty for the noblemen and doctors who were to be in the procession. Sir Sidney Smith entered the area at ten o'clock, in his uniform: he was soon recognised by the bachelors of arts and undergraduate members of the university in the upper gallery, where they were assembled to the number of about one thousand, who cheered him with incessant clappings and huzzas: an avenue was made for sir Sidney, by the masters of arts and bachelors of law, when he bowed respectfully to all parts of the gallery. This highly delighted the young gentlemen, who called out loudly for a seat for sir Sidney. The head of Worcester college had the care of the semicircle set apart for the noblemen and doctors, when he very politely admitted sir Sidney to a seat; which gave general satisfaction.

At a quarter before eleven o'clock, Dr. Crotch, the professor of music of the university, announced the approach of the chancellor and the procession, from the vice-chancellor's, upon the organ; and the excellent band under his direction, amounting to about 100 performers, struck up the march in the occasional overture. The six beadles of the university, in their full dresses, entered, followed by lord Grenville, the chancellor, in his new robes, which for elegance far exceed the lord chancellor's state robes. Dr. Parsons, the vice-chancellor, followed his lordship in full robes: there were also in the procession, which consisted of about 100, earl Spencer, lord G. Cavendish, lord C. Spencer, viscount Morpeth, the bishop of St. Asaph, the judge of the admiralty, the speaker of the house of commons, sir J. Hippesley

Hippesley Cox, sir W. W. Wynne, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. T. Grenville, &c.

After the chancellor had taken his seat in the chair, and all those in the procession, the music ceased. His lordship then opened the high convocation, in a Latin speech, declaring the purposes of the convocation, viz. to commemorate the benefactors of the university, according to the intention of the right honourable Nathaniel Lord Crewe, late bishop of Durham; also to confer degrees upon qualified persons. During the time the chancellor was addressing the meeting, all those who came in the procession stood: earl Spencer was on the right of the chancellor, and Dr. Parsons the vice-chancellor on his left. After his lordship had finished reading the list of names, he sat down, and put on his cap; the proctors did the same, being the only privileged persons to be covered in the presence of the chancellor. The band then played a very charming piece; after which the six beadles entered again in procession, followed by a doctor of laws, and those who were candidates to have that honour conferred upon them. The doctor we understand to be Dr. Heber, of Brazen Nose college. The doctor addressed the chancellor in a long Latin speech, recommending the personages who were candidates for the honour of being admitted doctors of civil law. The chancellor rose from his chair, took off his cap, and answered the doctor.

The first candidate proposed was his grace the duke of Somerset, who being informed by the chancellor he was admitted a doctor of civil law of that university, bowed respectfully, and then approached towards the semicircle, the seat of the doctors, where he was introduced to his seat by Dr. Parsons the vice-chancellor, and one of the proctors. The next candidate was the marquis of Buckingham, who, on ascending the steps to take his seat in the semicircle among the doctors, unfortunately fell; he was raised up by the chancellor and vice-chancellor. The noble marquis did not appear to have received any material injury.

The following is a correct list of the noblemen and gentlemen who were admitted afterwards to the degree of D. C. L: The marquis of Downshire, marquis of Ely, earl of Essex, earl of Abingdon, earl of Jersey, earl Fortescue, earl of Carysfort, earl Temple, lord viscount Bulkeley, lord viscount Carleton, lord Braybrook, lord Cawdor, lord Carrington, Mr. William Wickham, Mr. George Tierney, Mr. William Elliot, sir William Drummond, K. C. sir John Newport, sir John Anstruther, Mr. Fagel late greffier of the United Provinces.

The rev. William Crowe, of New college, the public orator of the university, then entered the rostrum, and delivered a Latin oration commemorative of the benefactors of the university, which received great applause. The recitation of the chancellor's prize odes then took place. All the gentlemen were extremely perfect; we did not hear any of them once prompted; and they were all highly and deservedly applauded, particularly Mr. Chinnery, who delivered himself with the utmost effect and grace. The new ode was then performed, written in honour of the new chancellor.

The proceedings of the day being concluded, the chancellor rose and adjourned the convocation. His lordship then left the chair, and proceeded throughout the crowded

area singly, when he was cheered generally throughout the theatre. All the doctors followed his lordship singly, according to their rank. Sir Sidney Smith, on returning, received unbounded applause. We never witnessed a more splendid sight, and every thing was conducted with the greatest decorum and regularity. The chancellor, several noblemen, heads of houses, doctors and proctors, to the number of about 200, dined with the vice-chancellor at Baliol college, where every delicacy was provided.

The concert at the theatre was crowded long before the performances commenced. The female part of the audience was most brilliant. The orchestra was directed by the almost unequalled skill of Dr. Crotch the university professor, and Bartleman, Braham and Catalani exerted their powers with effect. Catalani was peculiarly excellent in her last song, "*O ti muova,*" and curtsied at every expression of general approbation in the most winning way in the world. At the end, after the coronation anthem, "God save the king" was called for by several. The greater part of the performers were on the move, but she showed a strong disposition to comply with the wish, which was becoming more general. She then sang "God save the king" in better English than one could expect, and was assisted in the last verse by Braham. The theatre then resounded with her praises.

At night a grand ball took place in the town-hall, where about 700 persons assembled, and in which the wealth and beauty of the city and its neighbourhood was mixed with the academics, and graced with the rank and dignity of the nobility. This grand fête lasted four days; but the entertainments were varied.

LAW.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, JULY 9.

MR. W. COBBETT.

This being the day on which the court was to pronounce its judgement on Mr. Cobbett and others, the avenues at a very early hour were all crowded, and the throng was so unusual and prodigious, that the chief justice was obliged to order the avenues to be cleared; it being with the most extreme difficulty that even the defendants could contrive to get into court. At length they appeared, and the attorney-general prayed judgement against Wm. Cobbett, T. C. Hansard, John Budd, and Richard Bagshaw, which was, "That you W. Cobbett do pay a fine to the king of 1000*l.* that you be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of *Newgate for the space of two years*—that at the expiration of that time you enter into a recognizance *to keep the peace for seven years, yourself in the sum of three thousand pounds, and two sureties in the sum of one thousand pounds each.* And further, that you be imprisoned till that recognizance be entered into, and that fine paid."

The judge then proceeded to pass the sentence of the court on T. C. Hansard. He observed, that the case of the other three defendants was different from that of the defendant Cobbett, in as much as they had no share in the profits of the libel; but as Hansard had seen the copy before it was printed, he ought to have avoided letting it be printed. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment in the king's bench prison, and at the expiration of that time to enter into a recognizance to keep the peace, himself in 400*l.* and two sureties in 200*l.* each; and further to be imprisoned till such security be given.

The other two defendants (Messrs. Bagshaw

Bagshaw and Budd, the publishers) were each sentenced to two months imprisonment in the same prison.

MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.

12. About six o'clock in the evening the inflammable air in a coal-pit at Grange-colliery, near Bolness, Scotland, exploded, and out of twenty-three persons who were in it at the time,—awful to relate, only six were saved, seventeen having suffered; namely, eight men and nine women. This most melancholy event, which was altogether unexpected and undreaded (accidents, the effects of inflammable air, having been long unknown in that part of the country), is understood to have been occasioned by one of the suffering women having placed a light in a part of the pit, where, from the late uncommon closeness of the atmosphere, that air had collected in strength, and of which she had been warned by one of the survivors, and there to have set fire to it. The fatal effects were produced, not by burning, as is common in cases of explosion of inflammable air, but by its suffocating quality. Although Dr. Stewart from Bolness, with two assistants, gave immediate attendance, and used every means for restoring suspended animation, only four out of twenty-one were recovered, the other two having got out without receiving any injury. Besides the other calamities attending this dreadful accident, eighteen children have been left unprovided for. A subscription has been set on foot for their relief.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

ASSAULT AND FALSE IMPRISONMENT.

Hewlings v. *Giller.*

16. This was an action to recover a compensation in damages for an assault and false imprisonment. The plaintiff is a straw-hat manufacturer, the defendant the master of the Bald-faced Stag public-house on Finchley common. The case was stated by Mr. serjeant Best, who in his address to the jury observed, that it was one of great oppression on the part of the defendant, and of considerable importance to the public; the decision, he hoped, would convince inn-keepers that they were bound to receive their guests and lodge them, if conducting themselves peaceably: so the law provided. The present defendant had committed a most grievous injury towards the plaintiff, by imprisoning him, in consequence of a demand made by the latter of a supper and a bed. The learned serjeant then detailed the evidence, having made some pointed observations upon the case generally.

Chief justice Mansfield observed that the defendant had not made out a justification of his conduct in point of law, and a verdict must therefore go for the plaintiff. The only question for their consideration was the amount of damages. "With respect to the law," said the learned judge, "I rather think it is with the plaintiff. The plaintiff and his friend Welchman were guests; but what the law had in contemplation were these sort of guests, persons travelling a distance from home. Innkeepers are compellible to receive travellers and accommodate them, so that they may properly rest and refresh while travelling. These persons were not travelling, but going on a shooting party. If the plaintiff and his friend had gone away when the defendant required them, without obtaining what they demanded,

manded, they might have brought an action against him for not receiving them. The defendant in this instance seems to have erred from a mistaken notion of the law, when he thinks he was not bound to receive these persons."

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 50*l.*

STORM.

16. The tremendous thunder-storm on Saturday and Sunday last has done infinite damage. At two o'clock in the forenoon it appeared as if a cloud burst over the metropolis, and discharged in the course of a minute a profusion of water: it was succeeded by a shower of hailstones of a very large size, which broke several windows, and much glass in the gardens south-west of the town. The flashes of lightning succeeded in the most rapid succession; and from the clouds being so low the air was so strongly impregnated with sulphur that it became quite offensive. About a mile beyond Kilburn Wells a brilliant ball of fire passed rapidly along, which had a most sublime and awful effect. The Watford coach was coming to town at the time, and the coachman and a female passenger were struck down by the lightning. The hand of the woman was very much hurt, and the ring on her finger was fused. A team which was near the coach had one of the horses killed and a woman in the cart struck down by the lightning. An aged man, working in the garden of Mr. Sneathe, in the Edgeware road, was struck blind by the lightning. Three men were struck by the lightning on Bexley Heath, one of whom was killed, and his watch much fused. At Ditton, a barn filled with corn was burnt by the lightning. At Hampstead and Highgate the claps of thunder resembled the firing of heavy artillery. The tempest extended to most parts of Kent, and two gentlemen were killed near Canterbury while taking shelter under a tree.

The greatest damage was produced by the rain. The streets in many parts were impassable, and the property of the inhabitants in their kitchens and cellars received injury. Westminster Hall presented an unusual appearance. The water overflowed the sewer at the back of the Exchequer coffee-house, and soon covered the lower part of the hall. Boys were stationed with brooms to sweep away the inundation, but the stench produced by the overflow made the place uncommonly disagreeable to those who attended on business. The coruscation which prevailed at intervals frequently occasioned a momentary suspension of the proceedings in the Courts, as the lightning had a peculiar effect on the eye-sight. We did not hear of any fatal accident in town; but it is highly probable that the most serious misfortunes have occurred in consequence of this storm.

Sunday afternoon, about three o'clock, there was a very tempestuous storm at Windsor, of thunder, hail and rain, which lasted for upwards of half an hour. The hail-stones that fell were as large as a common marble. It has beaten all the fruit off the trees, and cut the peas and beans down in the gardens in Windsor and its environs.

At Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, the electric fluid descended through the chimney of a house, and entering the bed-room killed Mr. Hornby of that place, shoemaker, who was in bed with his

his wife and child, but neither of the latter sustained the least injury.

29. A dreadful fire broke out about four o'clock in the morning in the premises of Mr. Gillet, the printer, in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street, whose dwelling-house and printing-office were entirely destroyed, together with the dwelling-house of Mr. Swan, a printer adjoining. Some houses at the back of these buildings were also much damaged, as was likewise the house of the Vaccine Institution. It is remarkable that the premises of Mr. Gillet, on the same spot, were destroyed by fire not more than between four and five years ago, and that the house of the Vaccine Institution was then, as now, much damaged by it. It is considered to have been wilfully set on fire, as there had not been either a fire or a candle in the building since last March; and that Mr. Gillet, accompanied by his son, saw that every thing was safe before he retired to bed on Saturday night.

AUGUST.

THE FIRE AT PARIS.

Banks of the Main, Aug. 2.—The following are some details which have reached us from Paris, respecting the unfortunate fire at the hotel of prince Schwarzenburg:—"The emperor and empress had scarcely retired at the commencement of the tumult, when the crowd precipitated itself towards the three doors which led from the hall. It is impossible to form an idea of the despair and terror which seized upon every body when the cry of 'Save himself who can,' was heard; they crowded together, they ran against each other; some persons were trampled under foot. The lustres, the ceiling, and the beams fell, and wounded the unfortunate, who issued frightful cries. The heat caused the glasses and lustres, with which the hall was decorated, to crack with an explosion as loud as that of a pistol. Prince Kurakin was thrown down by a lustre, which broke his arm, and in this condition was trampled upon by those who endeavoured to save themselves. Many ladies experienced the same fate: others were overtaken by the flames, which set their robes of gauze and lace on fire, and either consumed or damaged them. A great number of ladies made their escape to the garden almost naked, and hid themselves in the thickets. Many wished to save themselves by a hole which the fire had made in the wall; but not being able to find the passage, many were suffocated or burnt. They reckon the number of persons who perished at from 60 to 70. Diamonds and jewels to the amount of many millions were lost in the tumult. Prince Kurakin had in his hat a superb solitaire, estimated at four hundred thousand franks, which he lost, as well as his epaulets, worth eight hundred thousand franks; besides, at the moment he was thrown down, he was nearly losing a finger on which he wore a superb ring in brilliants. It is suspected that many were at this fête who were not invited.

EXPORTING GUINEAS.

The King v. *De Young.*

3.—This was an indictment against the defendant, for selling guineas at a rate beyond their intrinsic value.

The defendant has long been suspected of being the medium by

which a vast deal of the gold coin of the realm has been sent out of the kingdom, and the prosecution was carried on by the Mint.

Persons were employed for the purpose of entrapping him, by purchasing 50 guineas from him at the rate of 22*s.* 6*d.* each guinea, which they did, and he was immediately apprehended. The case was proved. His counsel, however, took objections, which are to be argued next term, and the jury, under his lordship's directions, found him Guilty, subject to the opinion of the judges upon the law of the case.

THUNDER-STORM.

5. A thunder-storm passed over the metropolis between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a heavy rain and a quantity of hail. The storm was of short duration, but did some mischief. The house of Mr. Hornyblow, in Upper Marsh, Lambeth, was struck about half past one. The electric matter entered at the upper part of the chimneys, and descended to the attic story, where a man and his wife were sitting at dinner: it passed within a foot of the woman, but fortunately without doing her any injury. It passed from thence into the second floor, rending every thing in its way, and to the first floor, where the chimney-piece was torn away, and a picture rent. It then descended to the lower part of the house, where an old lady received a considerable shock, but was not hurt; and passed to the entrance, splintering the door in its progress. Several of the windows were broken, and the house was much shaken and materially damaged. The house has a N. W. aspect. A house in Bowling-street, Westminster, was struck in a similar manner; the electric matter entering by the chimneys and passing through the floors. A bell-wire was melted, and the door at the entrance was broken. A newspaper which a person was reading at the time was set on fire, but the person reading received no injury. A female servant and a child were hurt, but not dangerously. A remarkable phænomenon occurred during the storm at Mr. Fraser's, botanist, King's-road, Chelsea, behind whose house, in a southern exposure, the hailstones, in consequence of a strong eddy of wind, had fallen in such quantities into a back cellar, the door of which happened to be open, as to become a complete piece of solid ice, about eight feet in circumference, and two feet in depth.

DREADFUL FIRE AT BRISTOL.

12. A dreadful fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Pyer and Co. druggists, in Radcliff-street, Bristol. Mrs. Pyer having lain-in only five weeks, a fire was lighted to air a small room used both as a parlour and a counting-house, which was divided from the shop by the only flight of stairs that led to the upper part of the dwelling-house. In the above-mentioned room, at a quarter past seven, Mr. Pyer had seated himself upon a stool to read a prescription he had just received, and in the act of quitting it to go into the shop, the stool fell either against a six-gallon bottle of spirit of turpentine, or one with three gallons of spirit of wine, (filled to order on Saturday night, and placed under the desk for safety,) which broke, and the contents communicating with the fire-place, the whole room was instantly in a blaze. Mr. Pyer ran up stairs, followed by the flames, and got his wife from bed into the front

front room on the first floor, and proceeded to seek for the rest of his family; but the flames had spread so rapidly as to fill the stair-case and landing-places to the skylight, which blew up, and all communication between the front and back rooms was thus cut off. The situation of all the wretched inhabitants now became truly desperate. A child of four years old was thrown by a maid servant, who jumped after it, from the first story window into the street. The child's fall was broken, it is hoped, so as to prevent any serious injury; but the servant was much bruised, and conveyed to the infirmary. The shopman, after hanging by his hands from the second story window several minutes, was taken down by a ladder, which also, with his assistance, rescued Mr. and Mrs. Pyer. Every possible exertion was made to extricate a nurse and two children from the upper back room, but without success; for when, in about two hours, the flames were sufficiently mastered, the remains of the poor woman were found, with those of the newly-born infant on her bosom, and the other of two years old lying beside her, on the wreck of their bed, in a state too shocking for description.

A dreadful earthquake happened on the 12th of August, at noon, at St. Michael's, one of the Azores. The village of Cozas, situated on a plain, comprising twenty-two houses, was swallowed up; and in the spot where it stood, a lake of boiling water gushed forth. Many of the unfortunate inhabitants had previously retired to the elevated ground; but about 32 persons, it is calculated, have lost their lives by this awful and calamitous event, and cattle and property to a considerable amount were destroyed. A great degree of alarm continued to pervade the whole island, as on the east side an orifice had been discovered resembling the crater of a volcano.

15. The following is said to be an accurate account of the speech of his royal highness the prince of Wales, on the health of the princess Charlotte of Wales being drunk at the Pavilion at Brighton.—The prince, in returning thanks for that mark of respect to the object of his pride and tenderness, said, in a short but eloquent address, That he had made it his first care to instil into the mind and heart of his daughter, the knowledge and love of the true principles of the British constitution; and he had pointed out to her young understanding, as a model for study, the political conduct of his most revered and lamented friend Mr. Fox, who had asserted and maintained with such transcendent force the just principles upon which the government, under this excellent constitution, ought to be administered, for the true and solid dignity of the crown, and the real security, freedom and happiness of the people. He had the most heartfelt enjoyment in knowing that, even in her present early years, his daughter had a just conception of the value of the precepts which had been implanted in her breast: and he could say, with confidence, that she would fulfil all the duties which she might be called upon to discharge when his bones were laid in the grave.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

The following is an account of the particulars of the expense incurred since the commencement of the present war, in building, repairing, and making fortifications, martello towers, and the purchase of

of lands connected with the aforesaid matters, throughout the United Kingdom, to the 5th January 1809:—

	£.	s.	d.
North Britain....	16,834	18	10½
Northern district.	3,753	0	7½
Yorkshire district	9,306	10	6½
Eastern district ..	141,496	15	7
Thames division	5,234	1	0¼
Medway division	716,965	13	1
Southern district	86,640	3	8½
Portsmouth div.	150,993	1	10¼
Plymouth division	42,756	12	10½
Severn district..	3,865	4	8
Ireland	154,419	19	11¼
Guernsey	47,037	7	6¼
Jersey.....	78,874	5	8

J. Hadden, C. Astley Cooper, M. Singleton.

Office of Ordnance, 13th June 1810.

NATIONAL DEBT.

(FUNDED.)

	L.	s.	d.
Amount prior to 1793.....	238,231,248	5	2¼
Paid off by sale of land tax	23,420,468	2	1
Debt in 1793.....	214,809,779	16	1¼
Debt incurred between 1793 and 1802	329,033,528	11	0
—(an expenditure of upwards of 41 millions sterling per annum!)			
Debt incurred between 1802 and 1st of February 1810	137,199,923	16	6
—(an expenditure of more than 17 millions per annum, in addition to the war taxes!)			
	680,953,302	3	7¼
To this remains to be added the debt created in 1807, charged on war taxes.....	18,072,000	0	0
Total funded debt of Great Britain.....	699,025,302	3	7¼
Ditto of Ireland, payable in Great Britain	53,694,000	0	0
Ditto emperor of Germany, ditto	7,502,633	6	8
Ditto prince regent of Portugal, ditto	895,522	7	9
Total funded debt, payable by Great Britain....	761,117,457	18	0¼

UNFUNDED DEBT.

On the 5th of January 1810.

Exchequer bills.....	39,164,100	0	0
Treasury	893,056	19	10¼
Army.....	952,198	12	6
Barracks	432,810	6	4
Ordnance	1,015,360	8	3
Navy.....	8,263,175	0	6
Civil list advances.....	59,924	6	9¼
Debt unfunded.....	50,780,625	14	3
Debt funded.....	761,117,457	18	0¼
The national debt of Great Britain	811,898,083	12	3¼

The

The following is a statement of the gold and silver coined in England during every reign from the Restoration to the 25th of March 1810, extracted from authentic documents:

By Charles II.		£.7,524,105
By James II.		2,737,637
By Anne		2,691,626
By George I.		8,725,921
By George II. Gold	11,662,216*l.*	
Silver	304,360*l.*	11,966,576

The great re-coinage of gold between 23d August 1773 and the end of 1777 amounted to 20,447,002*l.* From the commencement of the reign to August 1773, there were coined about 10,000,000*l.* making:

By George III. before the 31st December 1780,—Gold 30,457,805*l.*; Silver 7,126*l.*: 30,464,931*l.* From 1780 to the end of 1802,—Gold 33,310,832*l.*; Silver 56,473*l.*: 33,367,305. From 1802 to 25th March, 1810,—Gold 2,445,253 66,277,489

Total gold and silver coinage since the Restoration .. 99,923,354

Amount of notes of the Bank of England, in circulation on the 7th and 12th days of January 1809 and 1810:

	Bank Notes of 5l. and upwards.	*Bank Post Bills.*	*Bank Notes under 5 l.*
1809. January 7.	£.11,718,010	796,250	4,241,420
12.	14,077,780	825,580	4,305,920
1810. January 7.	13,013,790	851,160	5,663,080
12.	14,668,640	884,120	5,854,170

An account of all the dollars issued by the Bank of England, to the 8th day of February 1810, inclusive:

Dollars stamped in the year 1797, and issued	2,325,099
Ditto stamped in the year 1804, and issued	1,419,484
Ditto stamped in the years 1809 and 1810, and issued	1,073,051
Dollars	4,817,634

27 William Treble, alias Elbert, alias G. H. Thornton, who was condemned to death for forgery at the assizes at Lewes, put a period to his existence in his cell in Horsham gaol. He effected his purpose by the means of a stock and a handkerchief, which he placed round his neck, and fixed to the upper iron bar of the window of the cell. It is remarkable, that previous to his perpetrating the fatal deed, the chaplain of the prison waited on him, and, finding him very much agitated, told him he would visit him *to-morrow*. The unhappy man repeated the word "to-morrow" several times, and he said once emphatically, "Ah! to-morrow!" He was found on Tuesday morning quite cold. He left several letters behind him, in one of which he assigns as a reason for committing the act—the dread of

of dying before a gaping crowd. He was a very genteel man, near sixty years of age, and has left a wife and four children.

A number of letters were found in the pocket of the deceased, of which the following is one to his wife:—

"My ever dear wife,

"For the last time I shall ever call you by that endearing name, forgive this act, and accept my prayers for the happiness and prosperity of you and my dear family. May Almighty God bless, protect, and be a father to the widow and fatherless, and guide you in all the paths of righteousness: and, oh! may my errors be a warning to you all, not to neglect your religious duties—from that evil has sprung all my misery: careless about God, I have run from one sin to another, till I have brought destruction upon myself, and all you that are innocent. Could I carry away with me all the infamy I have attached to my dear family, my last moments would be much happier than they are; as it is, I hope God will provide for you all. My fate is what I have expected, therefore has not the effect it otherwise would have. You, my dear, have thought, when at times I have been from home, I was enjoying myself—but, oh! sad reverse! God will forgive me every sin I have committed; my only grief is parting from you and my dear family. We must, however, have parted; for in this world no true happiness is to be found! God be praised that this dreadful misfortune did not happen earlier in my life; they will feel the troubles and disgrace more acutely, but will be better able to bear them than when younger; this is a consolation in the midst of my troubles. Mr. S, the keeper of this gaol will take care to send you whatever belongs to me, for which he has my sincere thanks. I have given orders for my funeral, which he will see done in a decent manner. Receive this as my particular desire, that neither you, nor any of my family, attempt to come to Horsham. If there is money left after every thing is paid, Mr. S. will send it with my clothes. I beg you will attend to this my request, and on no consideration go into mourning, as I wish to be forgotten with my troubles. I have nothing to leave, but what you will dispose of as you think fit. I know not what I say or write; a long life of affluence is purchased at a dear rate, if at the end we have the trouble and misery I now feel. I am now looking at eternity—Oh! dread bourn!—It must not, cannot be so!—I cannot, will not, be dragged to an execution!—Oh! God forgive me! if there is pardon for the crime of Judas, pray grant it me!—Oh, God! the thought of never meeting again those I love, is not to be borne, and I trust to a dreadful alternative!—Death by my own hands!—The Lord have mercy upon my soul!"

Then follows a very tender and affectionate letter to his eldest daughter Jane; with a letter to his wife's brother, Mr. Bennet. Another epistle is addressed to a clergyman who had kindly attended him during his confinement, and to whom he returns his most heartfelt thanks. And lastly, a short but pathetic address to his fellow-convicts, whom he recommends to meet their fate with more fortitude than he had been able to do.

The coroner's jury having returned a verdict of *Felo de se* on the body of the unfortunate deceased, it

it was on Thursday se'nnight interred, attended by a large concourse of commiserating spectators, near a cross-way on Horsham Common.

William Treble was formerly a clerk in a very respectable city banking-house (Hankey and Co.); but unfortunately getting introduced into what is called *flash company*, he neglected his business, and was obliged to leave his situation; and for these 25 years past he has been known at all the police offices, as one of the most systematic depredators on the town—constantly associating with all the principal thieves of the metropolis. A short time ago he stole from a mail-coach a considerable quantity of provincial notes, to negotiate which, in consequence of the failure of Bloxham's house, he was obliged to commit a forgery. At the spring assizes he was convicted, but his case reserved for the opinion of the judges, who gave judgment against him. He was a very respectable-looking man, about 56 years of age, of good natural abilities, and some education; and it is conjectured he has left considerable property behind him.

ESCAPE OF ROBERT ROBERTS THE ATTORNEY, FROM COLD-BATH-FIELDS PRISON.

29. It was discovered that Robert Roberts, who stood charged with forgery at the suit of the Bank, and who was also concerned with Armitage the bank-clerk (not yet taken) in receiving a dividend warrant of 2,800*l.* was escaped from Cold-Bath-Fields prison; and that a man of the name of Smith, alias Harper, was also gone off. As Roberts was confined under a serious charge, and some very considerable discoveries were expected to be made of different forgeries of bank notes by his means, his escape has excited a considerable sensation, and on Thursday a meeting of the principal magistrates of Middlesex, together with the directors of the Bank, took place at then New Prison, Clerkenwell, to investigate by the examination of several witnesses the escape of Robert Roberts and Smith alias Harper on Tuesday morning. It appeared the former prisoner was about to undergo a final examination, on the charge of forgery on the bank of England, on Wednesday; and the latter is a known thief, who was undergoing an imprisonment for six months, and who also stood indicted for a burglary. Roberts, who has lately represented himself as a bill broker, is the same who, two years since, obtained considerable sums of money in the north of England, by representing himself to be earl Percy. The escape of the two prisoners is one of an extraordinary nature. Their places of confinement were at the extremity of a court, and they were perfect strangers to each other, as far as was known. It was discovered that Harper had broken through the wall into an adjoining cell, which was unlocked, and instead of escaping (which might have ordinarily been expected) into the outer yard, he unlocked two iron gates which led down the court to the interior of the prison, and liberated Roberts, a supposed stranger to him. These gates were found open, and three others, which led to the outer yard. Notwithstanding there is a watchman placed within the prison, in the outer yard, and another without, the two prisoners escaped over the wall; and another remarkable circumstance is, that Mr. Aris, the gaol-keeper, locked up the prisoners that night, which he was not accustomed to do. Roberts was afterward

wards taken, but has not been brought to trial. All the family of the Arises have been discharged.

EXTRAORDINARY EPITAPHS.

Thomas Ebrall.—A stone, with the following inscription, has lately been erected in Aldgate churchyard, to the memory of the young man who was unfortunately shot in Mr. Goodeve's shop, on the day sir Francis Burdett was taken to the Tower:—

Sacred
to the memory of
THOMAS EBRALL,
who was shot by a life-guardsman,
on the 9th of April 1810,
in the shop of Mr. Goodeve,
Fenchurch-street,
and died on the 17th of the said month.
The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict—Murdered by a life-guardsman, unknown.
"Thus saith the Lord God, My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth." 2d Esdras, chap. xv. ver. 21 and 22.

The following extraordinary inscription has lately been cut upon a tomb-stone, at the back of St. Martin's church, in the small piece of burying-ground in Church-court:

Sacred to the memory of
JOHN IRWIN, Esq.
of Sligo, in Ireland,
Surgeon to his majesty's forces,
who died on the 22d day of April 1810,
aged 58 years:
A victim, like thousands of our gallant countrymen,
to the fatal consequences of
the unfortunate expedition to
the Scheldt,
commanded by
JOHN, Earl of CHATHAM.

SEPTEMBER.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 4.

The following letter to captain Lambert of the Iphigenia has been transmitted by vice-admiral Bertie, commander at the Cape of Good Hope.

Nereide, off the Mauritius, May 1.

Sir, On reconnoitring the south-east coast upon this date, I perceived at the anchorage of Jacotel a ship of about 400 tons; and as she lay within pistol-shot of the two batteries which commanded the entrance and the harbour, I did not leave the Nereide until twelve o'clock *a. m.* and after much difficulty found and entered (at five) the narrow intricate passage; and owing to low water, the surf half filling the boats, I was in hopes of landing and falling in upon their left battery without being discovered; but the imperial schooner l'Estafette, of four brass guns and fourteen men, commanded by ensign de vaisseau Henry Chauvin, unfortunately lying at anchor, so completely gave the alarm, that by the time the boats grounded, both batteries and two field-pieces were playing upon the only spot we could land; and our men no sooner formed upon the beach, than they were received by a heavy fire of musquetry. As every officer knew before we landed what was to be done afterwards, the whole party was instantly upon the run, and in ten minutes in possession of the above battery. Having spiked the guns, we moved towards the guard-house, protected by two field-pieces, forty troops of the 18th regiment of the line, twenty-six artillery, and a strong party of militia, the whole commanded by lieutenant Rockman, of the 18th regiment. This party, while we were

were taking the battery, had attacked and driven our boats, with the division left to protect them, into the centre of the harbour. Their opening fire upon us was the signal for charging, and, to my astonishment, they instantly gave way with a speed we could not equal; their officer, who deserved to command better soldiers, was taken prisoner, with his two field-pieces. Hitherto twilight had hid our force; full day showed to the enemy the Nereide's small band of volunteers, consisting of 50 seamen and the same number of marines; the strongest battery in their possession, and to gain which, it was necessary to pass the river Jacotel, at the foot of a high hill, covered with wood, and defended by the commandant of the Savannah district, colonel Etienne Colgard, two cannon, and a strong body of militia. Owing to the late heavy rains, we found the river swelled, and current so strong, that the tallest men could scarcely wade, the short were helped over, and more than half the party upon the swim, and in the thick of fire from the enemy; but this difficulty was no sooner surmounted (though not without the loss of the greatest part of our ammunition,) than three cheers warned the enemy to prepare for the bayonet. The Jungle Hill, two guns, battery, and colours, were carried in style, and the commandant, colonel Colgard, taken prisoner; nor do I think an officer or man of the party, except myself, had an anxious thought for the result of this unequal affair. Having spiked the guns and one mortar, burnt and destroyed their carriages, the works, magazines, &c. and embarked the field-pieces, some naval and military stores, I was upon the point of returning to the ship, when the strong party I had driven from the first battery and field-pieces appeared to have recovered from their panic, reassembled (strongly reinforced by the militia and Burgeois inhabitants of the island) upon our left; and as the Nereide's attack of Jacotel was the first ever made upon any point of the Isle of France, and knowing its principal defence consists in its militia, I determined upon running some risk of letting them know what they had to expect if their island was ever attacked by a regular British force. Moving towards them, they at the same time advancing within musket shot, they opened their fire; and I instantly turned direct into the country in an oblique line to them, to get into their rear, and if so, not to leave to the defeated party the resource of a retreat; at first they halted and remained upon their ground, but the moment we began to move in quick time, and they understood my intention, they again beat us in fair running for more than a mile into the country. On returning to our boats, we burnt the signal house, flag-staff, &c. a mile from the beach; and having sounded well the harbour, and done all I wished, I again embarked and returned to the Nereide. I now beg you will allow me to express how highly I approve of the gallant and regular conduct of every officer and man landed; indeed I feel myself under the greatest obligation so the seniors, lieutenants Burn, Langhorne, and Deacon, and lieutenant Cox, commanding the marines, with lieutenant Desbrisay under him. I have to regret my return of killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, nor do I know the force opposed to us; but, from

from every information gained, and from the French officers themselves, they declare that 600 men can reinforce the batteries by signal in an hour. I remained on shore four hours, in a clear morning, and the signal was flying the whole of the time.

N. J. WILLOUGHBY.

4. A French gentleman was charged by a Mr Jackson, a printer from Litchfield, with having been a prisoner at large on his parole in that town, and having broken his parole and made his escape. Mr. Jackson said that he had no knowledge of the list of prisoners at Litchfield, but knew the person at the bar as having been one of the French prisoners on parole there; and understanding that he had made his escape, he met him this morning in St. Paul's church-yard, and felt it his duty to take him into custody, although he had no instructions, warrant, or other special authority for that purpose. The prisoner, on his part, acknowledged that he was a prisoner, and had broken his parole, which he would have felt himself bound in honour not to have done had he been taken as an officer in either the army or navy of France. He had been, however, in no military capacity whatever, although he was taken in a ship under French colours. He had been six years a prisoner at Litchfield, cut off from all connexion with his family and friends who are in France. He had lost his mother during the period of his imprisonment. His father, an aged gentleman, his relatives, all the objects of his affection, his fortune and future hopes of existence, were in France; and he hoped it was not already criminal to endeavour to return to his friends and country. He never had been, nor ever would be, guilty of any act which he conceived personally dishonourable. A French gentleman, who had lived many years in England, had encouraged him to quit Litchfield and come to London, with a view of procuring his return to his own country, but could not give him the means for that purpose. Thus destitute, without friends or money, he obtained a situation to earn his bread honestly in a house in Bucklersbury, and coming through St. Paul's church-yard this morning on the business of that house, Mr. Jackson met him, and thought proper to take him up. The magistrate told him that he felt considerably for the situation in which he was now involved. He cast no censure upon him for the feelings he professed, or for his anxiety to return to his native country and friends, as he was aware that many English gentlemen prisoners in France must feel similar anxiety for restoration to their country and friends. But as by his own acknowledgment he was a prisoner at large on parole, and had broken that parole, no other discretion remained for him, the magistrate, than to send him in custody to the transport board, which he did, charging the officers at the same time to treat him with every respect due to a gentleman.

FATAL DUEL.

Captain Clarke and Mr. Payne.

6. A fatal duel was fought on Thursday morning upon Wimbledon Common, by two gentlemen. At half past five o'clock three post-chaises were noticed passing over Putney bridge, and at half past six one of the chaises returned to the Red Lion at Putney with a wounded gentleman of the name of Payne. Mr. Heaviside was sent for, and found

found that a pistol-ball had gone through the groin: the unfortunate gentleman died at half past four on Thursday afternoon. Mr. Geo. Payne, the deceased, was the younger son of the late René Payne, esq. and he left him his fortune to the amount of 14,000*l.* a year. In that settlement the whole now goes to his eldest son, except 500*l.* a year to his widow, and 10,000*l.* to his younger children. Mr. Payne has left four children by his wife, who was a miss Gray. The cause of the fatal duel is truly melancholy. The challenge took place about ten days ago, at Scarborough, but the quarrel was of a more distant date. The orphan daughter of the late Dr. Clark, of Newcastle, was the friend of Mrs. Payne, and a visitor in the family. An unfortunate attachment took place between Mr. Payne and Miss Clark, which transpiring, the irritated feelings of the brother forced him to resent. Every means were tried by Mr. John Payne, the elder brother of the deceased, to avert the catastrophe, but in vain. Mr. George Payne was most exemplary in all his conduct through life, except in this fatal attachment. He was a most liberal and most amiable man. He had whispered to his second, Mr. Abbott, that he should not return Mr. Clark's fire; but the first shot was mortal. Mr. Clark has effected his escape.

An inquest was held at four o'clock on Friday afternoon, by —— Jemmett, esq. at the Red Lion, at Putney, on the body of George Payne, esq. who resided in Northamptonshire, and who died on Thursday afternoon at four o'clock, in consequence of a wound he had received in the above duel on Wimbledon Common, but of the circumstances of which no evidence whatever could be produced to the jury. The jury returned a verdict of *Wilful murder* against some person or persons unknown, supposed to be by a pistol-shot.

JEFFERY, THE SEAMAN.

Plymouth, Sept. 17.

Having been requested by several gentlemen to write to Mrs. Coad, the mother of the unfortunate Jeffery, for the purpose of ascertaining if he had written to her; the following is the letter which I sent to her, the answer, and inclosure.

A CONSTANT READER.

Plymouth Dock, Sept. 11.

"Madam, Several gentlemen of this town, who feel themselves interested in the fate of your son, R. Jeffery, late of the Recruit, have requested me to write to you for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, whether he be living or dead. The papers in general have published statements, purporting that he was taken from the island of Sombrero by a vessel belonging to Marblehead, and that he now lives in the province of Massachusets, America. Now as it appears that he was a particularly dutiful and affectionate son, and one who let slip no opportunities of writing to you while on board the Recruit, it is probable that, if living, he has written to you; and this, of course, would place the fact of his existence beyond a doubt. Have the goodness to excuse the trouble which I give you on this subject, and rest assured that nothing but a participation in that lively interest in the fate of your son, which pervades all parts of the British em-

pire, could have induced me to have intruded on your time.

"I am, &c.

"* * * * *

"*Mrs. Coad, Polperro, Cornwall.*"

ANSWER. (EXTRACT.)

"*Polperro, Sept.* 14, 1810.

"Sir, This evening's post has brought me the favour of yours of the 11th instant, for which be pleased to accept my humble thanks. In reply to your obliging inquiries respecting my unfortunate son, I have to inform you, that I have had no other account than those published in the papers until this evening. So long time had elapsed since the account published, that my doubts had overcome my hopes of his existence, and I took the liberty of troubling Mr. Whitbread, who interested himself in his behalf. I yet think, if my son were living, and had given his deposition, as stated officially, that he certainly would have written to me; and I also think, that if he really was the person, they would have pressed him to write to me, to convince me and the public of his existence. I have also requested to have a letter sent to him, but have yet had no answer or opportunity of so doing. I shall subjom an extract from a letter to Mr. Whitbread, from the secretary of the admiralty, in answer to his letter, which he has inclosed to me, and sent here. I shall feel it my duty to give you any information in my power at any future time, and am much obliged for the trouble you and your friends have taken, and am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HONOR COAD (late JEFFERY.)"

(INCLOSURE.)

"*Admiralty, Sept.* 11.

"——— of Jeffery's mother, as she seems to say that *nothing but a letter from him will satisfy her.* I have no such letter to send you; and have only to assure you, that we have received official information of his having been living and well a few months ago, in America; and I have also some reason to expect that he will, at no great distance of time, come to England.

"I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

"J. W. CROKER.

"*S. Whitbread, esq.*"

DEATH OF MR. ABR. GOLDSMID.

28. About half past seven o'clock in the morning, Mr. Goldsmid was seen to pass over the bridge that leads to the wilderness or rookery in the grounds at Morden-house: shortly after, the coachman, as was usual, inquired what horses were to go to town; upon which he was referred to Mr. G. being told at the time which way his master had walked. The coachman went in search of him, and was the first that found him weltering in his blood, with the pistol grasped in his right hand. Life was not quite extinct, but before any aid could be procured, Mr. Goldsmid expired.

The cause of this rash act it is not difficult to assign:—Mr. Goldsmid was a joint contractor for the late loan of 14 millions with the house of sir Francis Baring, and taking the largest probable range, that he had dealt amongst his friends one half of the sum allotted to him, the loss sustained by the remainder, at the rate of 65*l.* per thousand, which was the price of Thursday, was more than any individual

dividual fortune could be expected to sustain. Ever since the decline of omnium from par, Mr. Goldsmid's spirits were progressively drooping; but when it reached 5 and 6 per cent. discount, without the probability of recovering, the unfortunate gentleman appeared evidently restless in his disposition and disordered in his mind; and, as we have reason to believe, not finding that cheerful assistance amongst his moneyed friends which he had experienced in happier times, he was unable to bear up against the pressure of his misfortunes; and hence was driven to terminate a life, which, till then, had never been chequered by misfortune. The moment intelligence of the distressing event reached the city, which was about the period of the opening of the Stock Exchange, the funds suddenly felt the effects, and consols fell in a few minutes from 66½ to 63¾.—Omnium declined from about 6½ to 10¼ discount, and then remained steady at that price for some time.

We understand that Mr. Goldsmid had determined, if possible, to perform all his contracts at the Stock Exchange, hoping still to have a competency left to retire with into private life from the wreck of his fortune. He had already commenced his retrenchments, by discharging all the workmen and out-door labourers employed on his extensive premises at Morden.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 29.

Letter from admiral sir C. Cotton, baronet, commander in chief in the Mediterranean, to J. W. Croker, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship San Josef, off Toulon, July 24.

Sir, A continuance of strong gales from the N. W. since the 15th instant obliged me to take shelter under the Levant island with the fleet, from which, however, we were driven as far to the eastward as Villa Franca. I have been at length enabled to gain the rendezvous of Cape Sicie; and having had communication with captain Blackwood, the senior officer inshore, have received from him an account of his proceedings with the detached squadron under his orders, upon a division of the enemy's fleet, consisting of six sail of the line (one a three-decker with the commander-in-chief's flag,) and four frigates, coming out of Toulon on the 20th instant, for the purpose of enabling a frigate and convoy to get from Bandol, and no less to endeavour to cut off the Euryalus and Sheerwater; and, in justice to the captains of his majesty's ships Warspite, Ajax, Conqueror, Euryalus, and Sheerwater, I cannot desist from transmitting to the lords commissioners of the admiralty the enclosed copy of captain Blackwood's letter on the subject; and I doubt not their lordships will view with no small degree of satisfaction the gallantry and steadiness of those ships, and, under the existing circumstances, the determined measure that officer adopted by bringing-to in order of battle, with his majesty's squadron, against so superior a force, and engaging the headmost ships of the enemy's line, which had the effect of completely frustrating their intentions, as regarded the Euryalus and Sheerwater, though the latter was under their guns, and received three broadsides from one of the line-of-battle ships, besides a frigate, but without being struck by either. The enemy's ships remain in the same state as usual in the outer road of Toulon; five or six sail

daily stand out off the harbour's mouth to exercise.

C. COTTON.

Warspite, off Toulon, July 20.

Sir, In a former letter I did myself the honour to acquaint you of the enemy having twice come out in great force, and failing in an attempt to detach a store-ship to the eastward, and liberate a frigate in Bandol, where we had forced her to take refuge. This morning they again came out with six sail of the line, one of them of three decks, bearing the commander-in-chief's flag, and four frigates; and as the weather was light and variable I found it impossible to prevent the junction of the frigate in Bandol; I therefore endeavoured to collect the squadron, and place ourselves without the enemy in as good a posture of defence as I could; but, owing to the situation of the Euryalus and Sheerwater, who were obliged to cross their headmost ships, and the wind rather failing them, whilst the enemy preserved it so entirely as to render the capture of the Sheerwater certain, if not that of the Euryalus; it became a matter imperatively necessary that I should risk an action, though at the door of the enemy, and with a force so superior; a step which, without such an object, I should not have considered myself authorized in taking, particularly as you had been unavoidably blown off and out of sight by the late heavy gales. I therefore brought-to, with the Conqueror and Ajax astern of me, in such a position as evinced my determination to protect the frigate and brig; and I am happy to inform you that the result has proved as creditable to the British flag as I could have wished or expected; for although the enemy appeared equally as decided to endeavour to cut them off as we were to defend them, the moment they came within reach of our fire they hauled up in succession their headmost ships, giving us their broadsides, and then tacked, in which we followed their example by also tacking; a movement for which I am entirely indebted to captain Otway's promptness and good judgement, who being the sternmost ship in our line, and perceiving the enemy began to retreat, became the more anxious to endeavour to disable them; when, after a few more shots passing, and we had some time previous to this movement secured the retreat of the Euryalus and Sheerwater, and the wind rather failing us, we wore and stood a little away to the southward, which the enemy most politely permitted us to do unhurt and unmolested, at a time too when they had it fully in their power to bring us to a decisive action, under circumstances as highly advantageous to them as they were the reverse to us: their conduct, therefore, puts in a flattering and clear point of view the respect in which they hold the British navy; and from the determined conduct of the squadron you did me the honour to place under my command, I am fully persuaded, had the ambition of the enemy permitted him to make a bolder attack, the result would have been still more honourable to his majesty's arms. And I trust it cannot escape your notice that, although the disparity of force was conspicuously encouraging to the enemy, yet from the moment that the situation of the Euryalus and Sheerwater became doubtful, and for a long time after, we never declined an action, but on the contrary lay-to to receive them for

for more than an hour and a half.—I have now, sir, to perform a task most grateful to my feelings, which is that of reporting to you that, in proportion as difficulties and dangers presented themselves, the patient, active, and undaunted conduct of the squadron was such as to merit my warmest approbation; and I feel most particularly sensible of the exertions of captains Otway and Fellowes, in preserving such compact order, which evidently deterred the enemy from making a further attack. The honourable captain Dundas, of the Euryalus, and captain Sibley, in the Sheerwater, situated as they were, did every thing I could either wish or expect; the latter I dispatched by signal to apprize you of our situation. To the officers and crew of this ship I shall ever feel much indebted for their steady and active conduct, but particularly to lieutenant Calloway, from whose judgement, zeal, and activity, as well as that of Mr. Bower, the master, I derived a most essential aid. Captains Otway and Fellowes have also reported to me, that the same coolness and activity manifested itself in all ranks in their respective ships; and that they feel equally sensible of the assistance they received from their first lieutenants, Messrs. Lowry and Fitzmaurice.

I am, &c.

H. Blackwood, captain.

OCTOBER.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Oct. 14.

The following dispatch was this day received at the earl of Liverpool's office, from lord Wellington, dated Coimbra, Sept. 30.

My lord, While the enemy was advancing from Celorico and Francoso upon Viseu, the different divisions of militia and ordenanza were employed upon their flanks and rear; and colonel Trant, with his division, attacked the escort of the military chest and reserve artillery, near Tojal, on the 20th instant. He took two officers and 100 prisoners; but the enemy collected a force from the front and rear, which obliged him to retire again towards the Douro. I understand that the enemy's communication with Almeida is completely cut off; and he possesses only the ground on which his army stands. My dispatches of the 20th inst. will have informed you of the measures which I had adopted, and which were in progress to collect the army in this neighbourhood, and, if possible, to prevent the enemy from obtaining possession of this town. On the 21st the enemy's advanced guard pushed on to St. Cambadao, at the junction of the rivers Criz and Dao; and brigadier-general Pack retired across the former, and joined brigadier-general Crawfurd at Mortagoa, having destroyed the bridges over those two rivers. The enemy's advanced guard crossed the Criz, having repaired the bridge, on the 23d, and the whole of the 6th corps was collected on the other side of the river; and I therefore withdrew the cavalry through the Sierra de Busaco, with the exception of three squadrons, as the ground was unfavourable for the operations of that arm. On the 25th the whole of the 6th and of the 2d corps crossed the Criz, in the neighbourhood of St. Cambadao; and brigadier-general Crawfurd's division and brigadier-general Pack's brigade retired to the position which I had fixed upon for the army on the top of Sierra de Busaco. These troops were followed in this move-

ment by the whole of the corps of Ney and Regnier (the 6th and 2d), but it was conducted by brigadier-general Crawfurd with great regularity, and the troops took their position without sustaining any loss of importance. The 4th Portuguese caçadores, which had retired on the right of the other troops, and the picquets of the 3d division of infantry, which were posted at St. Antonio de Cantaro, under major Smith, of the 45th, were engaged with the advance of Regnier's corps in the afternoon; and the former showed that steadiness and gallantry which others of the Portuguese troops have since manifested. The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge which extends from the Mondego in a northerly direction about eight miles. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of Busaco. The Sierra of Busaco is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Sierra de Caramula, which extends in a north-easterly direction beyond Viseu, and separates the valley of the Mondego from the valley of the Douro, on the left of the Mondego. Nearly in a line with the Sierra de Busaco is another ridge of the same description, which is called the Sierra de Murcella, covered by the river Alva, and connected by other mountainous tracts with the Sierra d'Estrella. All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward lead over one or the other of these sierras. They are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of the ridge on both sides being mountainous. As the enemy's whole army was on the ridge of the Mondego, and as it was evident that he intended to force our position, lieutenant-general Hill crossed the river by a short movement to his left, on the morning of the 26th, leaving colonel le Cor with his brigade on the Sierra de Murcella, to cover the right of the army; and major-general Fane with his division of Portuguese cavalry and the 13th light dragoons in front of the Alva, to observe and check the movements of the enemy's cavalry on the Mondego. With this exception, the whole army was collected upon the Sierra de Busaco, with the British cavalry, observing the plain in the rear of its left, and the road leading from Mortagoa to Oporto, through the mountainous tract which connects the Sierra de Busaco with the Sierra de Caramula. The 8th corps joined the enemy in our front on the 26th, but he did not make any serious attack on that day. The light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six in the morning of the 27th the enemy made two desperate attacks upon our position, the one on the right, the other on the left of the highest point of the sierra. The attack upon the right was made by two divisions of the 2d corps, on that part of the sierra occupied by the 3d division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regiment, under the command of the honourable lieutenant-colonel Wallace, and the 45th regiment, under the command of the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, and by the 8th Portuguese regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Douglas, directed by major-general Picton. These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained.

The

The other division of the 2d corps attacked further on the right, by the road leading by St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of major-general Picton's division. This division was repulsed before it could reach the top of the ridge, by the 74th regiment, under the command of the honourable lieutenant-colonel French, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry, under the command of colonel Champelmond, directed by colonel Mackinnon. Major-general Leith also moved to his left, to the support of major-general Picton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy on this post, by the 3d battalion royals, the 1st battalion and the 2d battalion 38th regiment. In these attacks, major generals Leith and Picton, colonels Mackinnon and Champelmond, of the Portuguese service, who was wounded, lieutenant-colonel Wallace, the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, lieutenant-colonel Sutton of the 9th Portuguese regiment, major Smith of the 45th regiment, who was unfortunately killed, lieutenant-colonel Douglas, and major Birmingham of the 8th Portuguese regiment, distinguished themselves. Major-general Picton reports of the 9th and 21st Portuguese regiments, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Sutton and by lieutenant-colonel de Arouje Bacellar, and of the Portuguese artillery, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Arenschild. I have also to mention in a particular manner the conduct of captain Dansey of the 88th regiment. Major-general Leith reports the good conduct of the royals, 1st battalion 9th, and 2d battalion 38th regiment; and I beg to assure your lordship, that I never witnessed a more gallant attack than that made by the 38th, 45th, and 8th Portuguese regiment, on the enemy's division which had reached the ridge of the sierra. On the left the enemy attacked, with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps, that part of the sierra occupied by the left division commanded by brigadier-general Crawfurd, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry commanded by brigadier-general Pack. One division of infantry only made any progress towards the top of the hill; and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by brigadier-general Crawfurd with the 48th, 52d, and 95th regiments, and the 3d Portuguese caçadores, and driven down with immense loss. Brigadier-general Cleman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was moved up to support the right of brigadier-general Crawfurd's division; and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Macbean, made a gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter. In this attack brigadier-general Crawfurd, lieutenant-colonels Beckwith of the 95th, and Barclay of the 52d, and the commanding officers of the regiments engaged, distinguished themselves. Besides these attacks, the light troops of the two armies were engaged throughout the 27th, and the 4th Portuguese caçadores, and the 1st and 16th regiments, directed by brigadier-general Pack, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel de Rego Bonito, lieutenant-colonel Hill, and major Armstrong, showed great steadiness and gallantry. The loss sustained by the enemy in his attack on the 27th has been enormous. I understand that the general of division Merle and general Maucun are wounded, and general Simon was taken pri-

soner by the 52d regiment, and three colonels, thirty-three officers, and 250 men. The enemy left 2000 killed upon the field of battle; and I understand, from the prisoners and deserters, that the loss in wounded is immense. The enemy did not renew his attack excepting by the fire of his light troops, on the 28th; but he moved a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, from whence I saw his cavalry in march on the road which leads from Mortagoa over the mountains towards Oporto.—Having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn our left by that road, I had directed colonel Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardao, with the intention that he should occupy those mountains; but unfortunately he was sent round by Oporto by the general officer commanding in the north, in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of St. Pedro de Sul; and notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardao till the 28th at night, after the enemy was in possession of the ground. As it was probable that in the course of the night of the 28th the enemy would throw his whole army upon that road, by which he could avoid the Sierra de Busaco, and reach Coimbra by the high road to Oporto, and thus the army would have been exposed to be cut off from that town, or to a general action on less favourable ground; and as I had reinforcements in my rear, I was induced to withdraw from the Sierra de Busaco. The enemy did break up in the mountains at eleven at night of the 28th, and he made the march expected. His advanced guard was at Avelans, in the road from Oporto to Coimbra, yesterday; and the whole army was seen in march through the mountains. That under my command, however, was already in the low country, between the Sierra de Busaco and the sea; and the whole of it, with the exception of the advanced guard, is this day on the left of the Mondego. Although, from the unfortunate circumstance of the delay of colonel Trant's arrival at Sardao, I am apprehensive that I shall not succeed in effecting the object which I had in view in passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra de Busaco, I do not regret my having done so. This movement has afforded me a favourable opportunity of showing the enemy the description of troops of which this army is composed; it has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time in an advantageous situation; and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them has not been thrown away, and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving. Throughout the contest upon the sierra, and in all the previous marches, and in those which we have since made, the whole army has conducted themselves in the most regular manner. Accordingly, all the operations have been carried with ease, the soldiers have suffered no privations, have undergone no unnecessary fatigue, there has been no loss of stores, and the army is in the highest spirits. I have received, throughout the service, the greatest assistance from the general and staff officers. Lieutenant-general sir Brent Spencer has given me the assistance which his experience enables him to afford me; and I am particularly indebted to the adjutant and quarter-master

master-general, and the officers of their departments, and to lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, and the officers of my personal staff, to brigadier-general Howarth and the artillery, and particularly to lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, captain Chapman, and the officers of the royal engineers. I must likewise mention Mr. Kennedy, and the officers of the commissariat, which department has been carried on most successfully. I should not do justice to the service, or to my own feelings, if I did not take this opportunity of drawing your lordship's attention to the merits of marshal Beresford. To him exclusively, under the Portuguese government, is due the merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped the Portuguese army, which has now shown itself capable of engaging and defeating the enemy. I have besides received from him, upon all occasions, all the assistance which his experience and abilities, and knowledge of this country, have qualified him to afford me. The enemy has made no movement in Estremadura, or in the northern provinces, since I addressed your lordship last. My last accounts from Cadiz are of the 9th instant. I inclose a return of the killed and wounded of the allied armies in the course of the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th inst. I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, captain Burgh, to whom I beg to refer your lordship for any further details, and to recommend him to your lordship's notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The vault which Mr. Horne Tooke has caused to be prepared for his remains, is situated under a plot of grass in his garden, near the north wall on Wimbledon Common; it is now ready for his reception. A handsome tomb-stone of finely polished black marble, about eight feet long and two wide, with the following engraven epitaph, was, a few days ago, by his own direction laid down.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE,
Late proprietor, and now-occupier,
of this spot, was born in June
1736, and died in ——
Aged —— years,
CONTENTED and GRATEFUL.

Extraordinary recovery of sight.

Mr. Purkis, oilman, of Chancery-lane, has a son, who has attained his 26th year, who was born blind. Several oculists in London have been applied to; but they all pronounced it impossible for him to obtain his sight, and the young man was content in his afflicted dark state. He has been brought up to the musical profession, and has attained considerable eminence on the organ and double flageolet. About two months ago, a gentleman from the country saw him, and undertook to procure him his sight. At the first operation he saw sufficient with his right eye to distinguish a jug and a candlestick on a table, also a chandelier on a piano forte, but he could not tell what any of them were till he felt them; the only things he found out were the steps at his father's door. The gentleman not being in London but for a few days, he went to his residence in the country, where, after three operations, he has obtained his sight in both eyes. He expresses the greatest surprise at the difference of faces of persons. He is now at Exeter, where the professors and amateurs got up a concert for his benefit last week, which was attended by about 500 persons. People visit him from miles round the county, to hold conversation with him on the subject of his new sensations.

An

An Account of the Total Amount of the Net Proceeds of Droits, either paid into the Registrar of the High Court of Admiralty, or received under any Commission, from 1793:—Together with an Account of the Total Sum or Sums of Money paid out of the same; specifying the Services and Objects to which the same were directed to be applied:—Made out from the Returns, in the Treasury, from the respective Commissioners and the Registrar of the Court of Admiralty.

Net Amount of Proceeds received: viz.	£.
By the Dutch commissioners	1,313,443
- - Spanish	2,242,539
- - Prussian	255,906
- - Danish, &c.*	1,101,648
Sums paid into the registry on account of captures not placed under the management of the above commissioners	2,371,141
Total amount of the net proceeds received from 1793	7,344,677

Payments out of the Net Proceeds: viz.			
To captors		£.2,336,745	
- claimants		406,554	
- the receiver-general of droits		110,656	
For law charges and proctors' bills; viz.			
King's proctor	65,075		
Admiralty proctor	19,951		
Claimants' proctors	2,615		
Masters' proctors	370		
Pilots' proctors	113		
Salvors' proctors	321		
Captors' proctors	5,882		
Dutch commissioners' proctors	2,230		
Do. - law charges	25,890		
		122,447	
For expenses of vessels prior to condemnation		4,365	
- salvage		9,682	
- outlawry charges		1,215	
To the marshal of the court of admiralty		23,111	
For registrar's poundage		5,989	
- sundry small expenses		969	
To merchants, for reports		441	
For repairs of ships		7,020	
- bottomry bonds		1,177	
- care of ships and cargoes, and wages to seamen		2,198	
- demurrage		521.	
			3,032,990

* The whole amount of the Danish proceeds beyond the sum of 248,261*l.* and the sums paid to claimants, is reserved for the benefit of the captors.

Dates

Dates of Warrants.	For the Public Service.	£.	£.
1796. June 29.	Paid into the exchequer, to the account of the consolidated fund, by the Dutch commissioners £.	50,000	
1797. June 30.	Do. - Do. -	50,000	
— July 1.	Do. - Do. -	500,000	
— — 5.	Do. - Do. -	250,000	
1798. April 3.	Do. - Do. -	50,000	
			900,000
1806. Jan. 27.	To the treasurer of the navy, by the Spanish commissioners	750,000	
— —	To the treasurer of the ordnance, by the registrar	100,000	
— Feb. 6.	To the treasurer of the navy, by do. - -	150,000	
			1,000,000
1809. April 24.	Paid to lords Gambier and Cathcart, by the Danish commissioners, being the estimated value of ships and stores taken at Copenhagen, delivered over for the public service - - -		348,261
1806. Mar. 15.	Paid by the registrar into the exchequer, in aid of the civil list -	190,000	
1809. Dec. 22.	Do. - Do. -	80,000	
			270,000
Ditto.	Do. - Do. in aid of the 4½l. per cent. - - -		40,000
			2,558,261
	On account of the Royal Family.		
1805. Oct. 14.	Messrs. Drummond, for the princess of Wales - - -		26,000
— —	Messrs. Coutts, for the duke of Cumberland - - - -		15,000
— 10.	Do - for the duke of Kent -		10,000
— Nov 21.	Messrs. Drummond, for the duke of Gloucester - - -		19,500
Messrs. Adam and Dalrymple, for the use of the following persons:			
1806. April 8.	Duke of Kent - - -		10,000
	Duke of Cambridge - -		20,000
	Duke of Sussex - - -		20,000
	Duke of Cumberland - -		5,000
	Duke of Clarence - -		20,000
— July 14.	Messrs. Coutts, for the duke of Kent		6,000
1808. Jan. 27.	Messrs. Coutts and Adams, for the duke of York - - -		20,000
			171,500

SPECIAL

SPECIAL PAYMENTS—Among which are:

		£.	s.	d.
1805. Sept. 24.	Sir H. Popham, grant of the remaining part of the proceeds of the ship Etrusco, at his majesty's disposal	21,610	0	7
1794. Dec. 13.	Lieutenant-governor Browne, gratuity for seizing the brig Hannah, on a voyage from Bourdeaux to Philadelphia	2,273	12	10
1799. Mar. 14.	Rev. W. B. Daniels, reward for giving information relative to an illegal capture	575	4	10
1800. Nov. 7.	Ditto .... Ditto .... Ditto	3,522	3	5
1801. Jan. 23.	R. Thatcher, gratuity for evidence given by him relative to an illegal capture	87	13	7
—— May 13.	Rev. W. B. Daniels, expenses in procuring the condemnation of a ship and cargo	1,000	0	0
—— Sept. 30.	S. Bayley and T. Hunt, reward for seizing the ship Thomas in the river Shannon	1,000	0	0
1806. Aug. 21.	C. Anderson, esq. compensation for the loss of the ship Lapwing, captured by the Spaniards the day after hostilities should have ceased, but ordered to be restored, which was not effected before the re-commencement of hostilities	15,865	6	6
1805. Jan. 1.	Indemnification to sundry commanders, on account of ships carried into Cape Nicola Mole, and illegally condemned	54,921	8	9

FRENCH PRISONERS.

Bow-street, Oct. 16. Mr. Adam of the Transport-office lately received private information that three French officers, on their parole at Litchfield, were about to make their escape; and were to be assisted by an Englishman. The information was so very particular, that it even mentioned the house they were to come to in London, and the time they were expected to arrive, which was last Monday night; at which time Mr. Adam, attended by Wood the messenger belonging to the Alien office, and several police officers, went to a house in Lemon-street, Goodman's-fields, the house described in the information, where Mr. Adam and Wood the messenger gained admittance, leaving the police officers on the outside, with instructions not to suffer any person to escape who came out of the house. Mr. Adam and Wood the messenger remained in the house some time, conversing with the landlord, under pretence of his procuring them a passage to Ostend. After some time they heard some voices in conversation in an adjoining room, and they had no doubt but they were foreigners, but could not distinguish what they said. About this time a man went out of the house, who proved to be the Frenchmen's guide; but as soon as he got outside the door, observing the police officers waiting about in the front

front of the house, he suspected they were discovered, and instantly returned into the house, gave the Frenchmen to understand his suspicions, and they all instantly rushed out of the house, and were then seized by the police officers at the door. They were taken before Mr. Adam, and interrogated. The Frenchmen proved to be colonel Bouis, lieutenant-colonel Weikel, and lieutenant Mervin. The Englishman said his name was Henry Proctor; and acknowledged that he had assisted the officers in their escape from Litchfield. Mr. Adam cautioned him against criminating himself, and informed him of the heavy punishment that awaited him, in case of his being found guilty of assisting prisoners of war to make their escape. Proctor, however, persisted in giving an account of his conduct, which he did in the most candid manner. He stated that he went to France very young, for his education, and married there a relation of one of the officers; they were made prisoners, and remained confined for a considerable time: he, however, made his escape to his native country, by the assistance of one of the officers, and he had pledged himself, on his arrival in England to use every endeavour in his power, in return, to effect the escape of his friend's brother, in this country, and procure his return to France; and he had found himself bound to pursue this conduct by every tie of honour and friendship. On searching him 28*l.* in bank notes were found, which belonged to the officers, and some papers which corroborated the suspicions that they had come from Litchfield. They were all secured and taken to Tothillfields Bridewell; and on Wednesday afternoon they were fully examined before Mr. Read at Bow-street; when a post-boy who drove them, and several other witnesses were produced, to prove their coming from Litchfield together, and that Proctor was the managing man. They were all remanded to Tothillfields Bridewell. The officers were sent on board the prison ship at Chatham; and Proctor will be tried for assisting them in their escape.

JEFFERY, THE SEAMAN.

25. This man arrived in town on Monday last, when the lords of the admiralty gave him his free discharge from the service; and the friends of captain Lake made him a liberal compensation for the hardships he had sustained. He is a good-looking young fellow, and confesses he made the ⋈ for his name, though he can write; but he says that it is common among sailors to use the cross for shortness.

In his account of his sufferings and preservation, he says, that at first he did not believe that it was intended to leave him on the island; he saw the ship the morning after he was put on shore, and expected every moment that a boat would be put off to take him on board. He suffered at first very much from thirst, and to allay it he drank a considerable quantity of salt water, which only increased it. Most fortunately for him some rain fell on the third day after he was put on shore, and the quantities that remained in the cavities of the rocks supplied him while he remained there: he was under the necessity of sucking it out with a quill. He saw great numbers of birds of the gull kind, rather larger than a goose, but he could not catch any of them. He found only one egg, but

but it was in such a putrid state that he could not eat it; the only food (if it may be called food) that he had was some bark, which he found on the shore. He saw five ships pass by while he was on the island, but at too great a distance for him to be visible to the people on board; and the vessel by which he was at last taken off would probably have passed on in the same manner, if the captain had not hove-to from motives of curiosity, to examine the birds which were flying in great numbers about the island.

NOVEMBER.

1. The lord mayor received a communication from Mr. Ryder, secretary of state for the home department, informing his lordship that in consequence of the continuing indisposition of his majesty, no new chief magistrate of the city could be submitted for the royal approbation, and that in consequence his lordship would be expected to continue in the discharge of the duties of that high office until his majesty's pleasure could be taken on the appointment of his successor.

In the reign of Edward the First the price of a fair-written Bible was 37*l.* The hire of a labourer was *three halfpence* a day: the purchase of a copy would, of course, have taken such a person the earnings of 4,800 days, or 13 years and 55 days;—and, excluding the Sundays, something more than 15 years and 3 months of constant labour would have been required to compass the price.

INCOME TAX.

The following uncommon entry appears in the Newgate calendar of the present sessions:—"*Joseph Gaslick* committed by D. Jennings, S. Weddell, and N. Brickwood, esqrs. commissioners of the property acts, to remain without bail or main-prize until payment shall be made of the sum of 3*l.* rated and assessed on him, upon profits and gain arising from his trade, employment, or vocation. Dated 10th September, 1810.

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS AMELIA.

On the 2d of November, about twelve o'clock, departed this life, at Windsor, after a long and painful illness, her royal highness the princess Amelia, his majesty's youngest daughter, to the great grief of all the royal family. Her royal highness completed her 27th year a few months since; she was born August 7, 1783.—However the early death of this truly amiable princess may be regretted, every reflecting and feeling mind must derive consolation from the consideration that she has at length been released from sufferings which no human aid could remove. Her royal highness was from early youth of a very tender and delicate constitution, and was frequently attacked with severe indispositions. Her disorder began to discover alarming symptoms about two years ago. Sea-bathing, moderate exercise on horseback (to which she was partial), and every thing that medical knowledge could prescribe, were adopted; but, though they served to prolong her existence, and afforded incidental relief, no sanguine hopes of her recovery were entertained by those who are conversant with the nature of her malady. About a month ago she was attacked with St. Anthony's fire,

fire, which brought on a relapse into an extreme state of debility, under which she displayed the noblest Christian faith and fortitude during weeks of prolonged agony, uncheered by any ray of hope. For the last few days her strength had been rapidly wearing away, and she died, without the least struggle or convulsion, as one dropping gently and calmly to sleep.

In person, her royal highness was tall and slender, and her air was graceful and prepossessing. Illness had impressed its marks on her countenance. In her manners she was mild, elegant, and affable. The frequency of ill health prevented her from studying so deeply as her elder sisters; yet she cultivated the fine arts with great success. In music and painting she was a proficient: she met with few rivals in excellence on the pianoforte, and displayed a classical taste in her selection and execution of pictures. Dignified, though condescending; benevolent, without ostentation; lively, though a prey to sickness, which usually quenches the spirits as well as the health of youth; she was beloved by all who lived within the sphere of hearing of her virtues. In performing the duties of humanity and benevolence, she was indefatigable; and the grateful sympathy with which all her acts of this nature were performed, was not less soothing and gratifying than the actual tribute of her kindness. In the relations of domestic life, nothing could exceed her attention, assiduity, and affection. The great affliction of knowing that her beloved father was ill, had been spared her. The last act of her filial tenderness evinced, that it was not in the power of sickness, severely as it operated on her, to lessen the amiable temper of her mind; for, languid as she was at some periods, and tortured by pain at others, a desire of testifying her affection for the best of fathers was one of the strongest feelings of her heart. She wished to present her royal father with a token of her filial duty and affection; and she had the satisfaction of placing on his finger a ring, made by her own directions for the express purpose, containing a small lock of her hair, inclosed under a crystal tablet, set round with a few sparks of diamonds. The effect of that present on his majesty's paternal heart, after so many severe trials during the whole progress of her illness, the public have to deplore at this moment; though we indulge the hope that our beloved monarch will soon be restored to his people; and that the knowledge of the termination of his daughter's sufferings will tend to the abatement of his own.—The prince of Wales and the duke of Cambridge are the executors of her will, which was opened on the 4th instant. The prince, the residuary legatee, has very handsomely presented her jewels, &c. to the princess Mary, her favourite sister: she had directed them to be sold to defray her debts and a few legacies; but the prince has taken these wholly on himself.

In consequence of a delay in sending an official notice of her royal highness's death to the dean of St. Paul's, caused by the death of the lord chamberlain, lord Dartmouth, the custom of tolling the great bell at St. Paul's did not take place till Sunday afternoon, Nov. 4, immediately after a grand funeral anthem had been sung.—Orders were issued, Nov. 5, for the court's going into mourning, from the lord chamberlain's office; for a general mourning,

mourning, from the earl marshal; and for officers of the army and navy to wear crape, from the horse-guards and admiralty, to commence on Sunday, Nov. 11. The theatres and all other places of public amusement were closed till after the funeral.

The remains of her royal highness were on the night of Nov. 14th privately interred in St. George's chapel. At eight o'clock a procession was formed from Augusta-lodge in the following order:

Servants and grooms of
their majesties and the royal family,
in state liveries,
trumpets of the royal horse-guards
blue,
THE HEARSE,
drawn by the king's set of eight
English black horses fully
caparisoned,
escorted by royal horse guards blue.
one of his majesty's carriages,
drawn by a full set of
English black horses, conveying
the prince of Wales
and the
duke of Cambridge, the executors;
also escorted by horse guards.
two of his majesty's carriages, each
conveying four of
the attendants of the late princess.
carriages of the prince of Wales
and the duke of Cambridge, each
drawn by six horses.
the whole flanked by the
Staffordshire militia,
every 6th man bearing a flambeau.

Upon arrival at the chapel, the servants, grooms, and trumpets, filed off without the south door.—At the entrance the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body; and the remainder of the procession having previously been formed, the whole proceeded down the south aisle, and up the nave into the choir, in the following order (the procession being flanked by the royal horse guards blue, every 4th man bearing a flambeau:)

Poor knights of Windsor;
pages of the royal family and their
majesties;
C. Bicknell, esq. solicitor to the
princess;
R. Battiscombe, esq. D. Dundas, esq.
apothecary; surgeon;
rev. Mr. Gosset, rev. Mr. Plimley,
curate and rector of Windsor;
Drs. Baillie and Halford,
physicians;
equerries of the royal family and
their majesties;
honourable general Finch, general
Campbell, honourable R. F.
Greville, C. Herbert, esq.
grooms of the bed-chamber to
the king;
lieutenant-colonel Desbrowe,
queen's vice-chamberlain;
lord G. Thynne, and
earl of Courtown, comptroller and
treasurer of the king's
household;
earl Harcourt,
queen's master of the horse;
lords Arden, St. Helen's, Rivers,
and Boston,
lords of the king's bedchamber;
earl of Macclesfield,
captain of yeomen of the guard;
choir of Windsor;
prebendaries;
dean;
lord J. Thynne, acting as lord
chamberlain;
earl of Aylesford, lord
steward of the king's household;
Vere Warner, esq.
gentleman usher of his majesty,
bearing the coronet on
a black cushion;
THE BODY
In a coffin covered with crimson
velvet and a black velvet pall,
adorned

adorned with eight escutcheons of her royal highness's arms; the coffin carried by eight yeomen of the guard; the pall supported by viscountess Cranley, lady E. Thynne, countess of Ely, and lady G. Murray;
countess of Chesterfield, veiled, chief mourner,
her train borne by a baronet's wife, lady Halford, veiled;
countesses of Macclesfield and Ilchester, supporters to the chief mourner, veiled;
D. of Cambridge, Pr. of Wales,
D. of York, D. of Clarence,
D. of Kent, D. of Cumberland, duke of Sussex,
in long black cloaks,
the prince's train borne by two of his gentlemen, the dukes' by one;
marquises Abercorn, Cornwallis, Wellesley;
earls Westmorland, Chesterfield, Bathurst, Camden,
Liverpool, Wilton, Harrowby;
bishop of Salisbury,
chancellor of the Garter;
lords Walsingham, Mulgrave, and Eldon;
right honourable Spencer Perceval, C. Yorke, R. Rider,
R. Dundas, and sir D. Dundas;
lieutenant-general Calvert,
count Munster,
major Price, colonel Taylor,
ladies attendants on the queen and princesses, viz.
lady Albinia Cumberland,
miss Goldsworthy, Mrs. Williams,
honourable Mrs. Fielding,
honourable Mrs. Egerton, honourable miss Townshend,
madame and mademoiselle Beckendorff;
Mrs. Adams,
miss Knight, miss Montmollin,
miss Planta, miss Gaskin,
miss Byerley,
Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Robinson,
the queen's and princess's dressers.

Upon entering the choir, the body was placed on tressels, the head towards the altar; the coronet and cushion on the coffin. The chief mourner sat at the head of the corpse; her supporters on either side; and the supporters of the pall in their places near the body.—During the service, which was read by the honourable and very rev. the dean of Windsor, the prince of Wales and his royal brothers, as well as the knights of the Garter present, occupied their respective stalls. The nobility, privy councillors, and officers of the household, as well as others who had followed the body, were placed in the vacant and intermediate stalls. The ladies attendants were in the seats below the stalls on the north side nearest the altar; the grooms of the bedchamber, physicians, rector and curate of Windsor, surgeon, apothecary, and solicitor of her late royal highness, in the seat below the stalls on the south side, nearest the altar; the equerries, and the queen's and princess's other attendants, in the front seats on either side; the pages were arranged below the altar. The part of the service before the interment, and the anthem being performed, the procession moved out of the choir in the order in which it had entered, and proceeded up the north aisle of the choir, flanked by the royal horse guards blue, to the place of burial behind the altar.—The body being deposited in the vault, and the service concluded, sir Isaac Heard, garter, after a short pause, pronounced, near the grave, the style of her late royal highness, as follows:

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God

God to take out of this transitory life unto his divine mercy, the late most illustrious princess Amelia, sixth and youngest daughter of his most excellent majesty George the Third, by the grace of God of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland king, defender of the faith; whom God bless and preserve with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness!"

After which, the royal princes, the nobility, and others, who had composed the procession, returned, having witnessed that every part of this mournful and afflicting ceremony had been conducted with great regularity, decorum, and solemnity.

The shops and houses in Windsor and Eton were shut up, from respect to the memory of the princess, during the whole of the day on which the funeral took place; and scarce an individual was to be seen in the streets who was not attired in mourning.

The following is the inscription (issued from the heralds' office) engraved upon the plate of the coffin:

"Depositum
Illustrissimæ Principissæ Ameliæ,
Filiæ sextæ et natu minimæ
Augustissimi et Potentissimi
Georgii Tertii,
Dei gratiâ Britanniarum Regis,
Fidei Defensoris, &c.
Obiit IIda die Novembris,
Anno Domini MDCCCX.
Ætatis suæ XXVII."

6. The building adjoining St. George's chapel, Windsor, called Cardinal Wolsey's chapel, was some time since filled with lumber, although it had been understood that his majesty intended to have a vault made there for the interment of the remains of his family: however, within these few days the lumber has been taken out, and windows put in. Last week, as some labourers were employed in digging an archway in Cardinal Wolsey's chapel, a wooden coffin and a leaden coffin were found; the wooden one was decayed, but the leaden coffin was in a very good state of preservation. The inscription on it could not be made out. On opening it the contents proved to be a woman, wrapped up in waxed canvas, of 50 folds, and a child, in a very high state of preservation, in spirits. It was supposed to be the queen of Edward the Fourth, and one of her children. It was kept open two or three days, but was at length obliged to be soldered up.

DREADFUL FIRE.

8. On Tuesday night, between five and six o'clock, a most destructive fire happened at the extensive corn and flour warehouses in Kennet's wharf, Upper Thames-street. It is not known at present how the calamity occurred; but soon after the neighbourhood was alarmed, the flames burst forth from the building with a velocity truly astonishing. The range of warehouses were situated near the water. They were principally filled with flour and malt, and they also contained a large quantity of turpentine, with other inflammatory goods. In the course of about twenty minutes the building was enveloped by the destructive element, which cast a light over the metropolis sufficient to excite the surprise and terror of its inhabitants. The bridges commanding a view of the premises were soon covered with spectators. Many of them beheld a spectacle of

of superlative grandeur, but it was productive of the most alarming apprehensions; from London bridge, and the Surrey side of Blackfriars bridge, the firemen and assistants were plainly seen exerting themselves to stop the progress of the flames. The blaze appeared to increase every instant, and when the conflagration had reached its greatest effulgence the flames mounted to an amazing height. The reflection on the windows at Bankside and other parts of the river presented a most splendid illumination, while thousands were seen at the same time standing on the coal craft and the different wharfs. The wind blew the flames at first towards the river, and two barges laden with malt took fire. Fortunately it was not low water, and they were towed out with considerable difficulty. The malt was thrown into the river, and the barges sunk. Many more boats and craft were saved with the greatest exertion. After the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the roof and skeleton of the premises fell in. The effect was not exceeded by the fall of part of Drury-lane Theatre, which made a lasting impression on the spectators. An immense cloud of black smoke instantly rose and obscured the vivid glow; and when the flames again burst on the view, it was a scene which surpassed all description. The cinders and large pieces of burning wood floated on the water; the shower of fire at the same time compelled the boats filled with spectators to keep off a considerable distance from the wharf. By the efforts of the firemen in the floating engines, and the plentiful supply of water in the wharfs adjoining, the flames were reduced before seven o'clock, and at eight the danger had subsided.

DREADFUL EFFECTS OF THE STORM.

On the morning of the 10th inst. about seven o'clock, it began to rain at Boston, and continued to do so throughout the day. The wind accompanied the rain impetuously from the E. S. E. and gradually increased in roughness; from eleven o'clock in the day till six in the evening, it blew extremely hard; and from that hour till nine a perfect hurricane. The consequence of this continued gale for so many hours in one point was, that the tide in the evening came in with great rapidity, and rose, half an hour before the expected time of full flood, to a height exceeding, by four inches, what it is recorded to have attained on any occasion preceding. What is called a good tide was expected; but the consternation produced by the rise of the water several feet above its usual level may well be imagined to have been excessive. Houses which on no occasion whatever before had been invaded by the tide, were now, by its overpeering all probable bounds, filled to a great depth with the water, which rushed into kitchens and cellars, and inundated every apartment until it found its level. Whole streets were thus circumstanced; and some were for two or three hours inaccessible but to those who had resolution enough to wade up to the knees. Witham-place, Wormgate, and all the streets and houses near to the river, were in the latter predicament; and as it was night, and rained heavily, the situation of the inhabitants was most distressing.

What was a very extraordinary

thing, the tide, when it had flowed to its highest, did not perceptibly subside for more than an hour. To those who had any knowledge of the way in which such an effect could be produced, this was a sure prognostication of an extensive calamity—to them it was clear that the sea-banks had broken or were overflowed; and fortunately for the town of Boston (but most miserably unfortunate for the surrounding country) was it that this thing happened; for had not this tide found another and less straitened course, but flowed till it had spent itself in its accustomed channel, it would have risen in all probability even some feet higher than it did in the town, and have swept almost every thing before it. As it happened, the town was saved, and the neighbouring country deluged. Friskney new sea-bank is broken by the tide in two or three places; Liverton new sea-bank the same; of Frieston new bank scarcely a vestige is left; the old bank also in that parish is broken in many places; as is Boston east old bank, and the banks at Skibock Quarter, Wyborton, Frampton, and Fosdyke. It may be well to observe, that the new banks are those lately made on the inclosure of the marshes from the sea, but are not relied upon for the defence of the country at large. The old sea-banks, unhappily for the country, have proved insufficient in height, as the surge passed over them almost along the whole line; and this was the cause of the breaches, the overflow having first scoured away the banks, from the summit to the base, on the land side. The situation of the country, in consequence, from Wainfleet almost to Spalding, a distance of 30 miles, is such as exceeds our powers of description. The intelligence of distress which we have for two days hourly had brought into us, amazes, and almost incapacitates us from our duty of relating what we hear.

The calamity has been naturally more severe in the low districts of this country, which with difficulty find an outfall for their drainage; and the tide having once broken into them, pursues its course irresistibly for miles. All the fine pastures, the pride of this neighbourhood, have in one night been laid under water; and some thousands of sheep and other cattle have been drowned. The ruin came so rapidly and unexpectedly, that the farmers had no time to save their cattle, had the thing been practicable; but in some instances the inhabitants of farm-houses have had difficulty in saving their own lives; and one instance is mentioned to us in which two persons at Fosdyke perished by the flood, which completely swept away their dwelling-house.

At Fishtoft, Mr. Smith Sessop (formerly in trade as a grocer at Boston,) lost his life in endeavouring to rescue some of his father's sheep.—On Saturday night, old Mr. Sessop, accidentally looking out of his house, and mistaking the approaching deluge for a fall of snow upon the ground, exclaimed to his son, that care should be taken of some sheep on his pastures. The deceased immediately went forth, and before he recovered from the astonishment excited by the scene, walked through the water, in his way to the sheep, into a pit, where he was drowned before any assistance could be rendered.

The

The hotel (Plummer's,) at Frieston shore was some hours in danger of being quite washed down; the great bow window of the dining-room, although a considerable height from the ground, was forced from the building by the water, and carried to the distance of several fields.

Some few farmers are said to have lost nearly all the stock upon their lands. Great difficulty will be experienced in supporting such cattle as may not have perished on the inundated farms, all the ditches, ponds, and wells, in many parishes being filled with salt-water, which it will take some time to get rid of. The appearance of the country from the top of Boston steeple is melancholy in the extreme. At the seventh mile-stone towards Spalding the water runs over the road, and the country looks like a sea. From the hour of three, on Friday morning last, till five, it lightned as vividly and repeatedly as is common in the season when we most look for such phænomena.

On the 10th a very heavy rain commenced in the neighbourhood of Exeter, which continued without intermission until ten o'clock the succeeding night, accompanied by a strong gale of wind; the waters rose so rapidly that all the low grounds were presently deluged. The flood was three inches higher on the Exeter quay than ever known before. Three vessels of large burden were thrown completely on the quay, and with much trouble and danger launched into the river a day afterwards; many walls were entirely thrown down or carried away, and several outhouses totally destroyed. The Monmouthshire regiment of militia, in coming from Honiton, were under the necessity of wading through the water.

The Clarence coach from Plymouth was entirely stopped on this side of Alphington, about half a mile from Exeter. There were five gentlemen inside, three men and the coachman on the outside. This coach was drawn by six horses, with a post-boy; the waters being higher than the horses, they all swam with the coach against a strong current; but the postillion losing his seat clambered up a hedge. The two leading horses immediately began to turn, which the coachman perceiving, descended from his seat, and cut off the harness, being up to his chin in the water: four of the horses swam off, but the other two were drowned. Six passengers, after struggling with the water, got on a hedge, and from thence reached a neighbouring house, the inhabitants of which immediately gave the distressed travellers an asylum for the night. Another passenger, a stout black man, taking a different course, remained under a high hedge nine or ten hours, till he was released the next morning. The empty coach was carried back a considerable distance by the stream, and stuck in a hedge.

At Dawlish, nine or ten new houses with their furniture were nearly demolished, and one swept into the sea: the water coming down the hills, burst forth with such force that nothing could withstand its fury. Mr. Tapper of that place was awoke by the noise of the water running through his house; but not considering any danger remained within till daylight, when, at the persuasion of the neighbours, he with his wife and child quitted the premises—

which they had scarcely left when the roof fell in, and the whole house was drifted into the sea, with the furniture, and not an article was saved. The alms-house adjoining, which had stood the brunt of many a storm and tempest upwards of 100 years, was likewise demolished. The beautiful canal at Dawlish with the bridges are so entirely destroyed, that not the least resemblance of its original form can be perceived.

10. The workmen employed to repair the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, discovered a few days since the remains of the notorious chancellor Jeffries, so universally detested for his cruelty and injustice. A large flat stone was removed near the communion table, and in a vault under it the men found a leaden coffin containing the body. The coffin did not appear to have suffered much decay. It was closed, and a plate remained on it, inscribed with the name of chancellor Jeffries. His son and daughter are also buried in the same vault. It appears on inquiry that the body remained a considerable time in the Tower before it was interred in this church. After the tragic business at Taunton, which Jeffries managed with so much address, he returned to London, and, to avoid the popular fury excited by his cruel conduct, disguised himself in the habit of a foreign sailor with intention to escape to Hamburgh; but being discovered as he was looking out of a window in a house in Wapping where he had concealed himself, he was seized by the mob, and almost killed. He was finally lodged in the Tower by the populace, in order that he might be brought to justice, but he died soon after, in consequence of the blows and bruises he had received. He had previously resided in Aldermanbury, and his body was privately interred by his family. The discovery of his coffin in the manner described, drew many persons to the church, and Jeffries, so long consigned to infamy, is again the topic of conversation. It does not appear that the coffin was opened. After public curiosity had been gratified, it was replaced in the vault, and the stone is now fastened over it.

There have been some very serious disturbances at Falmouth. The men on board most of the packets in the harbour mutinied, it is said, in consequence of the severity of the custom-house officers, who persisted in searching every sailor's chest, many of which were burst open before the owners had had time to bring the keys. The seamen handled the officers roughly, and proceeded to other acts of tumult and violence, which called for the interposition of the civil, and afterwards of the military power. The riot act was read, whilst the Cornish miners approached Falmouth in large bodies, and affairs began to wear a threatening aspect, when some of the ringleaders were secured. Two of them were instantly sent to London, where they arrived on Monday, and were safely lodged in the Compter. They have since undergone an examination at the Mansion House, and stand committed.

PREGNANCY OF THE EMPRESS LOUISA.

Paris, Nov. 14.

Circular letter to the archbishops and bishops:

"M. the bishop of ——; it is with the most infinite satisfaction that I am able to announce to you the

the happy pregnancy of the empress, my very dear spouse and companion. This proof of the blessing of God spreading over my family, and which imparts such happiness to my people, induces me to write you this letter, to inform you that it will be most agreeable to me that you ordain particular prayers for the preservation of her person. I pray God, M. the bishop of ———, to hold you in his holy keeping. "NAPOLEON.

"Done at our palace of Fontainbleau, Nov. 11, 1810."

ITALY.

MURAT'S ADDRESS ON ABANDONING THE INVASION OF SICILY.

"G. O. *Head-quarters, Scilla.*

"Soldiers,—The expedition to Sicily is postponed. The object which the emperor had in view, by causing that island to be threatened, has been accomplished; and the effect of the attitude which has been maintained upon the Strait with so much dignity for four months has even surpassed expectation.—You have supported with a courage above all praise more than fifty combats, against a force three times stronger than yours; and the success which you have constantly obtained, proves what you would have done against an equal one. Above all, you have solved one grand problem; you have proved that the enemy's flotilla cannot prevent even the smallest boats from crossing the Strait, and that Sicily will be conquered when its conquest is seriously set about," &c. &c.

(Signed) "JOACHIM NAPOLEON.
And attested by COUNT GRENIER."

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

15. This unfortunate prince landed at Yarmouth, from the Tartarus frigate, under a salute of 21 guns. On his reaching the beach, he was received with three such hearty cheers as perhaps he never before heard, and such an impression had they on his majesty, that tears of gratitude were observed to trickle down his cheeks. He was received by lord Gardner, the port admiral, whose carriage was in waiting, and into which his Swedish majesty got; preceded by the West York militia, with their colours flying, and band playing, he repaired to the Angel inn to take refreshment, previous to his setting off for London. He was dressed in scarlet, with a star on his left breast, and looked remarkably well.

On his departure from Riga, the Russians expressed great pleasure, knowing that it was only in England he could find an asylum. A party of French *gens-d'armes*, it is said, were in pursuit of him: near Leipsic he was attacked, (by robbers, as the German papers said,) but he and his attendants fired upon the supposed robbers, and he escaped. The *gens-d'armes* gave up the pursuit when his majesty had reached Riga. He quitted that place under a royal salute. The governor of Riga accompanied him on board the American vessel; and the emperor of Russia sent him an affectionate letter, and a purse of ducats, which he declined accepting.

LAW.

Court of King's Bench, Nov. 26.

Mr. John Gale Jones was brought up to receive sentence.

Mr. justice Grose, after a few prefatory observations, said, that the libel had already been commented on too ably from the bench and the bar to require any thing further to be said of its nature.

It was flagrant and atrocious: it went to charge a public character with having abused his authority to the oppression of an individual. The manner in which Mr. Jones attempted to extenuate the offence was an aggravation. He had talked of his being an advocate for the liberty of the press; but the truest friend to that liberty was the most resolute opposer of its licentiousness. The law was, however, strong and ready to protect the individual, otherwise every good man's character would be at the mercy of those who had none; miscreants who, for base lucre or for other motives equally degrading, set themselves to the work of calumny. It was one thing to judge of a man's character, and another to drag him before the public and calumniate him. The mode of disseminating the calumny in question made it peculiarly malignant. The court would now order and adjudge Mr. John Gale Jones to be imprisoned in the house of correction in Cold-Bath Fields for twelve months; and to find securities to keep the peace for three years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

The King v. *Peter Finnerty.*

Mr. Curwood stated that he was instructed to apply to the court in this case, the defendant having had notice to appear to receive the judgement of the court to-day. He observed that he had an affidavit, which he had handed to the attorney general, stating that Mr. Finnerty was confined to his bed by illness, labouring under a fever, and that it would be attended with hazard to his life to appear here. The learned counsel, therefore, humbly applied to their lordships that the recognizance might be respited till the next term.

The affidavit of John Stanton, of the Strand, surgeon, was read; stating that he had attended Mr. Finnerty yesterday and this morning, when he laboured under a very severe fever, and that if he left his chamber his life would be endangered.

Mr. attorney-general — "My lord, I leave this entirely to the discretion of the court."

Lord Ellenborough—"Then we must respite the recognizance; it is sworn that he cannot be brought up now without peril to his life."

Mr. Curwood—"Your lordships respite the recognizance till next term?"

Lord Ellenborough—"If the attorney-general wished it, we would give you only a rule to show cause why it should not be respited—if not take your rule. Mr. attorney-general, would you wish that they should take only a rule to show cause?"

Mr. attorney-general—"No, my lord, I think not; in short, I would not interpose any difficulty."

Lord Ellenborough—"Then let the recognizance be respited.

A HOAX.

27. This very malignant species of wit was most successfully practised at the house of Mrs. Tottenham, a lady of fortune, at No. 54, Berners-street, which was beset by about a dozen tradespeople at one time, with their various commodities; and from the confusion altogether, such crowds had collected as to render the street impassable. Waggons laden with coals from the Paddington wharfs, upholsterers' goods in cart-loads, organs, piano-fortes, linen, jewellery,

lery, and every other description of furniture, was lodged as near as possible to the door of No. 54, with anxious tradespeople, and a laughing mob. About this time the lord mayor arrived in his carriage; but his lordship's stay was short, and he was driven to Marlborough-street police-office. At the office his lordship informed the sitting magistrate that he had received a note, purporting to have come from Mrs. T., which stated that she had been summoned to appear before him, but that she was confined to her room by sickness, and requested that his lordship would do her the favour to call on her. Berners-street at this time was in the greatest confusion, by the multiplicity of tradespeople who were returning with their goods, and spectators laughing at them. The officers belonging to Marlborough-street office were immediately ordered out to keep order, but it was impossible for a short time. The first thing witnessed by the officers was six stout men bearing an organ, surrounded by wine-porters with permits, barbers with wigs, mantua-makers with band-boxes, opticians with their various articles of trade; and such was the pressure of tradespeople who had been duped, that at four o'clock all was still in confusion. Every officer that could be mustered was enlisted to disperse the people, and they were placed at the corners of Berners-street to prevent tradespeople from advancing towards the house with goods. The street was not cleared at a late hour, as servants of every denomination, wanting places, began to assemble at five o'clock. It turned out that letters had been written to the different tradespeople, which stated recommendations from persons of quality. This hoax exceeded by far that in Bedford-street a few months since; for besides a coffin, which was brought to Mrs. T.'s house, made to measure, agreeable to letter, five feet six by sixteen; there were accoucheurs, tooth-drawers, miniature-painters, and artists of every description.—The following are a few of the notes sent in the name of Mrs. Tottenham, for the purpose of collecting this most extraordinary group:—

"Mrs. Tottenham requests Mr. —— will call upon her at two to-morrow, as she wishes to consult him about the sale of an estate.—54, Berner's-street, Monday."

"Mrs. Tottenham requests that a post-chaise-and-four may be at her house at two to-morrow, to convey her to the first stage towards Bath.—54, Berner's-street, Monday."

"Mrs. Tottenham begs the honourable Mr. —— will be good enough to give her a call at two tomorrow, as Mrs. T. is desirous of speaking with him on business of importance.—54, Berner's-street, Monday," &c. &c.

DECEMBER.

CONSISTORY COURT OF DOCTORS' COMMONS.

Cox v. *Goodday.*

1. This was a question as to the admissibility of criminal articles exhibited by miss Hannah Cox, of Terling, in Essex, against the rev. William Goodday, vicar of that parish, for brawling in the church.

The prosecution was founded upon the statute of Edward VI. and the complaint contained in the articles was, that Mr. Goodday, in the midst of the church service, without any cause, addressed miss Cox,

Cox, stating that he had observed the most indecent behaviour in her at church for some time; that if she continued it, he would order the sexton to turn her out; and if that would not do, he would put her in the spiritual court:—upon which miss Cox, much hurt at finding that this rebuke, though undeserved, had drawn upon her the eyes of the congregation, retired with her sister; and as they were leaving the church, Mr. Goodday exclaimed, "Let them go to the playhouse, and act their parts there."

It was contended by the counsel for the reverend gentleman, that the words were only those of dignified reproof, which he was justified in using to any person interrupting the solemn observance of religious duties: that as they bore this construction, no evidence could be adduced of their having been uttered with any other view; and that therefore it would not only be irrelevant to admit the articles to proof, but would be establishing a dangerous precedent, to prevent clergymen from preserving decorum in the performance of religious duties.

Miss Cox's counsel put a totally different construction upon the words, and contended that if nothing but a reproof was intended, it was unnecessary to add the expressions as they were leaving the church, of, "Let them go to a play-house, and act their parts there;" and to include miss C's sister, who was an unoffending party, in them, and the insinuation conveyed in them; that the circumstance of miss C. having that morning received the sacrament from the hands of the reverend gentleman himself, must strongly repel the presumption of his having considered her conduct such as to merit his reproof, and that therefore the words appeared to have been uttered solely for the gratification of private malice, a feeling unworthy of the sacred character in which the reverend gentleman was then officiating.

The learned judge, sir William Scott, concurred in this construction of the words, and therefore admitted the articles; and at the same time observing, that the reverend gentleman would be thereby better enabled, if he thought proper, to repel by evidence of miss C.'s conduct, &c. the presumption of his not having acted from the unworthy motives ascribed to him.

REMARKABLE CASE OF SHIPWRECK.

3. The Aurora bark, of London, on her passage from Quebec with a cargo of timber, bound to Sheerness and Chatham, encountered a very heavy gale of wind on the 22d of November, in latitude 51. 15. N. long. 32. 30. W. in which all her boats were stove, nearly all her provisions and every article on deck washed overboard, and her bowsprit sprung; when the hardships of her unfortunate crew commenced, the only article of provision left being a little bread, sufficient only to supply their wants for the short space of 24 hours, then at the distance of 1000 miles from the Land's End: but on the 26th following, after enduring all the hardships imaginable for four days, during three of which they had been without food, and reduced to a most deplorable state, being almost deprived of raiment, and their limbs frost-bitten, a more terrible gale of wind than that experienced on the 22d came on, in which the vessel fell over on her broadside, which accident released from the horrors

horrors of an expected but untimely end the 1st and 2d mates, two seamen, and two boys, who were washed overboard, and perished: the remainder of the crew, consisting of the captain and three seamen, were obliged, for the preservation of life, to cling to the side of the wreck, in which situation they remained eight hours. During this period, the main- and mizen-masts, foretop-mast, and back-stay went by the board, soon after which she again righted, but was full of water; however, this afforded another retreat for the unfortunates, being then enabled to get into the fore-top, where, after some hours, they secured themselves from the violence of the sea. The decks of the vessel then blew up; and, strange to tell, these men endured all the horrors of starvation for the further space of seven days, when on the 2d inst. in lat. 47. 50. N. long. 23. 30. W. the ship Maida hove in sight, and bore down on the vessel, not perceiving at first that any of the crew remained on board; but on nearing her some men were discovered in the fore-top, and in consequence a boat was hoisted out to bring them off, who had for eleven days been kept alive by sucking the ropes, which afforded them the water gathered there during the heavy rains. One of them appeared in a dead state, and the others were senseless, and in a most horrible condition: no intelligence as to their hardships could be obtained from them until within three or four days previous to the Maida's arrival at Plymouth, when they gave an account almost incredible to believe, but which was actually the case. Two English merchant-brigs hove in sight at the time the crew were in the midst of their sufferings, to one of which captain Fleck held out a red handkerchief, which remained flying some hours; but this only tended to increase their misery, as no notice was taken of their signal of wretchedness, and both vessels proceeded on their course. During the gale, in which part of the crew were washed overboard, one of the little boys, of respectable connexions, clung to the captain; the latter could have saved him had he been enabled to gain a rope, but that was impossible, and they were separated by a most awful sea. The captain and his seamen are extremely ill, and no hopes are entertained of the recovery of one of the latter: it is expected that each of them will be obliged to have a limb amputated, in consequence of their sufferings by a most severe frost that came on during the time they remained on the wreck.

8. About three this morning a fire broke out in Lisle-street, Leicester-square, at the Mexican coffee-house and American hotel, kept by Mr. Simeon, who, with his wife, perished in the flames. A waiter, who slept in the garret, is said to be missing; and a boy is so dreadfully burnt that his recovery is doubtful. Some lodgers who were in the house, together with the waiters and female servants, almost without clothing, escaped, partly by the roof and partly by the street door. The fire broke out in the lower part of the premises, and in less than an hour after the alarm was given, the whole were completely destroyed. A servant boy who leapt into the street from a window is much hurt, but not dangerously. Mr. Simeon was an old and faithful domestic to the late duke of Portland, and attended his grace at his death. He afterwards took the house in question, which

was

was fitted up in a superior style of elegance as a hotel and coffee-house.

10. A very melancholy accident dent happened in Swan-yard, near Drury-lane. At the head of Swan-yard several houses have been pulled down, but the corner house was left standing, and was occupied by families from the top to the bottom. A large stack of chimneys belonging to this house having lost its former support and protection, and owing to the high winds, gave way on Friday night about six o'clock, and falling in upon the roof, brought the whole down through all the floors successively. A man named Anderson, and his wife, in the third floor, were carried down with the ruins, and almost literally crushed to pieces. About half an hour afterwards they were dug out of the ruins, but without any signs of life. Their son, a boy about 12 years of age, was carried also down by the ruins, but escaped nearly unhurt. The father and mother were found in each other's arms, and in a state completely mangled; the bodies were conveyed to the Apple Tree, a public house in the neighbourhood. The father was an old soldier, who, in the field of battle, has had many an hair-breadth escape. A poor woman, who lived in the cellar, with four children, had just gone out about a minute before the fatal accident, with all her children, to the neighbouring shop for a candle; otherwise they must have been crushed to pieces, as the whole floors of the house came down. It is supposed that another man has lost his life, but the body has not been found. Very fortunately the different families in the house were from home at the time.

14. At six this morning, a large parcel of the castle cliff at Dover, which overhung the private path leading to Moates bulwark and Guildford battery, fell with a most tremendous crash, and totally demolished two houses, a stable, store-house, &c.: the former, situated in the Ordnance-yard, contained the wife, five children, and a niece of Mr. Poole, who were all buried in the ruins and killed. To these sufferers we have to add a child of Mrs. Poole's sister, dug out of the ruins on Saturday, making in all seven persons. Mr. Poole, the only survivor of his family, is likely to recover, although he lay buried in the earth half an hour before he was extricated. Two horses, belonging to major Eyre, in the stable, escaped destruction, from a very strong rafter having fell upon pieces of the rock, and sustained the weight of the rest; they were found lying down, and are but little hurt. Every assistance was promptly afforded by sir D. Rae (senior officer of the garrison of Dover,) and brigade-major Jarvis. The inhabitants of Dover were again alarmed between twelve and one on the morning of the 16th, by the falling of the cliff extending along the houses on the N. W. side of Snargate street. Not less than 1200 tons of chalk fell down; and the houses of captain Sutton, Mr. Shepman, captain Hammond, Mrs. Stupples, and widow Yawkins, were damaged; the out-houses at the back were dashed to pieces. No lives were lost by this fall. The quantity of land lost by the falls of the cliff between Dover and Folkestone is estimated at six acres.

BAROMETER.

Sir H. C. Englefield recommends a new mountain barometer, in which the cistern has a bottom

of leather, on which a screw presses in the usual mode, so as to force the mercury nearly to the top of the tube when packed for carriage. This screw is to be unscrewed as far as it can when the barometer is prepared for use; and the leather bag is so adjusted, that there can be no reason to fear that the capacity of the cistern thus unscrewed for use will ever be sensibly different from itself at different times.

ELECTRIC COLUMN.

M. de Luc, of Windsor, has invented a machine, called the electric column, which may be considered the most important discovery in the science of electricity since that of the Voltaic pile. By means of it he set some small bells a-ringing, which continued to do so without stopping, for a period of 152 days. This long continuance renders it not improbable that the weight of the clapper may be so adapted to the power of the apparatus, as to cause small bells to continue ringing for years together without intermission.

SHIPWRECKS.

18. The Nymphe frigate, of 36 guns, honourable captain Clay; and the Pallas, of 32, captain Monke, were coming up the Frith this night at half past ten, and were going at the rate of ten knots an hour; when the pilot mistook a lime-kiln burning at Broxmouth for the Isle of May light, and the May for the Bell rock; and both vessels consequently ran aground. In a quarter of an hour afterwards the ships' bottoms were broken out, and the water above the hatchways. Signals of distress were made during the night, and answered from the shore, from whence the vessels were not distant more than a cable's length. By means of a life-boat the crews were all preserved, by the afternoon of the 19th, with the exception of about twelve men belonging to the Pallas, and one of the life-boat men, who were unfortunately drowned. The vessels have since gone entirely to pieces, and various parts of the wreck floated on shore.

19. This evening the Hopewell sloop, of Barmouth, Roberts master, from London to Barmouth, laden with wheat, came on shore to the westward of Rye harbour in a heavy gale, and the whole of her crew perished. Part of her materials and hull were secured, but the cargo is totally lost. The captain's body was picked up the next morning near the wreck, and has since been decently interred at Rye.

A similar misfortune on the same evening befel the brig Commerce, of and for Exeter, on her voyage from London. Captain Eales and the whole crew were unfortunately drowned; their bodies have been picked up, and buried at Lydd. This vessel had a cargo on board estimated at upwards of 10,000*l.* value, a small part of which only has been secured: some part is still remaining in her bottom, about ten feet under water. The remainder has fallen a prey to the "lawless brood," who usually infest the sea-coast on those occasions.

20. His majesty's sloop Satellite, of 16 guns, commanded by the honourable Willoughby Bertie, is also lost, with all the crew. She sailed from Spithead on December 17, to join the ships that were cruising off La Hogue. On Wednesday the 19th, at six in the evening, she was in company with the Vautour, captain Lawless. It was then blowing very hard; and in the course of the

the night the gale increased excessively, blowing in most tempestuous squalls. In one of these sudden gusts (which have been experienced both at sea and on shore in a most extraordinary degree this winter) she is supposed to have upset, and every soul on board perished. The next morning her boats, some spars, &c. which were upon her deck, were picked up by the Vautour, but no other vestige of her has ever been seen.

To the numerous losses of India ships we have to add that of the Elizabeth, extra ship, captain Jackson, off Dunkirk. It appears by the information of a gentleman who arrived at Deal on the 30th from Dunkirk, that the Elizabeth was anchored off the South Foreland on Thursday preceding (December 27), but drifted from thence into Calais Roads, where she knocked off her rudder, and cut away the mainmast. No assistance coming, after her repeated signals, the captain put off to obtain it; but when about half way between the wreck and Dunkirk, his vessel drove on the outer edge of Dunkirk brake, Dunkirk steeple bearing S. by W. and instantly went to pieces, when all on board perished except twenty-two, who landed at Dunkirk.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

20. The circumstances relative to the arrival of Lucien Bonaparte in this country are said to be as follows:—In consequence of the demand of Napoleon, that he should separate from his wife, and suffer his future destiny to be arranged by the French ruler; and the repeated refusal of Lucien to conform to these demands, the latter began to be apprehensive that forcible measures would be resorted to by Napoleon, and therefore Lucien, many months ago, wrote from Rome to Mr. Hill, our minister at Sardinia, requesting that that gentleman would obtain from his court a passport for Lucien and his family to proceed to America. Mr. Hill, naturally anxious to facilitate the removal of one brother, who seemed likely to resort to the most desperate violence to accomplish his purpose, ventured to send an answer, encouraging Lucien to proceed to Sardinia, and then communicated what he had done to our government; who immediately expressed their refusal to grant the passports. Mr. Hill then wrote to Lucien to inform him that the permission which he required could not be obtained. Lucien, however, soon availed himself of the favourable letter from Mr. Hill, and proceeded to Sardinia, alleging that the prohibitory letter *never reached him*. Owing to this circumstance, on his arrival at Sardinia, he was not permitted to land, and a very irksome correspondence was carried on between him and Mr. Hill, in which he truly stated, that having trusted to the faith of the British nation in the permission he had received, he had made his situation desperate with his brother, and could not return without the certainty of ruin. Happily at that time Mr. Adair arrived at Cagliari, and Mr. Hill consulted with him what course should be taken in this unpleasant dilemma; when it was agreed that Lucien should go to Malta till the resolution of the government, under the new circumstance, could be known; and in the mean time it was ascertained, that the only object of Lucien was to gain a quiet asylum, and that he would in truth prefer England to America. It is not known that Lucien, after he had refused a crown, and

and positively refused to divorce his wife, was requested by the emperor to send his eldest daughter to the court of Paris, that if he rejected grandeur for himself he might not object to his daughter's advancement.——Lucien consented; and the young lady went to Paris under the care of a lady by whom she had been educated. She was received with great magnificence, and an establishment, splendid and expensive, provided for her. She was not dazzled by the brilliancy of the court nor the pleasures of Paris; and she soon sighed for the tranquillity of her father's house. It was proposed to her that she should marry Ferdinand VII. who, upon her union, should be restored to his kingdom: but she peremptorily refused; and said that she was educated in her father's principles, and was resolved to follow his fortunes. She despised the grandeur that was to be purchased by the sacrifice of the engagements which had first lifted the family to power; and the only request she had to make to the emperor, was permission to return to her father's house. This inflexible republican spirit in a young lady of 16 years, raised at once the indignation and jealousy of Napoleon against his brother; as he imagined, that if any reverse of fortune on his part should revive the rump of the jacobins, they would look to a leader of such a character as Lucien had proved himself to be. He sent back the young lady, with peremptory orders to her father to quit his dominions forthwith.

DARING AND EXTRAORDINARY ROBBERY.

24. On Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, St. Paul's cathedral was robbed of the whole of the church service of plate, of considerable value. The difficulties and ingenuity required to get at the property, prove the villains to have been complete masters of their profession. The plate carried off consists of the following articles, all silver gilt:—

One large embossed chased waiter, with the emblems of the Lord's Supper, weight 128 ounces.

The covers of a large folio Bible, richly chased, 110 oz.

Ditto of a prayer-book, 100 oz.

One large plain salver, with an angel's head engraved in the centre, 108 oz.

One smaller salver, engraved with a glory, 67 oz.

Two rich chased waiters, with very fine alto-relievo figures, occasionally to use in the centre, 153 oz.

Two very large chased altar candlesticks, 330 oz.

Two smaller candlesticks, 200 oz.

Two very large rich chased flagons, 260 oz.

Two smaller flagons, 130 oz.

Two chased chalices, with sexagon feet, and two salvers for the covers, 112 oz.

Two small salvers richly chased, 31 oz.

And one pierced spoon.

Several of these articles were used on the 21st inst. at a private ordination by the bishop of Lincoln; and after they were done with they were locked up in the plate-room, immediately over the vestry, in iron chests, which had on them padlocks as well as other locks. There are two doors to the room, an inner and outer one; the former was entirely iron, the other plated, and of uncommon strength. To these principal doors there are several passages leading, all of which have doors always locked, through

through which persons must pass before they reach the plate-room; and it is only known to a few persons to what apartment they lead. All these doors remained locked, and it was not until Sunday morning, when the plate was wanted for the church service, that the robbery was discovered. The person who had the plate under his care opened the passage doors with the keys belonging to them, but the lock of the main door he could not open until he had procured the master-key. He there found the chests containing the plate had been broken open with an iron crow, or some such instrument, after having opened the padlock in the usual way. Notice was immediately given to the magistrates at Bow-street, and Mr. Read the magistrate, and Mr. Stafford the clerk, went and inspected the apartments, &c. in the afternoon, and the most vigilant means are using to detect the villains guilty of this sacrilege.

It is the opinion of the police officers, that the robbery of the above cathedral is what is called, in the slang language, a *put-up robbery*, or that the quantity and value of the plate, the place where it was kept, and the way to get at it, were all previously well known, and the crime committed by persons perfectly acquainted with the place. The weight has been erroneously stated at 700 ounces, whereas it was 1760 ounces. It had very lately been new double guilt, which gave it the appearance of gold. The robbers must have passed nine doors or gates before they could get at the property. The master-key was kept in a closet where one of the vergers usually placed his silver staff; but that was not stolen, although it is supposed the key was used to effect the robbery. It is thought by some the locks might have easily been picked with skeleton keys. An attempt to steal the plate from the above cathedral was made twenty-seven years since. The robbers then got as far as a closet where the keys were kept; but whether they were prevented from proceeding by being alarmed, or by their light going out, was never ascertained.

A man has been taken into custody upon suspicion of being concerned in this sacrilegious depredation; he was formerly a servant employed therein. It appears, upon further inquiry, that there was a master-key to all the doors leading to the room wherein the plate was deposited; and that it was not unusual for that key to be publicly shown to any person who might express a wish to see or examine it. The officers of police have no doubt but that by means of taking an impression of the key in wax the robbers gained access thereto. The person taken up on suspicion has been discharged, no proof appearing against him.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 12, 1809, to December 11, 1810.

Christened	Males 10188 / Females 9742	In all, 19,930	Buried	Males 10411 / Females 9482	In all, 19,893	Increased in Burials 3213.	

Died under 2 years	5853	20 and 30 - 1218		60 and 70 - 1587		100 - 0	104 - 0
Between 2 and 5	2430	30 and 40 - 1788		70 and 80 - 1262		101 - 0	105 - 1
5 and 10	850	40 and 50 - 2018		80 and 90 - 473		102 - 0	110 - 0
10 and 20	695	50 and 60 - 1648		90 and 100 - 70		103 - 0	115 - 0

DISEASES.							
Abortive, Still born	574	Dropsy	771	Palsy	99	Drowned	124
Abscess	42	Evil	5	Pleurisy	28	Excessive Drinking	7
Aged	1552	Fatigue	1	Quinsy	6	Executed *	6
Ague	5	Fevers of all kinds	1139	Rheumatism	6	Found Dead	20
Apoplexy & sudden	234	Fistula	5	Scurvy	4	Fractured	3
Asthma & Phthisic	674	Flux	10	Small Pox	1198	Frighted	3
Bedridden	1	French Pox	29	Sore Throat	6	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	72
Bile	4	Gout	36	Sores and Ulcers	9		
Bleeding	36	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	16	Spasm	22		
Bursten & Rupture	22	Grief	5	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Killed themselves	28
Cancer	77	Head-ache	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	12	Murdered	4
Canker	1	Horse-shoe-head	1	Swelling	1	Overlaid	1
Childbed	183	Jaundice	31	Teeth	438	Poisoned	2
Colds	16	Jaw Locked	2	Thrush	55	Scalded	3
Colick, Gripes, &c.	6	Imposthume	2	Vomiting & looseness	1	Starved	1
Consumption	5427	Inflammation	676	Water in the Chest	7	Suffocated	8
Convulsions	3860	Inoculation	1	Water in the Head	243		
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	449	Livergrown	31	Worms	9	Total	933
Cramp	3	Lunatic	193	CASUALTIES.			
Croop	97	Measles	1031	Bruised	2		
Diabetes	1	Miscarriage	3	Burnt	47		
		Mortification	181	Choaked	2		

* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 10; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS *in the year* 1810.

Jan. 3. The lady of J. M. Raikes, esq. of a son.

6. Mrs. Dobson, one of the midwives of the Westminster General Dispensary, of three daughters.

10. Lady Ossulston of a son and heir.

11. The lady of sir William Chambers Bagshaw of a daughter.

24. The lady of James Dupré, esq. of a daughter.

28. The lady of sir James Duberly of a son.

29. Lady Gardner of a son and heir.

31. The wife of Thomas Tooke, esq. of a son.

Feb. 17. The wife of John Yellowly, esq. of a daughter.

21. The wife of Mr. Brown of Pancras of two boys and two girls.

23. The lady of W. Lushington, esq. of a daughter.

26. Mrs. Onslow, wife of the rev. A. Onslow, of a son.

March 3. Right hon. lady Doune of a son.

8. The wife of Timothy Tyrrell, esq. of a son.

19. The countess Talbot of a son.

21. Lady Romilly of a son.

29. Hon. Mrs. E. S. Stewart Erskine of a son.

—. Lady Bantry of a son.

April 1. Lady Hawkins of a son.

3. Lady Kennaird of a son.

5. The lady of sir J. Wrottesley, bart. of a son.

11. Lady Grantham of a son.

—. The countess of Banbury of a son.

15. Countess Loudon and Moira of a daughter.

18. Viscountess Grimston of a daughter.

20. The lady of colonel H. A. Dillon of a son.

21. Lady Whichcote of a son.

23. Countess of Castlestewart of a son.

26. The lady of the rev. Hugh Percy of a daughter.

May 2. The wife of the rev. Thomas Powys of two sons and a daughter.

8. Lady Elizabeth Fielding of a son.

—. The lady of sir Thomas M. Stanley of a son.

12. The marchioness of Winchester of a son.

18. The lady of lord viscount Turnour of a son and heir.

27. Lady Kensington of a son.

June 4. Viscountess Duncan of a daughter.

9. The lady of rear admiral Lechmere of a daughter.

10. Hon. Mrs. Vaughan of a daughter.

17. Lady Anne Ashley Cooper of a son.

23. Her grace the duchess of Bedford of a daughter.

24. Countess Jersey of a son.

July 10. The lady of sir J. C. Honywood of a son.

12. Lady Bagot of a son.

21. The queen of Bavaria of a daughter.

28. Hon. Mrs. Erskine of a son.

31. The lady of George Baring, esq. of a son.

August 1. The lady of the hon. E. J. Turnour of a daughter.

4. The wife of Dr. Crotch of twin daughters.

8. Lady Frances B. Riddell of a son.

11. Lady Frances Ley of a daughter.

14. The countess Dalhousie of a daughter.

18. Lady Isabella de Chabot of a son.

24. The lady of sir Oswald Mosely, bart. M. P. of a daughter.

September 1. The lady of colonel Buller of a daughter.

5. Lady Mary Anne Gage of a son.

13. Lady Anna Beresford of a daughter.

15. The countess of Pembroke of a son.

22. The lady of Arthur Annesley, esq. of twin daughters.

—. Lady Charlotte Gould of a son.

Oct. 2. The lady of colonel Gore Langton, M. P. of a son.

13. Viscountess Primrose of a son.

14. Viscountess Templetown of a son.

25. The wife of J. Finch Simpson, esq. of a daughter.

31. The wife of G. Smith, esq. M. P. of a son.

Nov. 3. Viscountess Hereford of a son.

6. Countess Cowper of a son.

18. The lady of Thomas Cadell, esq. of a son.

19. Hannah

19. Hannah Browne of two girls and a boy.

25. The countess of Lindsay of a daughter.

—. The countess of Aberdeen of a son.

—. The lady of sir William Geary, bart. of a son.

Dec. 10. The wife of Isaac Goldsmid, esq. of a son.

14. The lady of William Tooke, esq. of a son.

22. The lady of John Disney, esq. of a son.

28. Lady Wm. Beauclerk of a daughter.

29. Duchess of Rutland of a daughter.

—. Lady Gardner of a daughter.

—. Countess Grey of a son.

MARRIAGES *in the year* 1810.

Jan. 1. William John Danby, esq. to Anne, second daughter of Beckford Cater, esq.

8. Robert Smyth, esq. to miss Julia Pemberton.

15. Sir William Geary, to Mrs. Dering.

16. H. Combe Compton, esq. to Charlotte, second daughter to W. Mills, esq. M. P.

20. Captain Spicer, to the only daughter of the late sir George Prescott, bart.

26. Rev. Bryant Burgess, to miss Rutton.

29. W. W. Whitmore, esq. to the hon. miss Bridgman, only daughter of lord Bradford.

Feb. 5. William Gordon, esq. M. P. to the youngest daughter of sir George Cornewall, bart.

8. T. Duffield, esq. to the only daughter of George Elwes, esq.

11. E. A. Welde, esq. to the eldest daughter of W. Norris, esq.

15. Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, to Mary, youngest daughter of Henry Thomson, esq.

27. Capt. Platt, to Charlotte, widow of capt. John Bourchier.

March 5. Right hon. Charles Vereker, M. P. to the eldest daughter of J. Palliser, esq.

13. Wm. Norman, esq. to miss M. Sparrow.

21. C. Mills, esq. M. P. to miss Digby.

29. John M. Leake, jun. esq. to Helen, widow of capt. Lacy.

April 2. Hon. Joshua Vanneck, to miss Arcedeckne.

4. Hon. George Cadogan, to Honoria Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Joseph Blake, esq.

7. Samuel Hamilton, esq. to Caroline Mary, eldest daughter of James Heath, esq.

10. James Montague, esq. to Letitia, youngest daughter of the late rev. Anthony Crole.

12. W. A. Garratt, esq. to the eldest daughter of James Stephen, esq. M. P.

13. Jedediah Strutt, esq. to Susannah, the only daughter of Joshua Walker, esq. of Clifton, Yorkshire.

14. T. A. Shuter, esq. to Sarah Frances, third daughter of the rev. Dr. Valpy.

24. P. T. Roberton, esq. to Mary, sixth daughter of vice-admiral sir W. Parker, bart.

25. Sir Rob. Graham, bart. to Elizabeth, only daughter of John Young, esq.

May 4. John Berkeley Monk, esq. to Mary, eldest daughter of Wm. Stephens, esq.

8. Lord Bolton, to the hon. Maria Carleton, eldest daughter of the late lord Dorchester.

16. Thomas Kennedy, esq. to miss Smith, daughter of the lord mayor.

19. Lord Francis Murray, to lady A. M. Percy.

21. Marquis of Ely, to the hon. miss Dashwood.

24. Sir William Oglander, bart. to lady Maria Fitzroy, eldest daughter to the present duke of Grafton.

29. Wm. R. Cartwright, esq. M. P. to miss Julia Frazer.

June 2. Rev. G. Masey, to the eldest daughter of the late captain Frodsham.

7. R. J. S. Stevens, esq. to the eldest daughter of G. Jeffery, esq. of Peckham.

12. Nath. Phillips, esq. to Margaret, eldest daughter of William Hibbert, esq.

18. Rev. Robert Gutch, to miss James.

26. Rev. Dan. Mathias, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Lafont, esq.

July 3. Hon. Sam. Hood, to lady Charlotte Nelson, daughter of earl Nelson.

5. Rev. John Rideout, to Mrs. Dring.

12. Baron de Steiger, to miss de Tasset.

19. Hon. C. C. C. Jenkinson, to miss Julia Shuckburg Evelyn.

—. The earl of Guildford, to miss Maria Boycott.

24. Lord Brownlow, to the eldest daughter of sir Ab. Hume, bart.

26. Dr. Buxton, to the eldest daughter of Joseph Travers, esq.

31. John Downe, esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of T. M. Kelson, esq.

Aug. 1. William Bolland, esq. to Elizabeth, third daughter of John Bolland, esq.

6. M. Hen. Perceval, esq. to the eldest daughter of sir Charles Flower.

14. Benj. Sharpe, esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of Benj. Kennet, esq.

18. Mr. R. Herring, to the eldest daughter of John Morgan, esq.

19. Hon. P. S. Pierrepoint, to the widow of the late P. Edwards, esq.

27. Viscount Falmouth, to Anne, eldest daughter of Henry Barker, esq.

Sept. 1. H. Combe, esq. to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Quarles Harris, esq.

5. J. Dickenson, esq. to Anne, the second daughter of H. Grover, esq.

10. G. P. Barclay, esq. to Maria, fourth daughter of Henry Boulton, esq.

13. G. Proctor, esq. to miss Hale, daughter of W. Hale, esq.

18. Dr. Wilkinson, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Jabez Smith, esq.

19. Richard Jackson, esq. to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late rev. G. Sandby, D.D.

25. William Johnson, esq. to Charlotte, daughter of Matt. Consett, esq.

Oct. 1. Rev. John Taddy, to Catharine, third daughter of Sam. Latham, esq.

11. Hon. George Lysaght, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sam. Knight, esq.

13. Rev. James Worsley, to Sophia, second daughter of sir John Pinhorn.

14. Hon. miss French, and the hon. miss Rose French; the elder to Edward J. Beyragh, esq. and the younger to Francis Blake Porter, esq.

19. Sir Thomas Trowbridge, bart. to miss Cochrane.

20. C. Coote, esq. to Caroline Lucy, second daughter of lord Douglas.

30. Rev. J. Haggit, to the eldest daughter of the late sir H. Peyton.

Nov. 2. Rev. Gilbert Holmes, to Lydia

Lydia, eldest daughter of Francis Saunderson, esq.

9. George Morgan, esq. to miss Harrison.

10. Chevalier Bisson, to miss Burdett.

21. Rev. William Price, to miss Davies.

27. Henry Combe, esq. to Anne, second daughter of Charles St. Barbe, esq.

28. Mr. Thomas Kennion, to Martha, eldest daughter of Dr. Winter.

Dec. 1. Thomas Roworth, esq. to Mary Anne, second daughter of Dr. Valpy.

3. Sir Rich. Levinge, to the hon. E. A. Parkyns, daughter of the late lord Rancliffe.

8. James Wedderburn Webster, esq. to the right hon. lady Frances Caroline Annesley.

15. Rev. C. H. White, to Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Ed. Wise, esq.

20. The hon. Gerrard Vanneck, to miss Lovelace.

30. Sir Charles Farnaby, bart. to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late T. Morland, esq.

DEATHS *in the year* 1810.

Jan. 1. Sir Henry Strachey, bart.

—. Mrs. Wainewrite.

3. Mary, the countess of Courtown.

9. The lady of Joshua Smith, esq. M. P.

14. Mrs. Ellison, wife of col. E. M. P. for Lincoln.

—. Mrs. Cadogan, mother of lady Hamilton.

16. Andrew Robinson Stoney Bowes, esq.

20. Hon. Mrs. Eliot, lady of W. Eliot, esq. M. P.

26. James Martin, esq. late M.P. of Tewkesbury.

—. Mr. G. Pidcock, of the menagerie of Exeter 'Change.

Feb. 1. Anne, the wife of Jacob Sawkins, esq.

2. Dame Barbara Mostyn.

4. Right hon. Harbord Harbord, baron Suffield.

—. Mrs. Praed, wife of Mr. sergeant Praed.

—. Caleb Whitefoord, esq.

5. Right hon. lady Catharine Stanhope.

8. Thos. Everett, esq. M. P.

9. Rev. R. Chandler, D. D. author of Travels in Greece and Asia Minor.

—. J. C. Saunders, esq. a surgeon of great talents.

11. Sir Thos. Gascoigne, bart.

14. Mr. Richard Sacheverell, of the British Museum.

17. William Hill, esq.

24. Henry Cavendish, esq. a man of great wealth, great talents, and great singularity.

26. Sir John D. H. Macgill, bart.

March 8. Christopher Barber, esq. portrait painter.

16. Rev. Thomas Harrison, minister of a baptist congregation in Salop.

19. Dr. Law, bishop of Elphin.

21. Rev. sir Charles Cave, bart.

24. (Aged 98,) Mr. James Constable.

—. Thos. Godfrey, esq. M. P.

28. Lady Elizabeth Villiers, sister of the earl of Jersey.

29. Justina, wife of the rev. E. C. Frith.

30. James Stopford, earl of Courtown.

—. Mr. Robert Baldwin, bookseller.

31. (Aged 106,) James Gibson, of Dartford, Kent.

April 1. Right hon. C. B. Vil-

liers, sister to the earl of Clarendon.

4. Rev. John Kiddell, aged 90.

8. (Aged 109,) Dorothy Richards, at Haverford West.

16. Rev. Jonathan Boucher.

19. Hon. Robert Walpole.

21. The widow of the late Dr. Buckworth.

22. Mr. C. Rees, son of the rev. Dr. Ab. Rees.

26. Catharine Letitia, widow of the late Dr. Petit.

28. Mr. James Robert Burchett.

30. Mr. Sylvia, a Jew of considerable celebrity.

May 1. Viscount Royston.

4. Rev. Wm. Parry, D. D.

10. Catharine, eldest daughter of Michael Bray, esq.

12. Shovel Blackwood, esq. descendant of the illustrious admiral Shovel.

19. The right hon. Charles Townsend, lord Bayning.

—. Rev. Thomas Robins of Daventry.

20. Mr. Hugh Wilson of Chislehurst.

22. The celebrated chevalier d'Eon.

26. The celebrated Joseph de Montgolfier.

28. Dr. Patrick Ivory, formerly of the East India company.

29. Wm. Blake, esq. banker.

June 7. William Dawson, esq. bookseller to the University of Oxford.

—. Louis Schiavonetti, esq. an eminent engraver.

17. Mr. James Chalmers, printer to the city and university of Aberdeen.

30. At Tettenhall, where she resided nearly a century, Mrs. Eliz. Prettie, aged 106.

July 1. At Witney, Oxfordshire, Mrs. Gray, aged 80.

3. Rev. Thomas Barnes, LL.D. an eminent dissenting minister of Manchester.

5. Miss Hobhouse, only sister of Henry Hobhouse, esq.

8. At Hatton, Mrs. Sarah Anne Wynne, the only daughter of Dr. Parr.

11. Rev. John Slatter, vicar of Cumner, Bucks.

16. Lieutenant Cornelius Willis, R. N.

19. At the seat of the duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, Louisa Augusta Wilhelmina Amelia, queen of Prussia.

20. At Tickhill Castle, aged 40, Harriet, wife of the hon. Frederic Lumley.

23. Right hon. R. M. Arundel, viscount Galway, baron of Killard.

28. At Stoke Newington, Mrs. Johnston, wife of E. Johnston, esq.

29. At Boston, Samuel Bernard, esq.

Aug. 1. Mr. Stephen Geary, of Dean's Yard, the oldest inhabitant of Westminster.

3. Aged 91, general Charles Vernon, lieut. of the Tower.

5. The lady of sir Henry St. John Mildmay.

8. At Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, the right hon. Frederic Augustus earl of Berkeley.

—. At Madresfield, Worcestershire, Emma Susanna, viscountess Deerhurst.

10. The hon. Catharine Isabella Vansittart, lady of the right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, and second daughter of lord Auckland.

13. At Venice, general Menou, famous for his campaign in Egypt.

15. The rev. Richard Cecil, minister of St. John's chapel, Bedford row.

20. At Newport, Isle of Wight, John Kirkpatrick, esq.

26. Sir Ralph Woodford, formerly

merly minister extraordinary to the court of Denmark.

28. Francis earl of Moray.

Sept. 3. (Aged 72,) the hon. Edward Bouverie, M. P. uncle to the earl of Radnor.

4. Joseph Paice, esq. a most kind and benevolent man.

5. Small Pybus, esq. late M. P. for Dover.

6. George Payne, esq. nephew to —— Creevy, esq. M. P. shot in a duel.

8. Thomas Loggen, esq. an eminent solicitor.

11. Sir Francis Baring, bart. a merchant of the highest respectability.

13. (In the 92d year of his age,) the rev. Henry Dimock, of Pembroke college, Cambridge.

22. At Deal, aged 87, John Carter, esq. one of the oldest magistrates of the county of Kent.

24. Joseph Wyndham, esq.

28. Abraham Goldsmid, esq. who shot himself through the head.

29. Isaac Hobhouse, esq. elder brother to Benj. Hobhouse, esq. M. P.

—. Wm. Locke, esq. of Norbury Park, one of the zealous patrons of the fine arts.

Oct. 1. Thomas Greenwood, esq. of Kentish Town.

3. Mr. John Burles, of Chatham, through excess of joy upon the successful termination of a lawsuit.

13. Aged 81, Alexander Popham, esq. one of the masters of the high court of Chancery.

18. Rev. sir Charles Jacob, bart.

19. Aged 62, Jonas Dryander, esq. librarian to sir Joseph Banks.

26. Rev. W. Champney, D. D. vicar of St. Pancras, and fifty years a minor canon of Westminster abbey.

29. Mrs. Sarah Fuller, daughter of the late Wm. Fuller, banker.

31. Mrs. Addington, aged 82, relict of the late Dr. Addington.

Nov. 1. Mr. J. Chalie, an eminent wine merchant.

—. (Aged 93,) Mr. Chas. Grignion, historical engraver.

2. Her royal highness the princess Amelia.

—. The right hon. Geo. Legge, earl of Dartmouth, lord chamberlain to his majesty.

8. Charles Moore, esq. youngest son to the late Dr. Moore, and brother to the much-lamented sir John Moore.

13. Marie Josephine Louisa de Savoie, comtesse de Lille, consort of Louis XVIII.

20. Charles Henry Runnington, esq. son of Mr. serg. Runnington.

24. Rev. Ralph Harrison, dissenting minister at Manchester.

26. The right hon. lady Edward O'Bryen.

28. The hon. Robert Cullen, lord Cullen, one of the judges of the court of session, and one of the lords of justiciary.

29. In Leicester gaol, in which he was confined for debt, the rev. Obadiah Clayton.

30. Rowland Belasyse, viscount Fauconberg.

—. At Exeter, Bartholomew Parr, M. D.

Dec. 5. The right hon. earl of Athlone.

6. At the seat of the earl of Aylesford, John Francis Rigaud, esq. royal academician.

10. Wm. Wheatley, esq. apothecary to the royal hospital of Greenwich.

15. Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, a well-known authoress.

21. Frances, the wife of Jacob Phillips, esq. and sister of sir Edward Berry.

28. In his 86th year, the right hon. the duke of Queensberry,

26. Rev. Richard Stubbs, D.D. of Fryerning, Essex.

PROMOTIONS *in the year* 1810.

War-office, Jan. 2. Lieutenant-colonel George Vigoreux, of the 2d royal veteran battalion, appointed lieutenant-governor of the Scilly islands, *vice* major-general Hewgill, deceased.

Foreign-office, Jan. 9. Charles Stuart, esq. appointed to reside at the seat of the provisional government of Portugal as his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

Whitehall, Jan. 9. Rev. George Gordon, B. D. dean of Exeter, promoted to the deanery of the cathedral church of Lincoln, and also to a residentiary's place in the said cathedral, both *vice* Kaye, dec.

War-office, Jan. 20. *Garrison.* General the hon. Henry Edward Fox, to be governor of Portsmouth, *vice* Pitt, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 27. Rev. John Parsons, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Bristol, *vice* the rev. Dr. B. E. Sparke, promoted to the see of Chester.

Treasury Chambers, Jan. 27. The king has been pleased to appoint Thomas Alcock, esq. to be treasurer of the ordnance, *vice* Joseph Hunt, esq. resigned.

Treasury Chambers, Feb. 2. Alex. Osborne, esq. to be a commissioner of the customs in Scotland, *vice* Alex. Cochrane, esq. dec.

Whitehall, Feb. 10. Rev. John Garnett, M. A. deanery of Exeter, *vice* Gordon, resigned.

Treasury Chambers, Feb. 13. Wm. Manley, esq. a commissioner of excise, *vice* Maling, dec.

War-office, Feb. 27, His majesty has been pleased to approve of the following officers being appointed, and formed into a board for superintending and conducting the whole medical business of the army, viz,

John Weir, esq. from half-pay as inspector of hospitals, to be director-general.—Charles Ker, M. D. an inspector of hospitals, to be principal inspector.—Theod. Gordon, M. D. from half-pay as inspector of hospitals, to be principal inspector.

War-office, March 10. Rev. archdeacon John Owen, chaplain general of the forces, *vice* Gambie, resigned.

Foreign-office, March 10. Sir Gore Ouseley, bart. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of the king of Persia.

Foreign-office, March 14. James Morier, esq. secretary of embassy to the king of Persia.

War-office, March 24. Rev. Wm. Whitfield Dakins, LL.D. chaplain to the forces.

March 3. At a chapter of the most noble order of the Garter, marquis Wellesley invested with the blue ribband, vacant by the death of the duke of Portland.

Whitehall, April 7. Peter de Haviland, esq. bailiff of Guernsey, *vice* Robert Porret le Marchant, esq. resigned.—John Dumaresq, advocate-general of Jersey, *vice* Joshua Pipon, esq. resigned.—Right hon. Francis Napier, high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

War-office, April 7. George Jenkins, clerk; and Sam. Briscall, clerk; chaplains to the forces.

Downing-street, April 16. John Henry Newbolt, esq. a judge of the supreme court of judicature at Madras.

Admiralty-office, April 21. Sir Rich. Bickerton,

Bickerton, bart. major-general of marine forces, *vice* Collingwood, deceased.

Downing-street, April 27. Hildebrand Oakes, esq. major-general, his majesty's commissioner for the affairs of Malta.

Whitehall, April 28. Right hon. George earl of Glasgow, lieutenant and sheriff principal of Renfrewshire.

Whitehall, May 1. Right hon. Henry baron Mulgrave, master-general of the ordnance.—Right hon. Charles Yorke, sir Richard Bickerton, bart. vice-admiral of the red, Robert Ward, esq. James Buller, esq. Wm. Domett, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, Robert Moorsom, esq. and viscount Lowther, commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral.

Downing-street, May 2. Robert Gordon, esq. lieutenant-governor of Berbice.

Downing-street, May 4. Vice-adm. sir John Duckworth, K. B. governor and commander in chief of Newfoundland.

Foreign-office, May 10. John Phil. Morier, esq. secretary of legation to the United States of America.

War-office, June 2. Wm. Granger Cautley, clerk, late chaplain of brigade at Madeira, a chaplain of the forces.—Thos. Williams, clerk, late garrison chaplain at Landguard fort, a chaplain to the forces.

Queen's Palace, June 20. Captain James Lucas Yeo, R. N. commander of the royal Portuguese military order of Saint Bento d'Avis, knighted.

Whitehall, June 23. Right hon. Spencer Perceval, right hon. John Forster, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, hon. Wm. Brodrick, hon. Wm. Eliot, Snowden Barne, esq. and hon. Berkeley Paget, commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.—Right hon. Charles Yorke, sir Richard Bickerton, bart. vice-adm. of the red, Robert Ward and James Buller, esqrs. Wm. Domett, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, knt. and hon. Frederick Robinson, commissioners for executing the office of high admiral.

Board of Green Cloth, June 27. Wm. Kenrick, esq. master of his majesty's household.

Whitehall, June 30. Right hon. Rob. Dundas, earl Camden, earl of Liverpool, right hon. Richard Ryder, marquis of Wellesley, right hon. Spencer Perceval, lord Lovaine, lord Teignmouth, right hon. Tho. Wallace, and visc. Lowther, commissioners for affairs of India.

Downing-street, July 3. Vice-adm. the hon. sir Alexander Forrester Cochrane, K. B. governor and commander in chief of the island of Guadaloupe, &c.

Whitehall, July 14. Capt. R. Moorsom, R. N. surveyor-general of the ordnance.

War-office, July 25. His majesty has been pleased to appoint major-generals P. Sinclair, W. O. Huddlestone, G. Fead, J. Sowerby, sir T. Blomefield, bart. G. Mann, D. M'Donald, J. Pratt, F. Champagné, J. Champagné, H. Calvert, G. Cockburne, E. Dunne, J. Drummond, W. Dowdeswell, A. Mackenzie, G. Moncrieffe, T. Meyrick, T. Graham, C. Craufurd, G. H. Vansittart, hon. C. Fitzroy, and F. Hugonin—to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Staff—To be aides-de-camp to the king, colonel H. Davies, 22d light dragoons; colonel D. Pack, 71st foot; colonel lord R. E. H. Somerset, 4th dragoons; colonel G. Wilson, 39th foot; colonel F. W. Buller,

W. Buller, Coldstream guards; and colonel R. Ross, 20th foot.

Foreign-office, July 27. J. Parke, esq. consul in the island of Iceland.

Admiralty-office, July 31. This day, in pursuance of the king's pleasure, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, viz.

Admirals of the white—Skeffington Lutwidge, esq.; George Montagu, esq.; right hon. George lord Keith, K. B.; James Pigott, esq.; right hon. William lord Radstock; Thomas Mackenzie, esq.; and sir Roger Curtis, bart.—to be admirals of the red.

Admirals of the blue—William Young, esq.; right hon. James lord Gambier; Philip Patton, esq.; sir Charles Morice Pole, bart.; John Leigh Douglas, esq.; Wm. Swiney, esq.; Chas. Edmund Nugent, esq.; Charles Powell Hamilton, esq.; Edmund Dod, esq.; sir Charles Cotton, bart.; John Thomas, esq.; James Brine, esq.; sir Erasmus Gower, knight; John Holloway, esq.; and George Wilson, esq.—to be admirals of the white.

Vice admirals of the red—Sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart.; hon. Thomas Pakenham; Robert Deans, esq.; Jas. Hawkins Whitshed, esq.; Arthur Kempe, esq.; Smith Child, esq.; Thomas Taylor, esq.; sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B.; sir Robert Calder, bart.; hon. Geo. Cranfield Berkeley; Thomas West, esq.; James Douglas, esq.; Peter Aplin, esq.; Henry Savage, esq.; Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, esq.; sir Richard Bickerton, bart.; and Geo. Bowen, esq.—to be admirals of the blue.

Vice admirals of the white—R. Montagu, esq.; John Fergusson, esq.; Edward Edwards, esq.; and sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B.—to be admirals of the blue.

Vice admirals of the white—Edw. Tyrrel Smith, esq.; sir Thomas Graves, K. B.; Thomas Macnamara Russel, esq.; sir Henry Trollope, knt.; sir Henry Edwyn Stanhope, bart.; Robt. M'Douall, esq.; Billy Douglas, esq.; John Wickey, esq.; Jno. Fish, esq.; Jno. Knight, esq.; Edw. Thornborough, esq.; Sampson Edwards, esq.; George Campbell, esq.; Henry Frankland, esq.; Arthur Phillip, esq.; and sir William George Fairfax, knight—to be vice admirals of the red.

Vice admirals of the blue—Sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B.; Thomas Drury, esq.; Albemarle Bertie, esq.; right hon. William earl of Northesk, K. B.; James Vashon, esq.; Thomas Wells, esq.; and sir Edward Pellew, bart.—to be vice admirals of the red.

Vice admirals of the blue—Sir Isaac Coffin, bart.; John Aylmer, esq.; Samuel Osborn, esq.; Rich. Boger, esq.; John Child Purvis, esq.; Theophilus Jones, esq.; Wm. Domett, esq.; William Wolseley, esq.; John Manley, esq.; George Murray, esq.; John Sutton, esq.; Robert Murray, esq.; hon. sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B.; and John Markham, esq.—to be vice admirals of the white.

Rear admiral of the red—Chas. Stirling, esq.—to be vice admiral of the white.

Rear admirals of the red—Henry d'Esterre Darby, esq.; Edw. Bowater, esq.; George Palmer, esq.; Wm. O'Bryen Drury, esq.; Wm. Essington, esq.; John M'Dougall, esq.; James Alms, esq.; Eliab Harvey, esq.; sir Edmund Nagle, knt.; John Wells, esq.; Richard Grindall, esq.; and George Martin, esq.—to be vice admirals of the blue.

Rear

Rear admirals of the red—Sir Richard John Strachan, bart. and K. B.; sir William Sidney Smith, knt.; Thomas Sotheby, esq.; Nathan Brunton, esq.; William Hancock Kelly, esq.; John Schank, esq.; and hon. Michael de Courcy—to be vice admirals of the blue.

Rear admirals of the white—Wm. Bentinck, esq.; Paul Minchin, esq.; Philip d'Auvergne, prince of Bouillon; and John Hunter, esq.—to be vice admirals of the blue.

Rear admirals of the white—Fr. Pender, esq.; William Albany Otway, esq.; Geo. Lumsdaine, esq.; sir Samuel Hood, bart. and K. B.; Henry Nicholls, esq.; Herbert Sawyer, esq.; Davidge Gould, esq.; sir Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B.; Robert Devereux Fancourt, esq.; sir Edward Buller, bart.; hon. Robt. Stopford; Mark Robinson, esq.; Thomas Revell Shivers, esq.; Francis Pickmore, esq.; John Stevens Hall, esq.; and John Dilkes, esq.—to be rear admirals of the red.

Rear admirals of the blue—Wm. Lechmere, esq.; Thomas Foley, esq.; Charles Tyler, esq.; and Robert Carthew Reynolds, esq.—to be rear admirals of the red.

Rear admirals of the blue—Robt. Watson, esq.; right hon. Alan Hyde, lord Gardner; Manley Dixon, esq.; Geo. Losack, esq.; William Mitchell, esq.; George Hart, esq.; Thomas Bertie, esq.; Rowley Bulteel, esq.; William Lake, esq.; Isaac George Manley, esq.; John Osborn, esq.; Edm. Crawley, esq.; Charles Boyles, esq.; sir Thomas Williams, knt.; Thomas Hamilton, esq.; sir Thos. Boulden Thompson, bart.; and George Countess, esq.—to be rear admirals of the white.

And the undermentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz.—John Laugharne, esq.; William Hargood, esq.; George Gregory, esq.; John Ferrier, esq.; Richard Incledon Bury, esq.; Robt. Moorsom, esq.; sir Charles Hamilton, bart.; hon. Henry Curzon; Lawrence William Halsted, esq.; Edward Oliver Osborn, esq.; sir Harry Neale, bart.; sir Joseph Sidney Yorke, knt.; hon. Arthur Kaye Legge; Francis Fayerman, esq.; right hon. George earl of Galloway; Thomas Francis Fremantle, esq.; sir Francis Laforey, bart.; Philip Chas. Durham, esq.; and Israel Pellew, esq.—to be rear admirals of the blue.

The king has been pleased to appoint Benjamin Hallowell, esq.; George Johnstone Hope, esq.; the right hon. lord Amelius Beauclerk; and James Nicoll Morris, esq.—to be colonels in his majesty's royal marine forces, in the room of Wm. Hargood, esq.; Robert Moorsom, esq.; sir Charles Hamilton, bart.; and the hon. Henry Curzon—appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

Queen's-palace, Aug. 8. Right hon. Richard lord Chetwynd, one of the clerks of the privy council, *vice* sir Stephen Cotterell, who retires.

Whitehall, Aug. 18. Lieutenant-general W. Loftus, lieutenant of the Tower of London, *vice* Vernon, dec.

War-office, Aug. 18. Rev. E. Raynes, B. A. chaplain to the forces.

Queen's-palace, Aug. 29. Right hon. sir John Sinclair, bart. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

War-office, Sept. 7. Rev. J. Hughes, a chaplain to the forces.

Horse-guards, Sept. 9. His majesty having been graciously pleased to command, that, in commemoration of the brilliant victories obtained

obtained by divisions of his army over the enemy in the battles of Roleia, Vimiera, also in the several instances where the cavalry had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves against the enemy in Spain, and in the battles of Corunna and Talavera de la Reyna, the undermentioned officers of the army, present on those occasions, should enjoy the privilege of wearing a medal; and his majesty having approved of the medal which has been struck, is pleased to command that it should be worn by the general officers, suspended by a ribbon of the colour of the sash, with a blue edge, round the neck; and by the commanding officers of corps (not being of rank inferior to lieutenant-colonel), and the chiefs of military departments, attached by a ribbon of the same colour to the button-hole of their uniform.

His majesty has also been pleased to command, that the medals which would have been conferred upon the officers who have fallen at, or died since, the above-named actions, shall, as a token of respect for their memories, be deposited with their respective families.

Lieutenant-generals—Sir John Moore, K. B. sir David Baird, sir John Hope, K. B. Mackenzie Frazer, lord Paget, and viscount Wellington, K. B.

Major-generals—Sir John Sherbrook, K. B. William Payne, lord William Bentinck, hon. Edward Paget, sir Brent Spencer, K. B. sir Stapleton Cotton, bart. Rowland Hill, Coote Manningham, William Carr Beresford, Ronald Craufurd Fergusson, Henry Warde, James Leith, John Randoll M'Kenzie, Christopher Tilson.

Brigadier-generals—John Slade, Moore Disney, William Palmer Acland, Miles Nightingall, Alexander Campbell, Henry Frederick Campbell, Richard Stewart, hon. Chas. Stewart, Ernest baron Langworth, Alan Cameron, Bernard Foord Bowes, Henry Fane, Robert Anstruther, George Anson, James Catlin Craufurd, and Edward Howarth (artillery.)

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council for the year* 1810.

Bedfordshire—Sir Gregory Osborne Turner, of Battlesden, bart.

Berkshire — Peter Green, of Cookham, esq.

Buckinghamshire—John Ayton, of Missenden abbey, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire—George William Leeds, of Croxton, esq.

Cheshire — Thomas Brook, of Church Minshull, esq.

Cumberland—Sir Hen. Fletcher, of Clea Hall, bart.

Derbyshire—John Crompton, of Derby, esq.

Devonshire—Sir Masseh Manasseh Lopez, of Mariston, bart.

Dorsetshire—H. Seymour, of Hanford, esq.

Essex—John Rigg, of Walthamstow, esq.

Gloucestershire—P. Wathen, of Lypiat Park, esq.

Herefordshire—Rob. Higginson, of, Birchmill Park, esq.

Hertfordshire—Thos. Howarth, of Boreham Lodge, esq.

Kent—James Burton, of Mabledon, esq.

Lancashire—W. Hulton, of Hulton, esq.

Leicestershire—The hon. Thos. Bowes, of Higham on the Hill.

Lincolnshire—Edm. Turner, of Panton, esq.

Monmouthshire — Thomas Pilkington, of Hillston, esq.

Norfolk

Norfolk—Nath. Micklethwaite, of Beeston, esq.
Northamptonshire—Wm. Sawbridge, of East Haddon, esq.
Northumberland—John Read, of Chipchase Castle, esq.
Nottingham—Jn. Chaworth, of Ansley, esq.
Oxfordshire—Wm. Henry Ashurst, of Waterstock, esq.
Rutlandshire—Wm. Gillson, of Wing, esq.
Shropshire—William Lloyd, of Aston, esq.
Somersetshire—Thos. Strangeways Horner, of Wells, esq.
County of Southampton—Sir James Watley Smith Gardner, of Roche Court, bart.
Staffordshire—Henry Webb, of Forebridge, esq.
Suffolk—Josh. Grigby, of Drinkstone, esq.
Surrey—Henry Edmund Austen, of Shalford House, esq.
Sussex—Rich. Wyatt, of Courtwick, esq.
Warwickshire—James West, of Arlescote, esq.
Wiltshire—Abra. Ludlow, of Heywood, esq.
Worcestershire—Joseph Smith, of Sion-hill, esq.
Yorkshire—Thomas Wynne Bellasyse, of Newburgh Abbey, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthensh.—Wm. M'Clary, of Manerfabon, esq.
Pembroke—John Myrehouse, of Brownslade, esq.
Cardigan—Wm. Edw. Powell, of Nanteos, esq.
Glamorgan—Thos. Lockwood, of Dan-y-graig, esq.
Brecon—James Jones, of Llanthomas, esq.
Radnor—Harley James Hague, of Bailey-house, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth.—J. Davies, of Aberllefoni, esq.
Carnarvonshire—Humph. Rowland Jones, of Ystimyllyn, esq.
Anglesey—Hugh Evans, of Houblas, esq.
Montgomeryshire—John Owen Herbert, of Dalforgan, esq.
Denbighshire—Richard Lloyd, of Branhaelog, esq.
Flintshire—Francis Rich. Price, of Brynypys, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for the year* 1810.

Cornwall—Rd. Oxnam, of Penzance, esq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HUNGARIAN NOBILITY.

Presburgh, Jan. 8.

FAITHFUL imitators of the examples of your ancestors, guided by your attachment and obedience to your sovereign, and animated with the most ardent zeal for the country, you replied with equal zeal and energy to the appeal which I made to you, in defence of the throne and the country. I acknowledge your bravery, I have been a witness of your courageous efforts, in order to fulfil your glorious destination. I have seen the happy effects of them; and after the multiplied proofs of courage which a great number among you have often given me, I always reckoned with an entire confidence that the united corps would rival my army in keeping the enemy from my monarchy, and save the state by a decisive blow. Peace has terminated your glorious works —your sovereign takes leave of you with gratitude for all you have done, and all that you were disposed to have done. Enjoy in the bosoms of your families the satisfaction of having fulfilled your duty to your sovereign and to your country. Preserve the heroic sentiments of your ancestors: that this national energy may never be weakened in you; that respect for your superiors, union among yourselves, and love of order, may be your motto in peace as in war; that a happy mixture of civil and warlike virtues, of which the annals of Hungary afford so many examples, may assure you repose and happiness, will be constantly the object of the wishes and efforts of your sovereign.

FRANCIS.

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH. *Jan.* 23.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—His majesty commands us to express to you his deep regret that the exertions of the emperor of Austria against the ambition and violence of France have proved unavailing, and that his imperial majesty has been compelled to abandon the contest, and to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Although the war was undertaken by that monarch without encouragement on the part of his majesty, every effort was made for the assistance of Austria which his majesty deemed consistent with the due support of his allies, and with the welfare and interest of his own dominions.—An attack upon the naval

naval armaments and establishments in the Scheldt, afforded at once the prospect of destroying a growing force, which was daily becoming more formidable to the security of this country, and of diverting the exertions of France from the important objects of reinforcing her armies on the Danube, and of controlling the spirit of resistance in the north of Germany. These considerations determined his majesty to employ his forces in an expedition to the Scheldt.—Although the principal ends of this expedition have not been attained, his majesty confidently hopes that advantages, materially affecting the security of his majesty's dominions in the further prosecution of the war, will be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenals at Flushing. This important object his majesty was enabled to accomplish, in consequence of the reduction of the island of Walcheren, by the valour of his fleets and armies.—His majesty has given directions that such documents and papers should be laid before you as he trusts will afford satisfactory information upon the subject of this expedition.—We have it in command to state to you that his majesty had uniformly notified to Sweden his majesty's decided wish, that in determining upon the question of peace or war with France, and other continental powers, she should be guided by considerations resulting from her own situation and interests. While his majesty therefore laments that Sweden should have found it necessary to purchase peace by considerable sacrifices, his majesty cannot complain that she has concluded it without his majesty's participation. It is his majesty's earnest wish that no event may occur to occasion the interruption of those relations of amity which it is the desire of his majesty, and the interest of both countries to preserve.—We have it further in command to communicate to you, that the efforts of his majesty for the protection of Portugal have been powerfully aided by the confidence which the prince-regent has reposed in his majesty, and by the co-operation of the local government, and of the people of that country. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, by his majesty's forces under lieutenant-general lord viscount Wellington, and the glorious victory obtained by him at Talavera, contributed to check the progress of the French arms in the peninsula during the late campaign.—His majesty directs us to state that the Spanish government, in the name and by the authority of king Ferdinand the Seventh, has determined to assemble the general and extraordinary cortes of the nation: his majesty trusts that this measure will give fresh animation and vigour to the councils and the arms of Spain, and successfully direct the energies and spirit of the Spanish people to the maintenance of their legitimate monarchy, and to the ultimate deliverance of their country.—The most important considerations of policy and good faith require, that as long as this great cause can be maintained with a prospect of success, it should be supported, according to the nature and circumstances of the contest, by the strenuous and continued assistance of the power and resources of his majesty's dominions; and his majesty relies on the aid of his parliament in his anxious endeavours to frustrate the attempts of France against the independence of Spain and Portugal, and against the

happiness and freedom of those loyal and resolute nations.—His majesty commands us to acquaint you, that the intercourse between his majesty's minister in America and the government of the United States has been suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted. His majesty sincerely regrets this event: he has however received the strongest assurances from the American minister resident at this court, that the United States are desirous of maintaining friendly relation between the two countries. This desire will be met by a corresponding disposition on the part of his majesty.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His majesty has directed us to inform you, that he has ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you: his majesty has directed them to be formed with all the attention to œconomy which the support of his allies and the security of his dominions will permit. And his majesty relies upon your zeal and loyalty to afford him such supplies as may be necessary for those essential objects.—He commands us to express how deeply he regrets the pressure upon his subjects, which the protracted continuance of the war renders inevitable.

My Lords and Gentlemen, We are commanded by his majesty to express his hopes that you will resume the consideration of the state of the inferior clergy, and adopt such further measures upon this interesting subject as may appear to you to be proper.—We have it further in command to state to you that the accounts which will be laid before you of the trade and revenue of the country will be found highly satisfactory.—Whatever temporary and partial inconvenience may have resulted from the measures which were directed by France against those great sources of our prosperity and strength, those measures have wholly failed of producing any permanent or general effect.—The inveterate hostility of our enemy continues to be directed against this country with unabated animosity and violence. To guard the security of his majesty's dominions, and to defeat the designs which are meditated against us and our allies, will require the utmost efforts of vigilance, fortitude, and perseverance. In every difficulty and danger, his majesty confidently trusts that he shall derive the most effectual support, under the continued blessing of Divine Providence, from the wisdom of his parliament, the valour of his forces, and the spirit and determination of his people.

PROTEST.

The following Protest has been entered on the journals of the house of lords, against the vote of thanks to lieutenant-general lord Wellington:

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because, in the battle of Talavera, though eminently distinguished by those splendid proofs of discipline and valour which his majesty's troops have never failed to display; we cannot recognise those unequivocal characteristics of victory, which can alone form an adequate title to the thanks of this house: on the contrary, the British army appears to have been improvidently led into a situation, in which the repulse of the enemy, effected with a great loss, produced neither security from a subsequent attack, nor relief from the distress under

under which our brave troops were suffering; and was immediately followed by the necessity of a precipitate retreat, whereby our wounded were left to fall into the hands of the enemy.

2. Because, by voting the thanks of this house on such an occasion, we diminish the value of the most honourable reward we have it in our power to confer; whilst we indirectly sanction the propriety of that elevation to the honours of the peerage, with which his majesty, without inquiry, was advised to mark his approbation of the commander of his army in Spain, at a time when his ministers were informed of the unfortunate consequences which might be expected to follow, and in fact did follow, that dear-bought success.

GREY,
LAUDERDALE.

FRENCH BASTILLES.

A decree was recently issued at Paris relating to state prisoners, which contains the following preamble: "There is a certain number of persons in the state prisons, whom it is not convenient either to bring to trial or to set at liberty—that though they would be condemned by the tribunals to capital punishments, superior considerations oppose their being brought to trial—that several are men accustomed to crimes, but who cannot be condemned by our courts, though they have the certainty of their culpability—that some belong to different countries, which have been united to France, but that they cannot be tried, because their offences are either political or anterior to the union of these states."

1810.

ABSTRACT OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM'S STATEMENT OF HIS PROCEEDINGS: DATED OCTOBER 15, 1809. *Presented to the king, February* 14, 1810.

In submitting to your majesty a statement of my proceedings in the execution of the service your majesty was graciously pleased to confide to me, and of the events which occurred in the course of it, it is not my intention to trouble your majesty with any further details of the earlier parts of our operations, but to bring under your majesty's view the consideration of the two following points, as most immediately applying to the conduct and final result of the expedition to the Scheldt. 1st. The ground upon which, after the army was at length assembled near Batz, a landing in prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition was not deemed advisable; 2dly. Why that army was not sooner there assembled, in readiness to commence further operations.—With respect to the former position, I am inclined to think that it is so clear and evident, that no further operations could at that time, and in the then sickly state of the army, have been undertaken with any prospect of success; that it would be unnecessarily trespassing on your majesty to enter into much more detail on this point than has been already brought before your majesty, in my dispatch of the 29th of August; and the chief object of this paper will be directed to show to your majesty, that the second point, namely, Why the army was not brought up sooner to the destination from whence its ulterior objects were to commence, is purely a naval consideration, and that the delay did in no shape rest with me,

or depend upon any arrangements in which the army was concerned; every facility, on the contrary, having been afforded by their movements to the speedy progress of the armament.—In the first place, it is to be remarked, that the occupation of Walcheren, which by some persons it had been thought possible to leave behind us, and the reduction of Flushing, which it had once been proposed only to mask, were deemed indispensable to the security of the fleet, in case of disaster; and accordingly a considerable separate force was allotted to this service; and, in this view, it was besides distinctly agreed upon, that a vigorous attack by the navy upon the sea front should be made at the same time that the troops, after effecting their landing, advanced to invest Flushing; it being hoped that by a powerful cooperation from the sea, at the moment the troops presented themselves before the place, the labour and delay of a regular siege might have been avoided, and a considerable proportion of the force allotted to this service set at liberty to follow the army up the Scheldt. How far this expectation was fulfilled, or whether the assurance given that the whole of the armament (the part to be landed at Walcheren excepted) should be at once transported up the Scheldt, in prosecution of the ultimate objects of the expedition, was carried into effect, or was wholly disappointed, the information already before your majesty will have in a great measure shown, and which it will be my duty to bring more particularly to your majesty's view, when I detail the subsequent course of our proceedings.—From what cause this failure ensued, whether it arose from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, or was the unavoidable result of difficulties inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, it is not for me, considering it entirely as a naval question, to presume to offer any opinion upon to your majesty. —Before, however, I pursue further the details of the proceedings of the army, governed as they necessarily were (until a footing should be gained on the continent) by the movements of the navy, I must for a moment refer to two separate operations; the one under lieutenant-general lord Huntley and commodore Owen, and the other under lieutenant-general sir John Hope and rear-admiral sir Richard Keats; but both directed to assist and ensure a rapid progress up the Scheldt, had the admiral found it practicable in other respects. With respect to the former, which was destined to destroy the Cadsand batteries, and particularly that of Breskens, had it been carried at once into effect, and that the admiral could have availed himself of it, to take the ships up the West Scheldt by the Weeling passage, it would have been of the utmost advantage: but it was certainly rather fortunate it did not take place at a later period, as after all the transports, store-ships, &c. were ordered into the Veere Gat, and the plan of running at once up the West Scheldt by the Weeling channel seemed abandoned, the object of destroying the Cadsand batteries ceased, and a landing there would only have been an unnecessary risk, and a very inconvenient separation of our force, and, of course, occasion great delay in collecting it for ulterior operations. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the difficulties here turned out to be much greater than had

had been at all foreseen before we sailed.—When it was found that lord Huntley's division could neither land nor proceed by the Weeling passage up the Scheldt, as I had intended they should, it was determined to withdraw them; but from the boisterous state of the weather, it was some days before this could be effected. As soon as it was accomplished, they were passed over to South Beveland.—With respect to sir John Hope's operation, it was more prosperous. It was conceived that, by landing on the north side of South Beveland, the island might be possessed, and all the batteries taken in reverse, and thereby the position of the French fleet, if they ventured to remain near Flushing, would be, as it were, turned, and their retreat rendered more difficult, while the attack on them by our ships would have been much facilitated; and for this object the division of sir John Hope rather preceded, in sailing from the Downs, the rest of the fleet. This division was landed near Ter-Goes, from whence they swept all the batteries in the island that could impede the progress of our ships up the West Scheldt, and possessed themselves, on the 2d of August, of the important post of Batz, to which it had been promised the army should at once have been brought up.—Sir John Hope remained in possession of this post, though not without being twice attacked by the enemy's flotilla, for nine days before any of the gunboats under captain sir Home Popham were moved up the Scheldt to his support.—Your majesty will be pleased to recollect, that the troops which sailed from Portsmouth, under lieutenant-general sir Eyre Coote, were destined for the service of Walcheren, and had been considered as sufficient for that object, according to the intelligence received, and the supposed strength of the enemy; though at the same time certainly relying for the first efforts against Flushing on the promised cooperation of the navy, and on their establishing, as was held out in the first instance, a naval blockade, except on the side of Veer and Rammekins. Unfortunately, however, this did not take place; and for several nights after the army was before Flushing, the enemy succeeded in throwing from the opposite coast, probably from the canal of Ghent, considerable reinforcements into the place, which enabled him constantly to annoy our out-posts and working parties, and finally to attempt a sally in force, though happily, from the valour of your majesty's troops, without success. I have already stated that Rammekins surrendered on the evening of the 3d of August. Immediately upon this event, feeling, as I did, great uneasiness at the delay which had already taken place, and the departure from the original plan, I wrote a letter to the admiral then at Ter Veer, expressing my hope that the ships would now be able to enter the West Scheldt by the Sloe passage, and that no time should be lost in pressing forward as speedily as possible our further operations; and I requested at the same time that he would communicate to me the extent of naval co-operation he could afford, as well for the future blockade of Flushing, as with a view to protecting the coast of South Beveland, and watching the passages from the Meuse to the East Scheldt, as this consideration would govern very much the extent of force I must leave in South Beveland, when the army advanced. To this letter he did not reply fully till the 8th of August;

but I had a note from him on the 5th, assuring me the transports should be brought forward without delay; and I had also a very long conversation with him on the morning of the 6th, on the arrangements to be taken for our further operations; when I urged, in the strongest manner, the necessity of not losing a moment in bringing up the cavalry and ordnance ships, transports, store-ships, victuallers, &c. in order that the armament might proceed without delay to its destination; and I added my hopes, that they would receive the protection of the ships of war, none of which had yet entered the West Scheldt.—The frigates, however, did not pass Flushing till the evening of the 11th, and the line of battle ships only passed to the anchorage above Flushing on the 14th, the second day of the bombardment.—These ships began to proceed up the river on the 18th, and arrived on the 19th; one division as high as the bay below Waerden, the other off the Hanswent, where they remained; the Courageux passed above Batz; the cavalry ships only got through the Sloe passage into the West Scheldt from the 20th to the 23d, and arrived off Batz on the 22d and 24th: the ordnance ships and store ships passed through from the 22d to the 23d, and arrived at their destination off Batz on the 24th and 25th; the transports for lieutenant-general Grosvenor's division only came up to receive them on the 19th, on which day they embarked; and those for major-general Graham's division, on the 20th and 21st; and they arrived off Batz on the 24th. The corps of brigadier-general Rottenburgh, and the light battalions of the German legion, proceeded to join the earl of Rosslyn's division in South Beveland.—From this statement your majesty will see, that notwithstanding every effort on my part with the admiral, the armament was not assembled at the point of its destination till the 25th, and, of course that the means of commencing operations sooner against Antwerp were never in my power. It now became at this advanced period my duty to consider very seriously the expediency of landing the army on the continent. On comparing all the intelligence obtained as to the strength of the enemy, it appeared to be such as to leave (as stated in my dispatch of the 29th of August) no reasonable prospect of success to the force under my command, after accomplishing the preliminary operations of reducing Fort Lillo as well as Liefkenshoek, on the opposite side of Antwerp, without the possession of which the destruction of the ships and arsenals of the enemy could not be effected; and in addition to this, the sickness which had begun to attack the army about the 20th, and which was hourly increasing to an alarming extent, created the most serious apprehensions in the minds of the medical men, as to its further progress, at that unhealthy season, and which fatal experience has since shown to have been too well founded.—Your majesty will not be surprised if, under these circumstances, I paused in requiring the admiral to put the army on shore. That a landing might have been made, and that any force which had been opposed to us in the field would have yielded to the superior valour of British troops, I have no doubt: but then, any such success could have been of no avail towards the attainment of the ultimate object; and there was still less chance that the enemy would have given us the opportunity. Secure in his fortress, he

he had a surer game to play; for if ever the army, divided as it must necessarily have been in order to occupy both banks of the river, exposed to the effects of inundation on every side, and with all its communications liable to be cut off, while the force of the enemy was daily and hourly increasing, had once sat down before Antwerp, it is unnecessary for me to point out to your majesty how critical must in a short time have been their situation. But when, added to this, sickness to an alarming extent had begun to spread itself among the troops, and the certain and fatal progress of which, at that season, was but too well ascertained, it appeared to me that all further advance could only tend to commit irretrievably the safety of the army which your majesty had confided to me, and which every principle of military duty, as well as the direct tenour of my instructions, alike forbade.

THE NARRATIVE OF SIR RICHARD STRACHAN,

In answer, contains many pointed observations, general charges of inaccuracy, and a refutation of the insinuations both against the gallant admiral and the navy, contained in his lordship's statement. After the first point to which his majesty's attention was called, namely, "that after the army was assembled near Batz, a landing in prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition was not deemed advisable," sir Richard declines making any remark, because the reasons which are said to have rendered it "so clear and evident" were not such as he was competent to appreciate. Upon the second point, Why the army was not sooner assembled at Batz, to recommence further operations, the gallant admiral enters into a long, and, we think, satisfactory explanation. He says that the original determination of landing in Zoutland Bay was laid aside while at Deal, and another plan for landing on Domburgh Beach adopted; but in consequence of a strong westerly wind, the landing there was impossible, and it became necessary to take shelter in the Roompot and Veergat, where the constant succession of gales for many days made it impossible, independently of other obstacles, to recur to the original intention of entering the western mouth of the Scheldt. The disembarkation was ultimately effected. Sir Richard then proceeds: "When, therefore, lord Chatham contends in his statement, that the second point, namely, 'why the army was not *brought up sooner* to the destination from whence all its operations were to commence, is purely a naval consideration,' his position is certainly true in words, but as certainly incorrect in its implied meaning. It is obvious that the army might have marched to Batz in the course of a few days; but it is also obvious that it could not be conveyed on board a fleet of 400 transports, besides frigates, sloops, and flotilla, through a very intricate channel, without some delay. The difficulty of conducting such a fleet at all through the mazes of such a navigation, can only be appreciated by professional men; it was very greatly increased by an adverse wind, blowing for some time with such violence as to render the expedient of warping (the only means of proceeding) totally impracticable: such obstacles to our progress were only to be overcome by great exertions and perseverance, by a considerable, but not, as I trust, an unnecessary expenditure of labour and time."—The gallant admiral

totally denies the assertion that an agreement was entered into for a simultaneous attack by sea and land upon Flushing, for the purpose of avoiding the delay of a regular siege: it was impossible, he says, for such an agreement to have been made; as, under the well-ascertained circumstances of the garrison, it was too desperate an enterprise to be entertained. He thinks, however, that if the plan he had suggested had been adopted, namely, to land the cavalry on South Beveland, and select a limited number of transports—that a delay of only a few days would have resulted from the adverse accident which gave a different course to the direction of our operations. The first part of the flotilla which got through the Slough were applied to the cutting off the communication between Cadsand and Flushing. It was not until the 7th August that the sea blockade of Flushing could be established, owing to the adverse winds; and all the other parts of the naval service were expedited as soon as the various difficulties could be overcome. Sir Richard then concludes: "From this period I considered myself bound implicitly to accede to the wishes of the commander-in-chief. With him alone was there an option between a march of 36 hours and a voyage of indefinite length. I trust that it was owing to no defect of zeal on my part, and I am sure it was owing to no want of exertion on the part of the many excellent naval officers whom I have the honour to command, that the progress of a fleet which it was necessary to warp, or, in less technical language, to haul by human labour, through the windings of a most intricate channel, and often directly in the teeth of the wind, appeared so tardy, that lord Chatham 'saw no movement making to push forward a single vessel to the West Scheldt.' The exertions of the naval officers and men were not rendered less irksome by the persuasion that the labour which, though incessant, often proved unavailing, might have been spared to them at the expense of a short march across the island of South Beveland. To impute to me or to the navy, under the name of delay, the loss of time which was passed by me in constant solicitude, and by the men in unremitting toil, is not what I should have expected from lord Chatham.—It would have been more agreeable to myself to have offered to their lordships a simple journal of the daily transactions of the fleet, as that course would have afforded me that of paying a just tribute of gratitude to the numerous, able, and zealous officers, by whom I was aided in the different branches of the service under my directions, and who may possibly consider themselves as unjustly subject, together with myself, to some imputation from the marked, and perhaps invidious, accuracy with which the particular days of arrival of different divisions are specified in lord Chatham's statement.—But I am convinced that it was not the intention of his lordship, in collecting such a multitude of dates, to attribute any blame to those officers. He has closed his report by pointing me out as the only object of his animadversions. He leaves me to account for the difficulties which prevented the investment of Flushing, as well as to show the obstacles which presented themselves to the early progress of the armament up the West Scheldt.—He was not aware, it seems, that the first point was rendered impossible by the state of the winds; he was not even

aware

aware that the circumstances of his being blown into the East Scheldt had impeded his early progress up the West Scheldt. Concerning lord Chatham's opinions, I have now ceased to be solicitous; but I am and ever shall be sincerely anxious that your lordships should not see cause to regret the confidence with which you have been pleased to honour me upon this occasion."

PROCLAMATION FROM THE SUPERIOR JUNTA.

The superior junta at Castile has addressed the following to the soldiers of the enemy; it has been circulated in the French language.

"FRENCHMEN,—How long will you suffer a foreign tyrant to abuse your docility and patience? How long will you expose yourselves, shed your blood to ensure still more slavery, and satisfy the voracious and criminal ambition of an adventurer? It is time that you should undeceive yourselves, and recover from an error fatal to yourselves and to all Europe.

"At the time when you fought for your liberty, your friends, your allies, your enemies themselves applauded your triumphs; your cause was just, and every where you had admirers; but now—what cause is it that you defend? That of the most tyrannical despotism, and the most perfidious usurpation. Against whom do you make war? Against a nation which has long been your ally, and which has made for France the most generous sacrifices. What do you propose? or rather, what does the monster who rules over you propose? The debasement, the enslaving of this nation. And what advantages do you expect from so unjust, so wild a project? Turn your eyes towards your country, enter into the bosoms of your families, hear the lamentations of your mothers, your wives, your brothers, and your sons! Look on those desolate widows, those deserted orphans, those afflicted mothers, and aged fathers, from whom despotism has torn the only support of their decrepitude: every where you will meet with mourning, misery, and despair. Yes, we repeat it, recover from your error, suffer not yourselves to be blinded by a vain glory, only useful to the tyrant who oppresses you. Be convinced, that every victory, every conquest, is a link which adds to the chain in which you are bound by Napoleon. Remember you are Frenchmen; and cease to obey an adventurer, a Corsican. Abandon the standard of your oppressor, and enlist under the banners of liberty. Come over to us; the Spaniards are not your enemies, they are only the enemies of the usurper of a crown disgraced by his brow. They make no war against the French; they only make war against the Corsican and his slaves. Come then, and from us you shall receive the most generous hospitality; every one of you shall receive 100 livres Tournois, besides the value of his arms and horses. Our allies shall give you every kind of succour, and convey you in their vessels wherever you may wish to go."

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS' STATEMENT RELATING TO THE CAPTURE OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

"On the morning of Friday, immediately after receiving the warrant from the speaker, I went to sir F. Burdett's house; I was told by the servants that sir Francis was not at home; I then went to my own house, and wrote to sir Francis, to tell him that I had called on him,

to serve a warrant for his apprehension and conveyance to the Tower; and stated that it was my wish to treat him with all delicacy, and execute my duty as quietly as possible. A little before four, I came to the house of commons, and while there, was told that sir Francis had been seen going to his own house. I then went to sir Francis, and had an interview with him; he said he should be ready next day at 11 o'clock, and that he would write a letter to the speaker. I thought it would be sufficient to execute my warrant next morning, having been directed, at the time of my receiving it, to execute it with every attention and delicacy to the person arrested. I had conceived this only a proper respect for a member of this house; and had I wished, even at that moment, to put the caption in force, I could not have done so, as a large mob was assembled before the door. I then returned to the speaker, who advised me to go back, and get my warrant executed immediately. I went to sir Francis's house, told him I regretted I must appoint an earlier hour than that which he had chosen, and showed him the warrant to take him into custody, which he read. Sir Francis then said, that he disputed the legality of the warrant; that he had written to the speaker upon it, and that nothing should remove him but actual force. I then bid the deputy-sergeant withdraw, and went to the secretary of state's office for a force to convey the prisoner. On my leaving the house, I found a large mob waiting round the door. Considering the lateness of the hour, (it was then nine o'clock,) and also that, as no notice had been given to the lord mayor, I should be left, on my arrival in the city, without civil or military assistance, and as it would have been impossible to proceed with the unguarded coach through the streets in such a state of the public mind, I put off the execution of the warrant till half past six o'clock next morning, and in the mean time went to the secretary of state's office for force, and sent Mr. Clementson to the lord mayor. About half past six next morning, I went to sir Francis's house, and sent two messengers to the police office for assistance. At sir Francis's house, the servants told me that he was not at home. I then went to the country in search of him, leaving a messenger in his hall, in case he should return. On going to Wimbledon, I was told that sir Francis was not there. On coming back, I left the warrant with the messenger in the hall, and went to my own house, where I stayed a short time. I was told that sir Francis had been seen in the streets, and I immediately went to his house. On my knocking at the door, the servant opened it but a little way, the chain being on. On asking for sir F. Burdett, the servant said I should not get in, and shut the door on me. On Sunday morning I went with some police officers, and knocked at the door several times, but could not get in. Mr. Clementson and I remained near the house all day, and placed people to watch the avenues by which sir Francis might pass. I should mention, that on Saturday, from my having conceived doubts how far I might be justified in using force in the execution of the warrant, I sent it to his majesty's attorney-general, and upon his opinion I acted this morning. This morning, in consequence of the directions which I had received, I went with 30 or 40 police officers to sir F. Burdett's house. I had also an escort of cavalry to guard him to the Tower. Thinking myself justified

justified in using force, I went down with the officers into the area, and from that got into the hall, where I let in the guard, and then went into the room where sir Francis was. I told him that it was extremely painful to me to be obliged to arrest him in that way; but that I had such a force with me, as it would be useless to attempt resisting. He desired to see my authority. I told him I had already shown him my warrant, and begged of him to come without resistance. He went into the carriage, attended by his brother, Mr. Clementson, and a messenger. I rode along with the carriage, and delivered him up to the deputy lieutenant of the Tower. If any circumstance in the conduct of this transaction should have excited any displeasure in this honourable house, I trust they will be convinced that no wish for delay could have been imputed to me: it had cost me much uneasiness that I could not execute my duty before; but the house will have the goodness to consider the novelty of the situation in which I was placed, and the delicacy and mildness with which a duty like mine ought to be performed."

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

It appears to your committee, after referring to the order of the house of the 5th day of April last, for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower; the warrants of the speaker for that purpose; the letter of sir Francis Burdett to the speaker, dated the 17th day of April last; the report and examination of the sergeant-at-arms, touching his proceedings in the execution of such warrants; the notices of the speaker referred to your committee; the demand made upon the sergeant-at-arms of a copy of the warrant under which he arrested sir Francis Burdett; the writ served upon the sergeant, and the summons served upon the speaker, and the notice of declaration filed against the sergeant; which said notices, demand, writ, and summons, are all at the suit or on behalf of the said sir Francis Burdett, and all bear the name of the same solicitor, John Ellis:—That the said proceedings have been brought against the speaker and the sergeant on account of what was done by them respectively in obedience to the order of the house; and for the purpose of bringing into question, before a court of law, the legality of the proceedings of the house in ordering the commitment of sir Francis Burdett, and of the conduct of the speaker and the sergeant, in obedience to that order.

1. Your committee, not in consequence of any doubt upon the question so intended to be raised, but for the purpose of collecting into one view such precedents of the proceedings of the house, upon cases of breach of privilege, as might afford light upon this important subject, have in the first place examined the journals, with relation to the practice of the house in commitment of persons, whether members or others, for breaches of privilege, by offensive words or writings derogatory to the honour and character of the house, or of any of its members; and they have found numerous instances, in the history of parliament, so far as the journals extend, of the frequent, uniform, and uninterrupted practice of the house of commons to commit to different custodies, persons

sons whom they have adjudged guilty of a breach of their privileges by so offending.

The statement of these precedents, which establish the law of parliament upon this point by the usage of parliament; the utility of such law; and the necessity which exists for its continuance, in order to maintain the dignity and independence of the house of commons; its analogy to the acknowledged powers of courts of justice, and the recognition of such right in various instances, by legal authorities, by judicial decisions, and by the other branch of the legislature; as well as the invariable assertion and maintenance of it by the house of commons, are topics which may be reserved for a further report. And although there are some instances in which the house has thought fit to direct prosecutions for such offences, yet the committee confidently state, that the more frequent practice of the house, at all times, has been to vindicate its own privileges by its own authority.

2. The subject which appears to your committee to press most urgently for an immediate report, is the state of the law and the practice of the house in cases either of criminal prosecution or civil action against any of its members, for any thing spoken or done in the house of commons; or for any proceeding against any of its officers, or any other persons acting under its authority.

The principal instances to be found under this head arose out of those proceedings which, in the time of Charles the First, Charles the Second, and James the Second, were instituted by the officers of the crown, in derogation of the rights and privileges of the commons of England. Those proceedings were resisted and resented by the house of commons; were condemned by the whole legislature, as utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm; and led directly to the declaration of the bill of rights, "That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament;" and your committee have no hesitation in stating, that this article in the bill of rights extends as clearly to actions of indictments brought, or prosecutions by individuals, as to informations or other proceedings directly instituted by the authority of the crown.

The law of parliament on this subject, so far as relates to words spoken in parliament, was legislatively declared in a statute to be found in the parliament roll of the 4th of Henry VIII. By that act, the rights and privileges of free speech in parliament are established, and a special action is given in favour of the party injured by any action brought against him for words spoken in parliament. And from this statute it appears that parliament, at that time, when the case occurred, which seemed to show the expediency of legislative provision to give fuller force and protection to its privileges, made it the subject of such provisions.

In the 5th of Charles I. an information was filed against sir J. Elliot, Denzel Holles, esq. and Benjamin Valentine, for their speeches and conduct in the house of commons; judgement was given against them in the King's Bench; they were sentenced to imprisonment, and were fined. In the parliament which met in 1640, the house of commons, after a report made of the state of the cases of Mr.

Mr. Holles, and the rest of the imprisoned members, in the 3d of Charles, came to several resolutions, by which they resolved, that these proceedings were against the law and privilege of parliament; and condemned the authors and actors in them as persons guilty of a breach of the privilege of parliament.

In the reign of Charles II. these proceedings were again taken into consideration, and the house of commons came to several resolutions. On the 12th of November, 1667, they resolved, That the act of parliament in the 4th year of the reign of Henry VIII. above referred to, is a declaratory law of the ancient and necessary rights and privileges of parliament. On the 23d of November, 1667, they resolved, That the judgment above referred to against sir J. Elliot, D. Holles, and B. Valentine, esqrs. in the King's Bench, was an illegal judgement, and on the 7th of December, 1667, they desired the concurrence of the lords. The lords, on the 12th of December, agreed with the commons in these votes.

Your committee next refer to the case of sir William Williams; the detail of which they proceed to insert from the report of a former committee of this house.

"The case of sir William Williams, against whom, after the dissolution of the parliament held at Oxford, an information was brought by the attorney-general, in the King's Bench, in Trin. term, 36 Car. II. for a misdemeanour, for having printed the information against Thomas Dangerfield, which he had ordered to be printed when he was speaker, by order of the house. Judgement passed against him on this information, in the second year of king James the Second. This proceeding the convention parliament deemed so great a grievance, and so high an infringement of the rights of parliament, that it appears to your committee to be the principal if not the sole object of the first part of the eighth head of the means used by king James to subvert the laws and liberties of this kingdom, as set forth in the declaration of the two houses; which will appear evident from the account given in the journal, 8th February, 1688, of the forming of that declaration, the eighth head of which was at first conceived in these words: *videlicet*, 'By causing informations to be brought and prosecuted in the court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament, and by divers other illegal and arbitrary courses.'"

11th February, 1688.—"To this article the lords disagreed; and gave for a reason, because they do not fully apprehend what is meant by it, nor what instances there have been of it; which therefore they desire may be explained, if the house should think fit to insist further on it."

12th February, 1688.—"The house disagree with the lords in their amendment of leaving out the 8th article. But in respect to the liberty given by the lords in explaining that matter, Resolved, 'That the words do stand in this manner; By prosecutions in the court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.' By which amendment, your committee observes, that the house adapted the article more correctly to the case they had in view; for the information was filed in king Charles the Second's time; but the prosecution

cution was carried on, and judgement obtained, in the second year of king James."

"That the meaning of the house should be made more evident to the lords, the house ordered, 'That sir William Williams be added to the managers of the conference;' and sir William Williams the same day reports the conference with the lords; and, 'That their lordships had adopted the article in the words as amended by the commons.' And corresponding to this article of grievance is the assertion of the right of the subject, in the ninth article of the declaratory part of the bill of rights; viz. That the freedom of debates or proceedings in parliament might not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament."

"To which may be added, the latter part of the sixth resolution of the exceptions to be made in the bill of indemnity, Journal, vol. x. page 146, wherein, after reciting the surrender of charters, and the violating the rights and freedoms of elections, &c. it proceeds in these words: 'And the questioning the proceedings of parliament, out of parliament, by declarations, informations, or otherwise, are crimes for which some persons may be justly excepted out of the bill of indemnity.'"

On the 11th of June, 1689, the house ordered, "That the records of the court of King's Bench, relating to the proceedings against William Williams, esq. now sir William Williams, knt. and bart. late speaker of this house, be brought into this house, by the custos brevium of the said court, on Thursday morning next."

On the 12th of July "The record was read; and the house thereupon resolved, That the judgement given in the court of King's Bench, in Easter term 2 Jac. 2di, against William Williams, esq. speaker of the house of commons in the parliament held at Westminster 25th October, 32 Car. 2di, for matter done by order of the house of commons, and as speaker thereof, is an illegal judgement, and against the freedom of parliament.

"Resolved, That a bill be brought in to reverse the said judgement."

"This bill was twice read, but went no further in that session." A similar bill was in the following session ordered to be brought in; and a third bill passed the commons in 1695, and was sent up to the house of lords, but did not proceed there to a second reading.

It appears further, that on the 4th of June, 1689, "A petition of John Topham, esq. was read, setting forth, that he, being a sergeant-at-arms, and attending the house in the years 1679 and 1680, when several orders were made, and directed to the petitioner, for the taking into his custody the several persons of sir Charles Neale, &c. and others, for several misdemeanours by them committed, in breach of the privilege of the house; and after that the commons were dissolved, the said persons being resolved to ruin the petitioner, did, in Hilary term, the 33d or 34th of king Charles, sue the petitioner in the King's Bench in several actions of trespass, battery, and false imprisonment, for taking and detaining them as aforesaid: to which actions the petitioner pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court the said several orders; but such his plea was over-ruled; the then judges ruling the petitioner to plead in chief, and thereupon

thereupon he pleaded the orders in bar to the actions; notwithstanding which plea and orders, the then judges gave judgement against him, &c."

"Upon the report from the committee of privileges and elections, to whom this petition of J. Topham was referred, the house resolved, That this house doth agree with the committee, that the judgement given by the court of King's Bench, Easter term, 34 Car. II. regis, upon the plea of John Topham, at the suit of John Jay, to the jurisdiction of that court; and also the judgements given against the said Mr. Topham, at the suit of Samuel Verdun, &c. are illegal, and a violation of the privileges of parliament, and pernicious to the rights of parliament." Whereupon it was ordered, "That sir Francis Pemberton, sir Thomas Jones, and sir Francis Wythens do attend this house on Wednesday morning next."

"In consequence of this order, sir Francis Pemberton and sir Thomas Jones, who had been two of the judges of the court of King's Bench at the time when the judgement was passed, were heard in their defence; and afterwards committed to the sergeant-at-arms, for their breach of the privileges of this house, by giving judgement to overrule the plea to the jurisdiction of the court of King's Bench."

Your committee think it proper to state, That sir Francis Pemberton and sir Thomas Jones, in defending themselves at the bar of this house for their conduct in overruling the plea to their jurisdiction in the actions of Jay *v.* Topham, &c. defended the judgement they had given, by resting upon the nature of the pleading, and not by denying the jurisdiction or authority of this house; and sir Francis Pemberton expressly admitted, that, for any thing transacted in this house, no other court had any jurisdiction to hear and determine it.

Your committee in the next place think it expedient to state to the house, that there are various instances in which persons committed by the house of commons have been brought up by habeas corpus before the judges and courts of common law; and in these cases, upon its appearing by the return to the habeas corpus, that they were committed under the speaker's warrant, they have been invariably remanded.

3. Having stated these instances of the manner in which the acts and commitments of this house have been brought into judgement in other courts, and the consequences of such proceedings, your committee further think it proper, and in some degree connected with this subject, to advert to the course which was adopted for staying proceedings in suits brought against members and their servants, while they were protected from such suits during the sitting of parliament.

The roll of parliament, 8 Edward II. affords the earliest trace which your committee has found upon this subject. It is a writ from the king, confirmatory of the privilege of being free from suits in time of parliament, and is in the following words:

"Rex mandavit justiciariis suis ad assisas, jurat. &c. capiend' assignat: quod supersedeant captioni eorundem ubi comites barones et alii summonati ad parl. regis sunt partes quamdiu dictum parliamentum duraverit."

There have been various modes of proceeding to enforce this privilege. In Dewes's Journal, p. 436, 31 Eliz. 1588—1589, Friday, 21st of February, your committee find the

the following entry:—"Upon a motion made by Mr. Harris, that divers members of this house having writs of nisi prius brought against them, to be tried at the assizes in sundry places of this realm, to be holden and kept in the circuits of this present vacation, and that writs of supersedeas might be awarded in those cases in respect of the privilege of this house due and appertaining to the members of the same; it is agreed, that those of this house which shall have occasion to require such benefit of privilege in that behalf, may repair unto Mr. Speaker, to declare unto him the state of their cases, and that he, upon his discretion (if the cases shall so require), may direct the warrant of this house to the lord chancellor of England, for the awarding of such writs of supersedeas accordingly."

But the house used to stay also proceedings by its own authority; sometimes sending the sergeant-at-arms to deliver the person arrested out of custody; and sometimes by letter from the speaker to the judges before whom the cause was to be tried. Of this latter mode of proceeding, your committee find many instances previous to the 3d of Charles I. Your committee find a decision against the authority of such a letter, in the court of King's Bench, which is reported in the margin of Dyer's Reports, p. 60, and in Latch, pp. 48 and 150. And shortly after the refusal by the court of King's Bench to notice this letter from the speaker, the parliament was dissolved. There are, however, many other instances of this course of proceeding after the Restoration; and in the instance of lord Newburgh (23d February, 1669) the house ordered the proceedings to outlawry to be staid during the sessions, and the record of the exigents to be vacated and taken off the file.

The last instance which your committee find of such letters having been written, occurs in the lord Bulkeley's case in 1691, in which the speaker is directed to write a letter to the prothonotary that he do not make out, and to the sheriff of the county of Pembroke that he do not execute, any writ, whereby the lord Bulkeley's possessions may be disturbed, until Mr. Speaker shall have examined and reported the matter to the house, and this house take further order thereon. By 12 and 13 W. III. c. 3, this privilege was curtailed; and further by stat. 2 and 3 Ann, c. 18,—11 Geo. II. c. 24,—10 Geo. III. c. 50.

Lord chief justice De Grey says, in Crosby's case, "If a member was arrested before the 12 and 13 W. III. the method in Westminster Hall was to discharge him by writ of privilege, under the great seal, which was in the nature of a supersedeas to the proceeding. The statute of William has now altered this, and there is no necessity to plead the privileges of a member of parliament."—All these acts merely apply to proceedings against members in respect of their debts and actions as individuals, and not in respect of their conduct as members of parliament; and therefore they do not in any way abridge the ancient law and privilege of parliament, so far as they respect the freedom and conduct of members of parliament as such, or the protection which the house may give to persons acting under its authority.

4. Upon the whole, it appears to your committee, that the bringing these actions against the speaker and the sergeant, for acts done in obedience to the orders of this house,

house, is a breach of the privilege of this house.

And it appears, that in the several instances of actions commenced in breach of the privileges of this house, the house has proceeded by commitment, not only against the party, but against the solicitor and other persons concerned in bringing such actions; but your committee think it right to observe, that the commitment of such party, solicitor, or other persons, would not necessarily stop the proceedings in such action.

That as the particular ground of action does not necessarily appear upon the writ or upon the declaration, the court, before which such action is brought, cannot stay the suit, or give judgement against the plaintiff, till it is informed, by due course of legal proceeding, that such action is brought for a thing done by order of the house.

And it therefore appears to your committee, That even though the house should think fit to commit the solicitor or other person concerned in commencing these actions, yet it will still be expedient that the house should give leave to the speaker and the sergeant to appear to the actions, and to plead to the same; for the purpose of bringing under the knowledge of the court the authority under which they acted: and if the house should agree with that opinion, your committee submits to the house, whether it would not be proper that directions should be given by this house for defending the speaker and the sergeant against the said actions.

MIDDLESEX PETITION.

To the honourable the commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled.

"The petition of the freeholders of Middlesex, agreed to in full county, this 26th day of April, 1810,

"Showeth, That we have observed with concern that in the cases of Mr. John Gale Jones and sir Francis Burdett, bart. your house assumed and exercised a power unknown to the law and unwarranted by the constitution.

"Your speaker's warrant has been executed by military force—an Englishman's house, his sanctuary, has been violated, and the blood of unoffending citizens has been shed in the streets.

"Against the existence as well as the exercise of this power, we solemnly protest—a protest the more necessary because your votes in its support are entered on your journals—not so the letter of sir Francis Burdett to your speaker, denying you such jurisdiction.

"In the earlier part of this reign, in the case of Mr. Wilkes, the rights of this county and of the nation were repeatedly and grossly violated by the house of commons. At length the law triumphed. After a struggle of nearly twenty years the house abandoned the pretensions they had arrogated, and 'expunged' from their journals 'all their declarations, orders, and resolutions, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in this kingdom.'

"You have during your pleasure deprived the citizens of Westminster of their share in the representation, and the public at large of the exertions of a faithful servant, in whose ability, firmness, and integrity, they preeminently confide.

"We view with jealousy and suspicion the shutting up sir Francis Burdett in prison, when the attention of the nation is directed with anxiety

anxiety to his intended motion for a reform in the representation of the people in your honourable house—that house in which the traffic in seats has been avowed in the case of Mr. Perceval and lord Castlereagh, 'to be as notorious as the sun at noon-day;' a practice 'at the mention of which,' in the emphatic language of your speaker, 'our ancestors would have startled with indignation.'

"We therefore pray you to follow the example of your predecessors, to 'expunge all your declarations, orders, and resolutions on the subject, as tending to the subversion of our liberties,' and to the introduction of a military despotism, and to recal sir Francis Burdett to the service of the country in parliament, that he may there enforce that plan of reform which last session he so powerfully recommended, and which, in our opinion, is absolutely necessary for the stability and honour of the throne, and the safety and well-being of the people. Signed in the name and in behalf of this meeting, by

"&c. &c. &c."

SMITH, MAYOR.

In a meeting* or assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen, of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Monday the 21st day of May, 1810,

1. Resolved, That the rejection by the house of commons of our late humble address, petition, and remonstrance, appears to us a violation of our constitutional and indisputable right to state our complaints and grievances, and to call for relief and redress.

2. Resolved, That such rejection is an additional proof of the shameful inadequacy of the representation of the people in the commons house of parliament; and more forcibly demonstrates the necessity of a speedy and substantial reform in that honourable house.

3. Resolved, That we have viewed with mixed sentiments of indignation, concern, and pity, the address of certain persons, styling themselves "An adjourned meeting of liverymen, held at the London Tavern, the 4th day of May," inasmuch as the statements contained in that address, imputing to the great body of their fellow-citizens, in common hall legally assembled, motives and designs to "vilify and degrade the legislature," to "alienate the affections of the people from the government," to "produce contempt and distrust of the house of commons," to "introduce anarchy," and to "subvert the constitution," are false assertions, originating with individuals who derive influence and emolument from the heavy burthen of the people.

4. Resolved—That amongst the names of those affixed to that address, appear the signatures of contractors, commissioners and collectors of taxes, of placemen and place-hunters; with a long list of their agents, and clerks of their dependants. Emissaries of minions.

5. Resolved—That it is undeniable that power, influence, threats, and delusions have been employed, to prevail upon many to concur in the said address.

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* See Principal Occurrences, p. 66.

6. Resolved

6. Resolved—That whilst we disclaim any imputation against the motives of several who, by gross misrepresentations, by arts of the basest kind, or by downright intimidation, have been compelled to lend their signatures to the said address, it is to us a source of high consolation that the address carries within it its own refutation, consisting only of allegations unsubstantiated, and of calumnies, which those who have propagated them must know to be groundless.

7. Resolved, That the said address appears to have for its real object the excitement of civil dissention, the increase of public abuses, and the further and fuller participation in the wages of corruption, by many of those who have signed it, and who, taking advantage of the present unhappy contest between arbitrary privilege and constitutional freedom, have endeavoured to confuse and distract the public mind, for the support and continuance in place of a corrupt, weak, and wicked administration.

8. Resolved unanimously—That in the years 1679 and 1680, under the infamous government of Charles the Second, the city of London, and other parts of the country, petitioned the king for the redress of grievances and the sitting of parliament.

That various counter-petitions were presented to his majesty, expressive of their abhorrence of the said petitioning, as tumultuous and seditious, and encroaching on the royal prerogative.

That on the 21st of October, 1680, the parliament met, and its first acts were to expel abhorrers, and to pass a vote, "That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling of parliaments, and redressing grievances; that to traduce such petitioning, as a violation of duty, and to represent it to his majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the liberty of the subject, and contribute to the design of subverting the ancient legal constitution of the kingdom;" and they appointed a committee "to inquire after all those who had offended against those rights, and accordingly expelled several of its members, and petitioned his majesty to remove others from places of trust."

That on the 29th of October, 1680, the commons voted—"That sir F. Withers, by promoting and presenting to his majesty an address, expressing an abhorrence to petition his majesty for the calling and sitting of parliaments, hath betrayed the undoubted rights of the subjects of England; and that the said sir F. Withers be expelled the house for this high crime."

That for the exercise of the undoubted right of petitioning, the city charters were seized by a *quo warranto*, and it was argued for the city by sir George Treby, their recorder—"That the constitution and the law of the land had given to the subject the right of petitioning, and of access to the supreme governor, to represent to him their grievances, and to pray a redress of them; and that the same law gave them also a right to state in their petitions those facts and reasons which caused their grievances, provided those facts were true." And further, "That as there was one part of the constitution which gave the king power to prorogue, so there was another part of the constitution that gave the subject an original right to petition for redress of grievances; and that therefore to punish a man for showing in his

petition those grievances which he desires to be redressed, and the cause of them, was the same thing as to deny him the right of petitioning; and that such denial would infer oppression and the most abject slavery; for, when subjects are misused and grieved, and are denied the liberty to complain and pray the king to redress those grievances, or shall be punished for petitioning against them, they must necessarily be abject slaves."

9. Resolved, That the arguments having been over-ruled by venal judges, judgement was obtained against the city; the abhorrers for a time triumphed; the liberties of the people, with the right of petitioning, were subverted; and the succeeding monarch, in consequence thereof, driven from his throne and dominions.

At the revolution of 1688, in the bill of rights, "the undoubted right of the subject to petition" was, among other things, "claimed, demanded, and insisted upon."

This right has been of late invaded; the people, oppressed with unprecedented grievances and calamities, have been denied access to the sovereign, their petitions have been rejected by the house of commons, and their grievances remain unheard and unredressed.

The exploded doctrine of passive obedience has been revived in all its extravagance, a new race of abhorrers have sprung up, who, like the abhorrers in the days of Charles the Second, by the foulest calumnies, by vilifying and traducing the petitions of the people, are (in the emphatic language of the then house of commons) "betraying the liberties of the subject, and contributing to the design of subverting the ancient legal constitution of the kingdom." That as the corrupt participators in public abuse under the mask of loyalty subverted the liberties of the kingdom, and involved James the Second in ruin, so the corrupt and unprincipled of the present day, under the same legal pretence, would involve the country and sovereign in similar difficulties, if suffered to persist. It therefore becomes the imperious duty of every real friend to the country to resist their mischievous designs, by recurring to the genuine principles of the constitution, and by using every legal means for obtaining a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament.

10. Resolved, That inseparably attached to our glorious constitution, we admire, venerate, and will support and defend our king, our lords, and our commons, in their respective and collective capacities, with all their just prerogatives, rights, and privileges; but we can never consent to grant separately to king, lords, or commons, a power contrary to and above the laws of the land, which are and must continue to be the results of their collective wisdom and authority.

11. Resolved, That notwithstanding the rejection of our late petition, we still feel it our duty to give to the house of commons every opportunity of hearing and redressing the grievances of the people, and that an humble address, petition, and remonstrance, be presented to that honourable house.

12. Resolved, That the said petition be fairly transcribed, and signed by the lord mayor, the aldermen, and ten liverymen, and presented to the house of commons by H. C. Combe, esq. one of their representatives.

13. Resolved, That the thanks of this common hall be given to the right

right hon. lord Erskine, sir Samuel Romilly, knt. M. P. and Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. for their able, constitutional, and independent conduct on all occasions, particularly for the stand they have lately made in favour of the dominion of the law against arbitrary discretion and undefined privilege.

14. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to Harvey Christian Combe, esq. alderman, and one of the representatives of this city in parliament, for his support in the house of commons of the right of the livery to petition the house, and for his general conduct in the house.

15. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to the right honourable the lord mayor, for his readiness in calling this hall, and for his independent and honourable conduct in discharging the duties of his office.

16. Resolved, That the thanks of this hall be given to Matthew Wood, esq. one of the sheriffs of this city, for the independent manner in which he has always discharged the duties of his office.

WOODTHORPE.

A common council, holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Wednesday, the 6th day of June, 1810.

Resolved, That an humble petition be presented from the court to the honourable the house of commons, representing, that, in approaching that honourable house to lay before them the numerous grievances under which we labour, we acknowledge their undoubted right to exercise all fair, just, and constitutional privileges originally intended, and wisely continued, for maintaining the dignity, independence, and security, of their deliberations and proceedings.

That while we feel it our duty to support and uphold that honourable house, at all times and under all circumstances, in the possession of these privileges, we cannot but lament, that the late exercise of their power, in the arrest and imprisonment of two of our fellow-subjects, should have produced consequences most afflicting and deplorable in their nature.

That without entering into the merits of a question which is shortly to undergo legal decision, we cannot forbear expressing our concern and sorrow, that at a time when the whole nation was anxiously looking to an inquiry of the most important kind, the people should have been debarred from the said inquiry by the enforcement of one of their standing orders; a measure calculated to distract the public attention from the gross misconduct of his majesty's ministers, and tending to screen from condign punishment the criminal authors of unexampled disgraces and calamities.

That we have seen with astonishment and indignation, the person who enforced the standing order rewarded with a lucrative sinecure, and notwithstanding the decided and degrading rejection of the tender made by him, once more to represent his constituents in parliament, afterwards raised to one of the highest offices under the crown.

That, under these extraordinary and almost incredible circumstances of trust improvidently bestowed, and of emolument and honour lavishly conferred, alike insulting to the nation at large, and destructive of all mutual confidence, we have beheld, with regret and astonish-

ment, the silence and seeming indifference, both of the hereditary counsellors of the crown, and of the representatives of the people.

That we earnestly entreat the attention of that honourable house to the great and imminent dangers in which we conceive the country is involved, to the manifold injuries and abuses we consider it to be sustaining from those who preside over its councils, and to the means we humbly presume to think are best adapted to produce a better and happier state of things.

That during a warfare of unparalleled misery, expenditure, and destruction, we have submitted to unprecedented burthens and privations.

That these burthens have been greatly aggravated by unequal taxation, capricious assessments, vexatious surcharges, and arbitrary inquisitions into our private concerns.

That during the severe pressure of an enormously increased and increasing weight of taxation, abuses, frauds, corruptions, and peculations, no less enormous, have been found to exist.

That these burthens have been further increased by a profusion of useless places and pensions.

That by such shameful frauds, waste, and profligacy, our burthens have been augmented, our sufferings aggravated, and our feelings outraged.

That, although there has appeared no deficiency of means to levy and enforce the payment of taxes, we have to complain that no adequate means have yet been devised to prevent the misapplication of them, nor any law nor tribunal found sufficient to correct abuse, or bring great public delinquents to justice.

That these enormous abuses are not only felt as intolerable grievances, materially impairing the property of the people, but by means of the most monstrous and pernicious influence they create, are subversive of the vital principles of the constitution.

That their natural operation is to render the legislature subservient to the executive power,—a juncture in which it has been predicted by the ablest politicians that the constitution would inevitably perish.

That duly impressed with the magnitude of our external dangers, we are nevertheless of opinion that these internal abuses, corruptions, and violations of law, as they are the more insidious, are also the more fearful and alarming.

That we concur in a declaration recorded upon the journals of the house of lords, in a protest signed by the late duke of Portland and thirty-one more peers, "that from the history of this, as well as other countries, times of necessity have always been times of reform."

That we cannot but express our concurrence with another part of the said protest—"because, however the waste of public money, and the profusion of useless salaries, may have been hitherto overlooked in days of wealth and prosperity, the necessities of the present times can no longer endure the same system of corruption and prodigality.

That without recurring to those facts and circumstances, universally known and admitted, by which it appears that a majority of members are returned through the influence of government, of peers, and other individuals speculating in the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects, the evils already stated afford sufficient

cient evidence of the pernicious influence existing, and the want of a real and efficient representation.

That it is equally notorious, that a very considerable number of the members of that honourable house hold lucrative places, appointments, and sinecures under the crown; almost invariably supporting the existing administration, or evading inquiry for the correction and reform of abuses.

That the influence which such appointments must create, is not confined to those who possess, but extends to others desirous of obtaining them, and who, we are well assured, seek seats in that honourable house, at considerable expense, for that purpose only.

That, however notorious these facts have been, never before has corruption, in the return of members, and the sale of seats, been publicly avowed in that honourable house by members of the government and others.

That it has appeared that lord Castlereagh, a member of the house of commons, and a minister of the crown, was guilty of a high breach of the constitution, by trafficking for a seat in parliament in exchange for a writership; and that, although he himself admitted the fact, no punishment, nor even censure, was inflicted upon him, but that on the contrary he was, in defiance of all decency, and in contempt of public opinion, suffered to retain his official situation.

That while the said lord Castlereagh, and the right hon. Spencer Perceval, another member of that honourable house, and also a minister of the crown, were charged with another high breach of the constitution—the first in the disposal of a seat, and the second in conniving thereat—a motion for inquiry into the same was rejected, upon the declared ground of the frequency of such practices.

That contrary to every principle of justice, the very ground of aggravation was thereby made an exculpation of the crime. That it is our decided conviction that nothing short of a reform in the representation of the people in parliament can correct these inveterate abuses, and repair the breaches in the constitution.

That had the people been fairly represented, there would have been no ruinous wars for the preservation of a German electorate—no subsidies levied upon the labour and industry of the nation, to be squandered in fruitless continental attachments—no army of foreign mercenaries in the very heart of the land—no wretchedly contrived campaigns for the relief and emancipation of the great and gallant people of Spain, rendered still more painful by the extraordinary valour of British soldiers, and the miserable policy of British statesmen—no prodigal waste of blood and treasure in the preposterous and ill-fated expedition to Walcheren and the Scheldt—no escape of public peculators and robbers from merited punishment—no men advanced to high places of honour and emolument who had been deemed unworthy of the confidence of their constituents—no tax upon income, in which the means of acquiring the nature and variation of property are levelled, confounded, and swallowed up.

We therefore pray that honourable house to take all these matters into their serious consideration, and to devise such means as by the destruction of corrupt, depopulated,

and nominal boroughs, the extension of the elective franchise, the exclusion of placemen and pensioners, and the abridged duration of parliaments, will secure to the people their full share of the rights, liberties, and blessings, which the constitution undeniably meant they should enjoy.

WOODTHORPE.

AMERICA.

An act concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That from and after the passing of this act, no British or French armed vessel shall be permitted to enter the harbours or waters under the jurisdiction of the United States; but every British and French armed vessel is hereby interdicted, except when they shall be forced in by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or when charged with dispatches, or business from their government, or coming as a public packet for the conveyance of letters; in which cases, as well as in all others when they shall be permitted to enter, the commanding officer shall immediately report his vessel to the collector of the district, stating the object or causes of his entering the harbours or waters of the United States, and shall take such position therein as shall be assigned him by such collector, and shall conform himself, his vessel and crew, to such regulations respecting health, repairs, supplies, stay, intercourse, and departure, as shall be signified to him by the said collector, under the authority and direction of the president of the United States, and not conforming thereto shall be required to depart from the United States.

Sect. 2. And be it further enacted, that all pacific intercourse with any interdicted foreign armed vessels, the officers or crew thereof, is hereby forbidden; and if any person shall afford any aid to such armed vessel, either in repairing her or in furnishing her, her officers or crew, with supplies of any kind or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating the said armed vessel contrary to this prohibition, unless for the purpose of carrying her beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, the person or persons so offending shall be liable to be bound to their good behaviour, and shall moreover forfeit and pay the sum of two thousand dollars, to be recovered upon indictment or information in any court of competent jurisdiction; one moiety thereof to the treasury of the United States, and the other moiety to the person who shall give information and prosecute the same to effect: provided that, if the prosecution shall be by a public officer, the whole forfeiture shall accrue to the treasury of the United States.

Sect. 3. And be it further enacted, that all the penalties and forfeitures which may have been incurred under the act entitled "An act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes," last mentioned, and also all the penalties and forfeitures which may have been incurred under the act laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the ports and harbours of the

the United States, or under any of the several acts supplementary thereto, or to enforce the same, or under the acts to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes, shall be recovered and distributed, and may be remitted in the manner provided by the said acts respectively, and in like manner as if the said acts had continued in full force and effect.

Sect. 4. And be it further enacted, that in case either Great Britain or France shall, before the 3d day of March next, so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, which fact the president of the United States shall declare by proclamation, and if the other nation shall not within three months thereafter so revoke or modify her edicts in like manner; then the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eighteenth sections of the act entitled "An act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes," shall from and after the expiration of three months from the date of the proclamation aforesaid, be revived and have full force and effect, so far as relates to the dominions, colonies and dependencies, and to the article the growth, produce or manufacture of the dominions, colonies and dependencies of the nation thus refusing or neglecting to revoke or modify her edicts in the manner aforesaid. And the restriction imposed by this act shall, from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued in relation to the nation revoking or modifying her decrees in the manner aforesaid.

J. B. VARNUM,
Speaker of the house of representatives.
JOHN GAILLARD,
President of the senate (pro tempore).

May 1, 1810. Approved,
JAMES MADISON.

COMMERCE.

The following is a copy of the "General Instructions" recently published in Holland, prohibiting the commercial intercourse with this country:

General instructions.—It being the intention of the emperor to prevent, by every possible means, the introduction into Holland of English merchandize and colonial produce, the generals in command are to establish, at all points of the coast, a system of the most active vigilance. They can easily inform themselves who those of the inhabitants are that are reputed smugglers.

Every person guilty of introducing British merchandize and prohibited goods, or of holding any communication, directly or indirectly, with the English, shall be immediately arrested and tried by a commission to be appointed for this purpose.

All the custom-house officers, belonging to a district under the command of a general or superior officer, shall dispose of them in such manner as he shall think most eligible, from the information he shall obtain as to local circumstances, and the disposition of the inhabitants. In short, the general officers commanding any district, shall concert measures with the commanders of

the Dutch troops stationed in the district, for occupying with a second line of troops the most important points suspected to be used as *entrepôts* for illicit trade.

The goods seized shall be warehoused, and a *procès verbal* shall be made, and the property divided according to the regulations of the custom-house.

It may frequently occur, that vessels may arrive without being boarded as far as Roterdam, Leyden, Dort, and other parts distant from the coast. The custom-house officers stationed in those ports shall attend the unloading of such vessels, and ascertain if there be on board colonial English goods, or articles of the commerce of that country.

When a vessel arrives on the coast, or at the mouth of any river, destined for any port in the interior, officers should be put on board and a guard to accompany the vessel to her destination, who will prevent the landing of any part of the goods which the parties might be desirous to save from examination.

General head quarters at Utrecht, May 13th, 1810.

(Signed) Marshal the duke of Reggio.

THE EPISTLE FROM THE YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS, FAMILIARLY DENOMINATED QUAKERS,

Held in London, by adjournment, from the 23d of the fifth month to the 1st of the sixth month, 1810, inclusive, and addressed to the quarterly and monthly meetings of friends, in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere.

This epistle begins as usual with the words "Dear friends;" and recommends the practice of true religion, with that humility and meekness which are the characteristics of their body, and to keep in view the two great commandments of perpetual obligation—the love of God, and the love of our neighbour. The epistle notices some fallings off of brethren, but does not enumerate them. On the other hand, it states that very many of their beloved young friends of both sexes seem sensible that the Lord's preparing hand is upon them.—That part of the epistle which adverts chiefly to temporal affairs we have given at full; and in doing which we have caused the well-timed and appropriate observations contained therein, on the expensive manner of living, &c. to be printed with an inverted comma.

"The amount of the sufferings reported this year on account of tithes, priests' demands, and those called church-rates, and for military demands, is upwards of 12,678*l.* In our last year's epistle we adverted to the imprisonment of a few young men, under the militia laws; and expressed our apprehensions that more cases of that kind would follow. Our belief of the attachment of many of our youth to their peaceable testimony, induced this apprehension; and it has been verified by the confinement of several more on account of the local militia, and of one for the common militia. Though these temporary sacrifices of liberty demonstrate a disposition which endears them to our hearts; nevertheless, we cannot forget that they are yet but in the beginning of their course of devotedness; and, as is the case in various ways with many others of our precious youth, are now only 'girding on the harness.' In dear

dear youth, you are allowed to receive a peaceful reward for your early submission to duty, gratitude prompts you still to keep your eye to your holy Guide for further manifestations of his will, and for further proofs of his protecting care. And know assuredly, that if your days are prolonged to a period at present remote, and you are preserved in the fear of the Lord, these, and all your morning acts of humble attachment to his cause, will be sweet in your remembrance. We have received at this time epistles from all the North American yearly meetings; in which, besides the general vigilance over the welfare of the society, we find a continuance of attention to the same objects of more general concern, which we mentioned last year; namely, the state of the black people still held as slaves, and the measures employed for civilizing the Indian natives. The epistle from Ireland has been particularly grateful to us, and we have not failed to testify our unity with friends in that nation by a few affectionate words of reply. Living as we do under the same government, and, above all, professing the same holy and uniting principle, we are inclined at this time to commend our friends of the sister nation to the continued cordial remembrance of their brethren on this side the channel.—'Now, dear 'friends, we could mention one sub-'ject which at this time has been 'under our notice—a caution to all, 'to use moderation in their manner 'of living; and in this way to seek 'relief from the increasing expense 'of the times in which we live, rather 'than by engaging in more extensive 'and often hazardous schemes in 'trade.' By these latter means the mind becomes encumbered, and unfitted for religious service, yea often for religious thought, and for breathing daily after the spiritual riches, which are to be enjoyed in close communion with God. And let us beseech you to consider how distant from the state which endeavours to stand resigned to give up all, if required, is that state which indulges itself in ease to the full extent of its power, or is endeavouring, by multiplied adventures in trade, to acquire that power which it covets for the purpose of worldly enjoyment. We believe, however, and we are glad in believing, that there are numbers who act upon sounder principles than these; who knowing, as saith the apostle, that 'the fashion of this world passeth away,' are really desirous of using 'this world as not abusing it.' These we would encourage to hold on in the way cast up before them, trusting in the Lord, who hath declared, that all things necessary will be given to those who seek first his kingdom. Thus trusting, and endeavouring to apply to him in secret supplication, in the difficulties that must in a state of probation be the lot of all, we may humbly hope that, in our several proportions, we shall 'grow in the truth' individually; and that, coming up in our allotments in the church militant, our various meetings will also, whether more or less as to number, experience among them a 'growth in the truth.'"

The epistle concludes with a further exhortation to piety and meekness in both young and old; to check its dreadful opposite, pride; to self-examination, &c.

Signed in and on behalf of the meeting by

JOHN WILKINSON,
Clerk of the meeting this year.

LORD GREY'S MOTION ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.

"That an address be presented to his majesty, earnestly to entreat his majesty's attention to the advice which, impressed with a deep sense of the increasing dangers of the country, his majesty's faithful subjects the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, have felt it to be, their indispensable duty humbly to submit to his majesty's royal consideration.

"To state to his majesty, that we cannot doubt his majesty's readiness to embrace the first opportunity of concluding a peace on just and reasonable terms; but that looking to the nature of the contest in which we are engaged, to the power of France, now unhappily established over the greater part of Europe, and to the spirit and character of the government of that country, we are convinced that this event, so anxiously desired by his majesty's loyal people, will be best promoted by proving to the world, that while his majesty is actuated by the most just and moderate views, we possess the means of permanently supporting the honour and independence of our country against every species of attack by which the enemy may hope to assail them.

"That for this purpose it is indispensably necessary that his majesty's government should henceforth adopt a wise and systematic policy, regulated not only by a just estimate of our present difficulties, but by a prudent foresight of the probable exigencies of a protracted warfare—that we have deeply to lament that the conduct of his majesty's ministers has been, in this respect, directly the reverse of what the interests and the safety of his majesty's dominions required; that they have blindly involved themselves in schemes of continental operations, when they could look to no power capable of affording them an adequate support; and rashly engaged in expeditions so defective in their plan, so impolitic in their objects, and so ill combined as to the time at which they were undertaken, that they could terminate only in an unprofitable waste of the resources and the blood of his majesty's faithful subjects.

"That whilst the war has been thus unfortunately conducted, and our future means of defence thereby materially impaired, the conduct of his majesty's government, with respect to neutral powers, has retarded any amicable arrangement with those whom it was most our interest to conciliate and unite with us in opposition to the measures of France.

"That for the professed purpose of counteracting those measures a system has been adopted, under which no independent power could be expected to acquiesce, and new and visionary projects in legislation have been resorted to, which have brought almost every branch of our trade to depend on the permission, and to be exercised under the control, of the executive government; whilst a considerable portion of that trade has been transferred to a foreign navigation, thereby improvidently supplying the enemy with a new resource for the improvement of his navy.

"That in what more immediately concerns our domestic policy, we have equally to complain of the total want of wisdom and of foresight in the counsels of his majesty.

"That instead of any well considered and permanent system of finance adapted to the exigencies of

of a protracted warfare, the expensive and improvident operations of the last three years have been supplied by temporary and impolitic expedients.

"That our paper circulation, from which the restriction imposed on the bank had removed the only adequate and effectual limitation, has been extended to a degree highly dangerous to the pecuniary interest of the country; that no attempt has been made by wise and equitable arrangements to allay the discontent arising from religious differences amongst his majesty's faithful subjects, more particularly in Ireland; and that under the unexampled pressure of a taxation necessarily burthensome in its amount, and severe in its collection, no measure has been taken to remove the causes of just complaint, either by introducing an effective œconomy in the great branches of the public service, or by the due consideration of such timely reforms as may, in any instance, be found in justice for restoring to our government that practical excellence which the gradual corruptions of time may have obscured or diminished.

"That we should ill discharge our duty to his majesty and to the public, if we were to disguise from him our well-founded apprehensions, that owing to these and other causes, discontent and distrust are beginning to diffuse themselves amongst his majesty's faithful people.

"That we entreat his majesty not to listen to those who would persuade him that such discontent and distrust, in whatever degree they may exist, are solely to be attributed to the evil arts of men hostile to the interests of their country, and seeking to excite the people to an invasion of those institutions on which their freedom and happiness essentially depend. That we are firmly convinced such designs have as yet found no favour in the hearts of his majesty's loyal subjects, and that nothing can afford to those who entertain them any hope of success, but that impolitic and offensive inattention to the real sufferings and just complaints of the people, that determined resistance of every proposed correction of abuses, which in our times we have seen produce such fatal effects in other countries.

"That we humbly pray that his majesty will be pleased to take this our dutiful representation into his immediate and most serious consideration; that he will see the necessity of adopting such measures as may deprive the enemy of all hopes of success from a failure of our national resources; that he will therefore actively concur with his parliament in giving effect to an œconomical and systematic arrangement for the conduct of the war, in providing for a recurrence to the true principles of a free commerce and circulation both at home and abroad; in endeavouring by a wise and liberal policy to unite in the bonds of a common interest all classes of his majesty's subjects, of whatever religious persuasion; and lastly, that he will be graciously pleased to countenance the temperate consideration and deliberate adoption of such timely reformations, both œconomical and political, as may satisfy his loyal people, that the sacrifices required of them are strictly limited and faithfully applied to the real interests and safety of the public; and that both for preventing the growth of any dangerous abuses, and for controlling the misconduct of his majesty's advisers, they continue effectively

to

to possess those securities which have been the boast of the British government, and are essentially inherent in every free constitution.

"That we entreat his majesty to be assured, that in recommending these measures with all the earnestness which a conviction that they are indispensable for the salvation of the country inspires, we never can lose sight of our obligation to support the just prerogatives and useful splendour of the crown, the venerable establishments of our holy religion, and the ancient and essential rights and privileges of parliament.

"In our firm resolution to maintain these, under all circumstances, and with all our authority and power, we are well assured that we shall not fail to receive the active concurrence and support of all ranks of his majesty's faithful people, convinced as they must be, that it is no less their interest than their duty faithfully to adhere to those fundamental principles of our government, which, assigning to its various institutions, rights peculiar to each and necessary for the preservation of all, secure, by their happy combination and harmony, to the executive power sufficient strength; to the legislature its necessary independence; and to the whole community the blessings of a well regulated freedom."

PROTEST AGAINST THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S LOAN BILL.

Dissentient,

Because to us it appears, that before passing this bill into a law, the opinion of the judges on the legality of the East India company's declaring a dividend in the present state of their affairs is highly desirable. For whilst we know, from the accounts on the table of the house, that they have continued to divide annually ten and a half per cent. on their capital stock, we are convinced that the house of commons would not have abandoned the wise and prudent system they had formerly pursued, when in chapter 64 of the 13th of George the Third, they limited the dividend on the company's stock to six per cent. till the sum of fourteen hundred thousand pounds, advanced to relieve them from difficulties similar to those they now experience, was repaid, had they not thought it unnecessary, seeing that, in their opinion, the East India company are, in the present situation of their affairs, by law precluded from assigning to the proprietors any dividend in their capital stock.

Secondly, Because the doubt that must naturally arise on the right of the company to declare a dividend, from the difference of opinion thus disclosed to us by the conduct of the East India company, and by the provisions of the bill sent up by the commons, are greatly increased by the following considerations;

First, The accounts of stock per computation on the table of this house—1st of March, 1806; 1st March, 1807; 1st March, 1808; and 1st March, 1809; far from showing any profit, after the payment of bills of exchange accepted, and of debts, interest, and other out-goings, exhibit in that short space of time a loss to the enormous amount of twelve millions five hundred and seventy-one thousand and twenty-two pounds; whilst by the 111th clause of the 33d of George III. chap. 52, the company have only a right to declare a dividend "out of their profits in Great Britain, after providing for payment

ment of bills of exchange already accepted by the company, as the same shall become due, and for the current payment of other debts, interest, and other out-goings, charges, and expenses."

Secondly, Both the East India company and the legislature seem to have formerly given a most decided opinion on this subject; for when, by the 65th chapter of the 21st of George III. the company were, as at present, precluded from dividing the sum then permitted by law, of eight per cent. on their capital stock, till they had provided for the current payment of interest, out-goings, and other expenses; they, in the year after passing of that act, petitioned to be empowered by law to divide the said sum of eight per cent. per annum, notwithstanding that their net profits fell short of what was necessary to discharge such a dividend by twenty-two thousand and twenty-three pounds; and parliament actually gave such powers in chapter 51 of the 22d George III.

Thirdly, Because, under these circumstances, whatever may be the opinion of the judges concerning the right of the company to declare a dividend, it seems to us imperiously necessary, for the public interest, that the house should be in possession of it. For if the judges should pronounce it to be illegal for the company to declare any dividend in the present situation of their affairs, the authority of such an opinion would prevent a large portion of the sum about to be lent from being illegally transferred into the pockets of the proprietors of India stock; and if, on the contrary, the judges should declare that such a dividend was legal, it would certainly suggest to the house the propriety of following the wise example the legislature has heretofore given, by introducing a clause into the bill now before them, for diminishing the dividend to be made to the proprietors, till such time as the money advanced should be repaid to the public.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that, as the public business is now concluded, he thinks it proper to put an end to the present session of parliament.

"We are commanded by his majesty to express the satisfaction he derived from the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe by his majesty's arms; an event which for the first time in the history of the wars of Great Britain, has wrested from France all her possessions in that quarter of the world; and which, together with the subsequent capture of the only colonies in the West-Indies which remained in the possession of the Dutch, has deprived his majesty's enemies of every port in those seas from which the interests of his majesty, or the commerce of his subjects, can be molested.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"His majesty has commanded us to thank you for the liberal and ample supplies which you have granted for the services of the present year.

"His majesty deeply regrets the necessary extent of the demands which those services have created; but we are commanded to express to you the consolation which he has derived from observing that the resources

sources of the country, manifesting themselves by every mark of prosperity, by a revenue increasing in almost all its branches, and by a commerce extending itself in new channels, and with an increased vigour in proportion as the enemy has in vain attempted to destroy it, have enabled you to provide for the expenses of the year without imposing the burden of any new taxation on Great Britain; and that, while the taxes which have been necessarily resorted to for Ireland, have been imposed upon articles which will not interfere with the growing prosperity of that country, you have found it consistent with a due regard to its finances to diminish some of those burdens, and relax some of those regulations of revenue, which had been felt the most inconvenient in that part of the united kingdom.

"His majesty further commands us to return you his thanks for the provision which you have enabled him to make for the establishment of his serene highness the duke of Brunswick.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"His majesty has directed us to acquaint you, that Portugal, rescued from the oppression of the enemy, by the powerful assistance of his majesty's arms, has exerted herself with vigour and energy in making every preparation for repelling, with the continued aid of his majesty's forces, any renewed attack on the part of the enemy; and that in Spain, notwithstanding the reverses which have been experienced, the spirit of resistance against France still continues unsubdued and unabated: and his majesty commands us to assure you of his firm and unaltered conviction, that not only the honour of his throne, but the best interests of his dominions, require his most strenuous and persevering assistance to the glorious efforts of those loyal nations.

"His majesty has commanded us to recommend to you, upon your return to your respective counties, to use your best exertions to promote that spirit of order and obedience to the laws, and that general concord amongst all classes of his majesty's subjects, which can alone give full effect to his majesty's paternal care for the welfare and happiness of his people. His majesty has the fullest reliance upon the affections of his subjects, whose loyalty and attachment have hitherto supported him through that long and eventful period during which it has pleased Divine Providence to commit the interests of these dominions to his charge. His majesty feels that the preservation of domestic peace and tranquillity, under the protection of the law, and obedience to its authority, is amongst the most important duties he owes to his people.

"His majesty commands us to assure you, that he will not be wanting in the discharge of that duty; and his majesty will always rely with confidence on the continued support of his loyal subjects, to enable him to resist with success the designs of foreign enemies, and to transmit unimpaired to posterity the blessings of the British constitution."

HOLLAND.

ABDICATION OF LOUIS BONAPARTE.

Amsterdam, July 3. "Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom, king of Holland, constable of France. To all those who may see, or

or hear, or read these presents, health.—Hollanders! being convinced that nothing more for your interest or your welfare can be effected by me; but, on the contrary, considering myself as an obstacle which may prevent the good will and intentions of my brother towards this country; I have resigned my rank and royal dignity in favour of my eldest son, Napoleon Louis, and of his brother, prince Charles Louis Napoleon. Her majesty the queen being of right, and according to the constitution, regent of the kingdom, the regency shall, till her arrival, be vested in the council of ministers. —Hollanders! never shall I forget so good and virtuous a people as you are. My last thought, as well as my last sigh, shall be for your happiness. On leaving you, I cannot sufficiently recommend to you to receive well the military and civil officers of France. This is the only means to gratify his majesty the emperor, on whom your fate, that of your children, and that of your whole country depends. And now, as ill-will and calumny can no longer reach me, at least so far as relates to you, I have a well-founded hope, that you will at length find the reward for all your sacrifices, and for all your magnanimous firmness.—Done at Haarlem, July 1, 1810. LOUIS NAPOLEON."

"Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom, king of Holland, constable of France.—Considering that the unfortunate state in which this country now is, arises from the displeasure which the emperor my brother has conceived against me; —considering that all endeavours and sacrifices on my part to support this state of things have been fruitless;—considering lastly, that it cannot be doubted that the course of the present state of things is to be attributed to my having been unfortunate enough to displease my brother, and to have lost his friendship, and that I therefore am the only obstacle to the termination of these incessant differences and misunderstandings—We have resolved, as we, by these letters, published by our own free will, do resolve, to resign, as we do from this moment resign, the royal dignity of this kingdom of Holland, in favour of our well-beloved son, Napoleon Louis; and in failure of him, in favour of his brother, Charles Louis Napoleon.—We further desire that, according to the constitution, under the guarantee of his majesty the emperor, our brother, the regency shall remain with her majesty the queen, assisted by a council of regency, which shall provisionally consist of our ministers, to whom we commit the custody of our minor king till the arrival of her majesty the queen.—We further order, that the different corps of our guard, under the command of lieut.-general Bruno, and general Bruno, second in command, shall render their service to the minor king of this kingdom; and that the great officers of the crown, as well as the civil and military officers of our household, shall continue to render their customary services to the same high personage.—The present act, done and concluded, and signed by our hand, shall be transmitted to the legislative body, and then deposited copies shall be taken, and these letters be published in a legal manner, and in the customary form.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON.

"*Haarlem, July* 1, 1810."

"In the name of his majesty, Napoleon Louis, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom,

kingdom, king of Holland, the provisional council of regency of the kingdom of Holland, to all those who may see, hear, or read these presents, makes known,

"That, in consequence of the resignation of the royal dignity and authority made by his majesty, Louis Napoleon, in favour of the crown prince, his majesty's eldest son, Napoleon Louis, and of his brother, prince Charles Louis Napoleon, and by virtue of his majesty's authority contained in the open and sealed letters published by him on the 1st of July, 1810, the provisional regency has this day constituted itself, under the presidency of the minister Van Der Heim, waiting the arrival of her majesty the queen, as constitutional regent of the kingdom, and guardian of the minor king, and in expectation of the measures which her majesty shall be pleased to adopt relative to public affairs. VAN DER HEIM.

"*Amsterdam, July* 3, 1810.

"By order of the provisional council of regency,

"A. J. J. H. VERHEIJEN,

"First secretary of the cabinet of the king."

HOLLAND ANNEXED TO FRANCE.

Extract from the registers of the office of the secretary of state.

Palace of Rambouillet, July 9, 1810.

We, Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, mediator of the Swiss confederation, &c. have decreed, and hereby decree, as follows:

Title I. Art. 1. Holland is united to France.—2. The city of Amsterdam shall be the third city of the empire.—3. Holland shall have six senators, six deputies to the council of state, 25 deputies to the legislative body, and two judges in the court of cassation.—4. The officers by sea and land, of whatever rank, shall be confirmed in their employments. Commissions shall be delivered to them, signed with our hand. The royal guard shall be united to our imperial guard.

Title II.—Of the administration for 1810.—5. The duke of Placentia, arch-treasurer of the empire, shall repair to Amsterdam in the capacity of our lieutenant-general.—He shall preside in the council of ministers, and attend to the dispatch of business. His functions shall cease the 1st of January, 1811, the period when the French administration shall commence.—6. All the public functionaries, of whatever rank, are confirmed in their employments.

Title III.—Of the finances.—7. The present contributions shall continue to be levied until the 1st of January, 1811, at which period the country shall be eased of that burden, and the imposts put on the same footing as for the rest of the empire.—8. The budget of receipts and disbursements shall be submitted to our approbation before the 1st of August next. Only one-third of the present amount of interest upon the public debt shall be carried to the account of expenditure for 1810. The interest of the debt for 1808 and 1809, not yet paid, shall be reduced to one-third, and charged on the budget of 1810.—9. The custom-houses on the frontier, other than those of France, shall be organized under the superintendance of our director-general of the custom-houses. The Dutch custom-houses shall be incorporated therewith. The line of custom-houses now on the French frontier shall be kept

kept up until the 1st of January, 1811, when it shall be removed, and the communication of Holland with the empire become free.—10. The colonial produce, actually in Holland, shall remain in the hands of the owners, upon paying a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. A declaration of the amount shall be made before the 1st of September, at furthest. The said merchandize, upon payment of the duties, may be imported into France, and circulated through the whole extent of the empire.

Title IV.—11. There shall be at Amsterdam a special administration, presided over by one of our counsellors of state, which shall have the superintendence of, and the necessary funds to provide for, the repairs of the dikes, polders, and other public works.

Title V.—12. In the course of the present month there shall be nominated by the legislative body of Holland a commission of 15 members, to proceed to Paris, in order to constitute a council, whose business shall be to regulate definitively all that relates to the public and local debts, and to conciliate the principles of the union with the localities and interests of the country.—13. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree. (Signed)

By the emperor, NAPOLEON.
(Signed)
The minister secretary of state,
H. B. duke of BASSANO.

AFFIDAVIT OF JEFFERY, THE SEAMAN.

Office of his Britannic majesty's consul.

I, Andrew Allen, jun. his Britannic majesty's consul for the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, do hereby certify, that William Stevenson, esq. is a magistrate for the county of Suffolk, in the state of Massachusetts, and that Robert Jeffery made oath before him in my presence.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at Boston, in the state of Massachusetts, this 14th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1810.

(Signed) (L.S.) W. S. SKINNER,
Pro consul.

Boston, Suffolk. { *United States of America, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

"On this 14th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1810, before me, William Stevenson, esq. a justice of the peace for the county of Suffolk, by legal authority, appointed and sworn, and dwelling in Boston aforesaid, personally appeared Robert Jeffery, and made oath, that the affidavit hereunto annexed contains the truth and nothing but the truth.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed my seal of office, the day and year above written.

(L. S.) WM. STEVENSON,
Just. peace.

At Wenham, county of Essex, state of Massachusetts, in the United States of America, the 17th of June, 1810, personally appeared Robert Jeffery, blacksmith, who, being interrogated and examined, declares as follows:—viz.

"That he is twenty-one years of age; was born at Polparo, in the county of Cornwall, Great Britain. That in the summer of 1807 he shipped himself at Polparo aforesaid, on board the privateer schooner Lord Nelson, of Plymouth.

"That the schooner, about eight days afterwards, put into Falmouth, where he was impressed by an offi-

cer belonging to and carried on board of his Britannic majesty's brig Recruit, of 18 guns, commanded by —— Lake, and appointed armourer's mate, and soon afterwards sailed in the Recruit for the West Indies, where she cruised about three months. The brig's water running short, the crew were allowanced; and this declarant being very thirsty, and unable to obtain a sufficiency to quench his thirst, one Saturday evening went to the beer-cask, and drew off about two quarts of beer into a bucket, drank about three-fourths of it, and left the remainder in the bucket: one of the crew was present when this took place, and informed capt. Lake of it, who next day asked the declarant if it was he who tapped the beer; to which he replied in the affirmative, and capt. Lake ordered the serjean of marines to put him on the black list.

"That he continued to do his duty as usual, and nothing else particular occurred until the Sunday following, captain Lake called him aft, and said to him, (Sombrero Island being then in sight) 'Jeffery, do you see that island? do you know that I am going to land you on it?' To which he replied in the negative. Shortly afterwards, capt. Lake ordered the boat to be lowered down; the second lieutenant, a midshipman, and four men, to land him on Sombrero Island.

"That this declarant wished to take his clothes with him; but capt. Lake denied him them, or any thing else, except what he then had upon him; and when the boat landed him, the rocks cut his feet; upon which the lieutenant begged one of the men in the boat to spare him a pair of shoes; which he did, and gave him a knife; the lieutenant and midshipman each gave him a handkerchief, and left him on the Island of Sombrero aforesaid, the lieutenant having previously recommended him to keep a look-out for vessels passing.

"That Sombrero is a desolate island, without any inhabitant thereon, or sustenance of any kind to support life, and he remained on it nine days without food, save about a dozen limpets that he picked off the rocks; his drink was sometimes salt water, at other times rain water, which he found in crevices of the rocks after a fall of rain.

"That he saw several vessels pass, and attempted to hail them, but without effect, for they were too distant to hear or see him, until the schooner Adams, of Marblehead, John Dennis, master, came to his assistance, took him off, and landed him at Marblehead, in the county of Essex."

his
ROBERT ⋈ JEFFERY
mark.

The above declaration and examination taken by and in presence of R. RAMSEY.

Paris, August 17.

ADDRESS FROM THE DEPUTIES OF HOLLAND TO THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

His imperial majesty being seated on the throne, surrounded by the princes and great officers of state, the deputies of Holland were presented to his majesty, and their president, his excellency admiral Verhueil, delivered the following speech:

"Sire,—Your very faithful subjects of Holland, the members of the council of state, the deputies of the legislative body, of the land and

sea

so far as relates to the dominions, colonies, and dependencies, and to the articles the growth, produce or manufacture of the dominions, colonies, and dependencies of the nation thus refusing or neglecting to revoke or modify her edicts in the manner aforesaid. And the restrictions imposed by this act shall, from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued in relation to the nation revoking or modifying her decrees in the manner aforesaid.—And whereas it has been officially made known to this government, that the edicts of France, violating the neutral commerce of the United States, have been so revoked, as to cease to have effect on the 1st of the present month—Now, therefore, I, James Madison, president of the United States, do hereby proclaim, that the said edicts of France have been so revoked, as that they ceased on the said 1st day of the present month to violate the neutral commerce of the United States; and that, from the date of these presents, all the restrictions imposed by the aforesaid act shall cease and be discontinued in relation to France and her dependencies. In testimony whereof, &c. &c.

JAMES MADISON.

November 2, 1810.

Treasury Department, Nov. 13, 1810.

"Your letter of the 10th instant has been received. All goods imported from the dominions of Great Britain, and arrived in the United States, subsequent to the 2d of February, will, in my opinion, become forfeited according to the provision of the law of May 1, 1810. If Great Britain shall not, on that day, have revoked her edicts to the manner contemplated by that act, it follows, that if no knowledge of such revocation shall have been obtained on that day, goods imported as aforesaid must be seized by the custom-house officers; although it be also true, that if the revocations have actually taken place before that day, no forfeiture will have occurred, and the goods must in that case be restored whenever the fact of such revocation is known. The inconvenience of the detention of the goods in that case is understood, but cannot, under the existing law, be avoided, except through the intervention of the courts, who may direct an immediate restoration of the property, on satisfactory bonds for its value being given to abide the final decision of such courts. I have the honour to be respectfully, &c. &c.

(Signed)

"ALBERT GALLATIN."

Prices of STOCKS for 1810. N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1810.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct cons.	4 p. ct cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Anh.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 3 p. ct	Imp. 3 p.ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	177½	69¼	70⅜	85¼	102¼		18 7/8	188	26 pr.	74⅝	69⅜	68⅜	13 pr.	3 pr.		68⅜	22l. 15s.
	178	68½	68	84	99		18⅛	175¾	4 pr.		68½	67⅞	5 pr.	2¼ pr.		67⅛	
Feb.	276½	68 7/8	68⅛	84⅜	99⅜		18 9/16	188	17 pr.		68½		10 pr.		98¼	67⅜	22 15
	275	68¼	67⅞	83½	99½		18 1/16	185¼	5 pr.		67¼		1 pr.		98½	66½	
March	276½	68⅛	69⅛	84	99⅜		18 7/16	186	17 pr.	73¼	67⅞	69	31 pr.		98	68⅛	24 6
	274	66¾	67¼	83⅞	97⅞		18⅜	184	8 pr.	72½		67⅛	3 pr.		95½	67½	
April	276	69 7/8	69 3/8	85¼	99⅞		18 1/16	187	20 pr.	74¼	74⅜	69⅞	12 pr.		96⅛	67⅞	24 6
	269	67⅛	68½	83¼	99		18¼	185¼	8 pr.	73¼	73¼	68⅜	1 dis.		95¼		
May	269½	70¼	71	85⅜	101⅜		18 1/16	190½	25 pr.	75¾	69⅞	70⅛	10 pr.	2 pr	97⅛	68⅜	24 6
	262⅝	69¼	70⅛	84¼	100⅛		18 1/16	185	16 pr.	74½	69¼	70⅛	4 pr.	1¼ pr.	96¾	67⅛	
June	262¾	70⅛	71⅛	85⅞	102		18 3/16	193	23 pr.		70		18 pr.	1⅝ pr.	97¼	68¼	24 19
	259¼	69¼	70	84	100⅜		18⅛	189½	13 pr.		69¼		2 dis.	⅜ pr.	97	67	22 15
July	260¼	70⅞	71½	85⅜	102	100⅜	18 1/16	183¾	22 pr.		70	69¼	7 pr.	1 pr.	97	68¼	22 15
	258	69	68	83⅞	98	100¼	18⅜	178¼	10 pr.		67⅞	68	3 dis.	2½ dis.	96½	66½	
Aug.	269	69⅛	69⅜	85⅞	99¼		18 11/16	183	27 pr.	74⅜	69¼	68¼	6 pr.	2⅛ pr.	97¾	67½	22 15
	260¼	68¼	68¼	85	99¼		18½	181	21 pr.		68⅜	68⅛	2 dis.	2 dis	97½	67¼	
Sept.	259	68⅞	68	85⅛	99⅛		18 3/16	180	23 pr.	73¼	68⅛	67⅛	4 pr.	3⅛ dis.	98	67	22 15
	255	67½	65⅝	82	98		18⅛		14 pr.		67⅞	65½	3 dis.	6½ dis.		64⅜	
Oct.	254	65⅞	66½	83¼	100⅛		18	182	24 pr.		65⅞	66⅛	10 pr.	8⅛ dis	97⅞		22 15
	251	65¼	64	81⅞	97		17¼	174	8 pr.		64⅞	66⅛	2 dis.	5¼ dis.			
Nov.	254	66⅜	67⅜	82½	100½	100	17 1/16	183¼	27 pr.	72¼	66⅞	67	12 pr.	6⅞ dis	97⅜	65½	21 0
	245	65¼	66⅛	81⅜	99½	99⅞	17¼	181	24 pr.	71¼	65⅛	66⅜	7 pr.	4⅛ dis	97¼	64¾	
Dec.	244½	66⅛	67⅛	82⅜	100¾	100	1 7/16	183¼	21 pr.	72¼	65¼	66⅛	9 pr.	5⅜ dis		64⅛	21 8
	243	65½	66⅜	81¼	100⅛		17⅜	183¼	17 pr.		65¼		1 pr.	4⅛ dis		64¼	

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

1810.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Mr. Pitt's Introduction into Political Life.

[From Mr. Gifford's History.]

"[1781.] IT was at this period, and under these circumstances, that Mr. Pitt made his first entrance into public life. He was the second son of the Earl of Chatham; and was now in his twenty-second year, having been born on the 28th of May, 1759. He had been educated at home, till the age of fourteen, during which time Dr. Wilson (afterwards canon of Windsor) was his tutor; but, as may easily be supposed, his illustrious father superintended his education with a vigilant eye, and marked, with anxious solicitude, the progressive attainments of a mind, which, at a very early period, had displayed strong indications of the bounty of nature, and afforded great promise of future excellence. At an age when, with the generality of youths, much, indeed, remains to be learnt at school, Mr. Pitt was found fully qualified for the university; and, accordingly, as soon as he had completed his fourteenth year, he was entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; where he had the good fortune to obtain, for his tutor, Dr. Pretyman, the present bishop of Lincoln. During his residence at college he was distinguished alike for the closeness of his application, and for the success of his efforts, in rendering himself master of those subjects to which his studies were particularly directed. Nor was he less remarkable for the regularity of his conduct, and for his strict attention to that discipline which is not more necessary for a military, than for an academic, life.

"He was intended both for the bar and for the senate; and his education was, of course, so regulated as to embrace both those objects. Indeed, to speak correctly, a legal and a political education ought to be nearly the same;—for it is impossible for a man to become an able politician, without an intimate knowledge of the legal history of his country; nor can any one become an able lawyer, without being perfectly conversant with its poli-

tical history.—It is also of essential importance to a right formation of either, or of both, of these characters, to obtain a full and accurate knowledge of the origin, progress, and decline of ancient states, and of the laws and constitutions of modern kingdoms—with their interests, their government, and their policy. His proficiency in all these branches of study was considerable; the quickness of his conception rendered the acquisition easy; while the interest which he took in them made the impression permanent. Where the thirst for knowledge is great, the means of attainment are facilitated; and hence, that which is not to be acquired by a mind not feeling such thirst, without intense labour, is attained by the mind which acknowledges its influence, with comparatively little trouble. Mr. Pitt's stay at college was unusually long; nor did he leave it until his mind was as perfectly formed as it could be by theory, unaccompanied with the advantages of experience.

"Soon after he quitted the university, he went to the continent, and passed a short time at Rheims, the capital of Champagne. Early in the ensuing year he was called to the bar, and went the western circuit *once*. His success, during this short experiment, was amply sufficient to encourage him to pursue his legal career; and to render him certain of obtaining all the wealth, and all the honours, which await the able and industrious labourers in the vineyard of the law. But he was destined to pursue a different, and a nobler path;—not to devote his superior talents to the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong; but to appropriate his endowments, both natural and acquired, to the high purposes of framing laws for the government of a free state—of taking an active part in the regulation of her destinies—and even of directing all her moral and physical resources to the preservation of her character, the security of her welfare, the promotion of her prosperity, and the consolidation of her grandeur. Before he had completed his twenty-second year he was returned (on the 23d of January, 1781) member for the borough of Appleby; and, on the twenty-sixth of the following month, he made his first speech on Mr. Burke's motion for an economical reform in the civil list. On this occasion the attention of the House was rivetted on the youthful orator, who, totally unembarrassed by the novelty of the situation in which he had been so lately placed, but for which he had been so long, and so sedulously, prepared, delivered himself with an ease, a grace, a richness of expression, a soundness of judgment, a closeness of argument, and a classical accuracy of language, which not only answered, but exceeded, all the expectations which had been formed of him. He took the same side in debate with the opposition, because it probably appeared to him to be the right side; but without becoming a member of the party. He followed the example of his father, in early and strongly expressing his reprobation of the principles on which the American war had been undertaken, and, with much more reason, though not with more warmth, on the manner in which it had been conducted.—He continued to vote with the opposition during the whole of that session of parliament.

"[1782.] Early in the spring of the following year, the ministry, assailed

assailed on all sides, and unfortunate in all their operations, found themselves unable to resist the incessant attacks of their political opponents, and the failure of all their measures; and, wisely making a virtue of necessity, resigned their offices in the month of March; when lord Rockingham was appointed prime minister, and lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state; while lord Thurlow, though generally disliked by both parties, was suffered to retain his situation as chancellor. An offer was made to Mr. Pitt to include him in the new arrangements; but, by the exercise of a sound discretion, operating on an acute and penetrating judgment, he refused the profferred honours, so flattering to his youth; justly conceiving, that the discordant materials of which the new ministry was composed, afforded but little hopes of its pemanency; and still less room for useful exertion, to one who was the tool of no party, but whose ambition had, for its ruling principle, and for its grand object, the service of his country. The event fully verified the fears, and justified the expectations, of the youthful statesman. In little more than four months, the death of the premier dissolved the ministry; when those obstacles to his acceptance of an important situation, which had influenced his rejection of the former offer, being removed, Mr. Pitt was, on the 10th of July, appointed chancellor of the exchequer; lord Shelburne being first lord of the treasury; and Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and lord John Cavendish, with other subordinate members of the Rockingham party, having again returned to their former stations in the ranks of opposition.

"Thus, before he had completed his twenty-fourth year, and in less than eighteen months after he had been returned to parliament, was Mr. Pitt raised to a situation of eminence and power which by most would have been considered as a rich reward for many years of political strife, and parliamentary warfare. But Mr. Pitt, impressed with a just sense of his own comprehensive faculties and attainments, had early resolved to accept no subordinate situation under any minister; a resolution in which he had, no doubt, been encouraged to persist, by the consideration that, in any inferior office, the sphere of his exertions would, of necessity, be extremely circumscribed; and his opportunities for usefulness be proportionately abridged. He was not, however, by his consciousness of his own fitness for a superior station, led to indulge any vain or presumptuous hopes of thus early obtaining it. He betrayed no forwardness of pretension, no impatience of power; but continued to discharge his duty in parliament, independent of party, until he was called upon by his sovereign to fill such a station, and found that he could obey the call with a fair prospect of rendering useful service to the country, the situation of which was by no means encouraging.

Death and Character of Mr. Pitt.

[From the same.]

"THE domestic events of this summer were by no means such as to assist Mr. Pitt in bearing up against the attacks of disease, with which he had long been assailed. For more than four years, he had laboured under all the inconveniences resulting from a weak stomach, and the consequent failure of appetite. And it will be easily conceived, that mental anxiety was peculiarly calculated to aggravate the effects of such a disorder. The gradual decline of his health could not have escaped the observation of his friends; and, it is to be feared, that it was allowed to have an influence on the recent conduct of some of them. The discussion on lord Melville's business, on the 25th of June, 1805, may be said to have closed his parliamentary life, as it was the last time he delivered his sentiments in the Senate.

"The unprosperous state of affairs on the Continent tended to increase the anxiety of Mr. Pitt's mind. The continued encroachments of Buonaparté, who, not content with usurping the imperial dignity in France, had assumed the Crown of Italy, and annexed Genoa to his vast empire, had roused the spirits of the Austrians, and enabled Mr. Pitt to give life and vigour to a new confederacy against the colossal power of France. A treaty was concluded between Russia and England, to which Austria and Sweden soon acceded. The object of this treaty was to restore, in some degree, the balance of power in Europe; by driving the French out of Hanover and the North of Germany; by establishing the independence of Holland and Switzerland; by restoring the King of Sardinia to his throne and territory; and by compelling the French to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the whole of Italy. The means by which it was proposed to accomplish this great and desirable object was, an army of half a million of effective men, independently of the forces to be employed by Great Britain herself. This treaty was signed at St. Petersburgh, on the 11th of April. It developed a system of foreign policy, liberal, comprehensive, and grand. And had the Continental powers performed their part of the engagement, by supplying the stipulated force, there can be little doubt that the result would have been favourable to the independence of Europe. Providence, however, had otherwise determined. The campaign, which was opened late in September, proved short, disastrous, and decisive. The cowardly surrender of an Austrian army, at Ulm, by General Mack, paved the way for further successes; and the battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December, at which the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the Corsican usurper, were present, completed the triumph of the French arms. The Austrian Emperor, dismayed by a loss, which he might easily, and soon, have repaired, solicited an immediate armistice, which was granted, the very night of the battle, on terms so disgraceful to himself, that his Imperial Ally, Alexander, refused to become a party to them. This was followed by the peace of Presburgh, signed on the 26th of December, which

dissolved

dissolved this new confederacy, and defeated the last hopes of Mr. Pitt. By that treaty Austria sighed her own exclusion from Italy, and consented to an important loss of dominion in Germany. She sacrificed to her fears, her faithful subjects of the Tyrol and the Voralberg, who were consigned, much against their will, to the crowned vassal of Bavaria, as a reward for his desertion of the lawful head of the empire, and for his attachment to the general enemy of the civilized world.

"France having, at the opening of the campaign, violated the neutral territory of Anspach, now belonging to Prussia, the Prussian Monarch exhibited some marks of resentment, which induced Mr. Pitt to send Lord Harrowby to Berlin, in the hope of persuading Frederick-William to join the confederacy against France. The vacillating policy of that Monarch defeated this attempt; and, while it deprived himself of the only opportunity for restoring the fallen fortunes of Europe, by imposing an effectual check on the encroaching spirit of France, left to Mr. Pitt only the consciousness of having exerted every effort in *his* power to produce that effect.

"Such exertions as depended, exclusively, on Great Britain, were eminently successful. In every quarter her fleets drove the enemy before them, and vindicated her right to rule,—the mistress of the sea. On the 21st of October, Lord Nelson sealed his glory with his life, at the memorable battle of Trafalgar, which inflicted a mortal blow on the navies of France and Spain. In the East, too, the British arms had been invariably successful, under the auspices of a nobleman, possessed of every quality of the heart and mind, which can impart wisdom to council, and energy to action;—a nobleman, who, during an arduous administration of seven years, extended the territory, enlarged the resources, and confirmed the security, of the British Empire; who, by wise and salutary regulations, adapted to the genius, the manners, and the habits, of the people, meliorated their condition, and opened to them the sources of comfort and happiness; who subdued, with apparent facility, difficulties, from which an ordinary mind would have shrunk with dismay; who, amidst the bustle and anxieties of war, and the multiplied obstacles interposed by ignorant and interested opponents, erected a noble establishment, for the advancement of religious, scientific, and literary knowledge; and who, by his whole conduct, justified the opinion which Mr. Pitt entertained of him, and the confidence which he reposed in him.*

"Mr. Pitt's health experienced a rapid decline, in the autumn of 1805; and he was recommended to go to Bath, having, in a former illness, derived great benefit from the waters of that place, which, it was hoped, might still have a beneficial influence on a frame now reduced almost to the last stage of debility. He accordingly went thi-

* It is to be lamented that a complete history of the Marquis Wellesley's administration has not been given to the public, as a faithful record of his actions, while Governor-general of India, would supply the best answer to the numerous aspersions which have been cast on the public character of a nobleman, who may justly be considered as the *first Statesman* of the present day.

then

ther in December.—Soon after his arrival he had a fit of the gout; and thought himself better for a short time. But the gout appeared again during his stay at Bath; and he never afterwards recovered even a moderate degree of strength. His appetite almost entirely failed; and, it being deemed improper for him to drink the waters, he left Bath, and was in such a debilitated state, that he was four days on the road to Putney, at which place he arrived, on the 11th of January, accompanied by Sir Walter Farquhar, his medical attendant.

"When a consultation was held the next day, with Dr. Bailie and Dr. Reynolds, they told the Bishop of Lincoln, who had repaired to Putney, that they saw no danger, no disease, but great weakness, in consequence of the gout, and they thought he might recover in a few weeks. They stated the necessity of *quiet*; but the approaching meeting of Parliament, and the state of Mr. Pitt's affairs, were such as to leave him little prospect of enjoying it.

"Mr. Pitt felt better on the Sunday; and on the Monday morning he took an airing in his coach; but, in the evening, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury, having obtained permission from the physicians to see him, entered upon some points of public business, probably relating to the dissolution of the new confederacy, by the peace of Presburgh, (which had been concluded about three weeks before) which visibly agitated and affected him. Mr. Pitt, after this interview, observed, that, during the conversation, he felt some sensation in his stomach which, he feared, it might be difficult to remove. On Tuesday, the 14th, Mr. Pitt again went out in his carriage, for the *last* time. His strength was manifestly diminished. On his return, he saw his brother, Lord Chatham; and on Wednesday, the 15th, Mr. Rose was admitted to him for a few minutes, and was very much stricken by his emaciated appearance. He was able to take but very little nourishment; his powers of digestion were greatly impaired; and scarcely any thing would remain on his stomach. He seldom spoke, and displayed an anxiety to follow the directions of the physicians, "to be as quiet "as possible, and completely to "divest his mind of all public "business." He desired the Bishop of Lincoln, who remained with him, from the period of his return from Bath to the day of his death, to open all his letters, and to communicate only such parts of them as he should consider it necessary for him to know.

"On the 17th, the physicians admitted that Mr. Pitt was much weaker, but still maintained that there were no unfavourable symptoms.—At the same time, they declared their opinion, that he would not be able to attend to business in less time than *two months*, and expressed a doubt of his ability to take an *active* part, in the House of Commons, during the winter.

"The Bishop of Lincoln was, naturally, very urgent with the physicians to allow him to apprize Mr. Pitt of the probable duration of his confinement, in order that he might decide on the propriety of resigning, or of retaining, his office. But the physicians were unanimously, and decidedly, of opinion, that nothing should be said to their patient on the subject. Mr. Pitt daily grew worse; and on Monday, the 20th, the physicians declared, "the symptoms were unpromising, and his "situation was hazardous." In the evening

evening of that day, he became much worse; and his mind, as is usual in cases of extreme debility, occasionally wandered.—Sir Walter Farquhar passed the night by his bed-side, and, at four o'clock, on Wednesday morning he called up the Bishop of Lincoln, telling him he was much alarmed, and could now no longer object to any communication which the Bishop might think proper to make to him. The Bishop, who appears never to have entertained those hopes which the medical attendants encouraged, had continually pressed the physicians to permit him to intimate to Mr. Pitt that his situation was *precarious*, in order that he might receive his instructions, respecting his affairs and papers, and call his attention to religious duties; but they had constantly affirmed, that they saw *no danger*, and could not sanction any proceeding which might create agitation of mind; as such agitation might be productive of serious mischief.

"The Bishop immediately went to Mr. Pitt's bed-side, and told him he found it to be his duty to inform him, that his situation was considered as precarious, and requested his leave to read prayers to him, and to administer the Sacrament. Mr. Pitt looked earnestly at the Bishop for a few moments, and then, with perfect composure, turned his head to Sir Walter Farquhar, who stood on the other side of the bed, and slowly said,—"How long do you "think I have to live?" The physician answered, he could not say, and expressed a faint hope of his recovery. A half smile on Mr. Pitt's countenance shewed that he placed this language to its true account. In answer to the Bishop's request to pray with him, Mr. Pitt said—"I "fear I have, like too many other "men, neglected prayer too much "to have any ground for hope, that "it can be efficacious on a *death-* "*bed*—but,"—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervour and devotion,—"I "throw myself *entirely*" (the last word being pronounced with a strong emphasis) "upon the *mercy* "of God, *through the merits of* "*Christ!*" The Bishop assured him, that the frame of his mind, at this awful moment, was exactly such as might, reasonably, be expected, to render prayer acceptable and useful.

"The Bishop then read prayers, and Mr. Pitt joined in them, with calm and humble piety. He repeatedly expressed, *in the strongest manner*, his sense of his own unworthiness to appear in the presence of God; disclaiming all ideas of merit, but with a conscience evidently clear and undisturbed. He appealed to the Bishop's knowledge of the steadiness of his religious principles, and said, it had *ever* been his *wish* and *endeavour* to act *rightly*; and to fulfil his duty to God and to the world; but that he was very sensible of many errors and failures. He declared that he was perfectly resigned to the will of God; that he felt no enmity towards any one; but died in peace with all mankind; and expressed his hope, at once *humble* and *confident*, of eternal happiness through the intercession of his Redeemer.

"Mr. Pitt desired that the settlement of his affairs and papers might be left to his brother and the Bishop of Lincoln. Adverting to his family, he said,—"I wish a thousand, or "fifteen hundred, a year to be given "to my nieces—*if* the public should "think my long services deserving "it; but I do not presume to think "that I have *earned it*." He expressed

pressed great concern about Lady Hester and Mr. Stanhope, but his anxiety, on their account, seemed to be abated by the recollection that they had a *father*. He attempted to give some written directions respecting the disposal of his papers; but, finding himself unable to write legibly, he resigned the pen to the Bishop, who wrote what Mr. Pitt dictated. Mr. Pitt afterwards read what was written, and signed the different papers, in the presence of Sir Walter Farquhar, and of several of his servants, who had remained in the room a part of the time in which Mr. Pitt was engaged in religious duties, and heard this great and good man profess the faith, and hope, and charity, of an humbly pious Christian.

"Mr. Pitt was much exhausted by these exertions, and very soon grew much worse. About two o'clock on the Wednesday afternoon, he suffered much for some time, and seemed to struggle for breath. He then fell into a kind of stupor; but remained sensible almost to the last. About a quarter past four on Thursday morning, the twenty-third of January, 1806,—the anniversary of that day on which, five and twenty years before, he had first become a member of the British Senate,—he breathed his last, without struggle, and without pain. He was then in his forty-seventh year.

"In attempting to delineate the character of Mr. Pitt, so shortly after the public has been deprived of the benefit of his eminent talents, and while so many persons are living, who, in the important political questions of the day, ranged themthemselves either on his side, or on that of his great opponent, it is highly probable that, while, on the one hand, I may not satisfy his most zealous partizans, and his most ardent admirers, I may, on the other, far exceed, in approbation and praise, every thing which his political adversaries are willing to admit.

"It is, indeed, a matter of no small difficulty, to disconnect entirely our estimate of the talents of the leaders of political parties, from our favour or hostility to the measures which they adopt. We often admire great abilities, as much for the cause in which they are engaged,—and, in truth, it is the *application* of talents that can alone justify rational admiration,—as for any powers of the human mind, which may be displayed in the support of it; and it is not always easy to discriminate accurately by which of these considerations our judgment is regulated.

"The House of Commons was, perhaps, at no period, more completely divided in opinion, than during the lives of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. The partisans of each naturally exalted the talents of their leader; but, while their respective friends were disputing which shone most conspicuous in every debate, each of these eminent men did the most ample justice to the powers of his rival. In making this observation, however, it is necessary to state, that it applies only to the last twelve or fourteen years of Mr. Pitt's life, for it is well known that, in the early part of his political career, Mr. Fox was inclined very much to undervalue his abilities, and to impute to arrogance and presumption that confidence which he afterwards admitted to rest upon the most solid and substantial grounds.

"As a Statesman, the resources, as well as the firmness, of Mr. Pitt's mind, have been amply demonstrated

strated by the measures which he adopted, to meet the various, and unforeseen, difficulties with which this nation was surrounded, during the period of his administration. Abroad, he had to struggle with the most gigantic power, which ever raised itself in opposition to the greatness of his country; while, at home, he had to support, at the same time, commercial and national credit, to allay the turbulent spirit of mutiny, to extinguish the raging flames of rebellion, to provide even for the importunate calls of famine. The energies of his mind were most eminently exerted upon those important occasions; and, in spite of internal distractions, he carried the power of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained, at any former period.

"It will not soon be forgotten with what industry and effect he applied himself to the management of the revenue, and how speedily he restored order to the confused state of our finances. By simplying the public accounts he rendered a subject easily intelligible, which had before been involved in extreme intricacy; and, by pointing out the defects of former plans, and suggesting new and more approved systems, he carried with him the sense of the nation in providing for that heavy expenditure, which the peculiar exigency of the times brought upon the State. Nor was he less fortunate in removing, upon difficult occasions, those embarrassments in which the trade of the country was involved, and which, at one period, threatened with total stagnation; and when they, who, from their habitual pursuits, might have been thought best qualified, and most likely, to suggest a remedy for these evils, were lost in astonishment, distrust, and dismay, he dispelled their fears, as it were by a charm, revived the confidence of our merchants and manufacturers, and restored our commerce to its accustomed activity and enterprize. The plan of Commercial Exchequer Bills;—the establishment of the Sinking Fund;—the suspension of Cash Payments at the Bank;—the System of War Taxes;—were measures which originated, exclusively, with himself; and were calculated, with profound ability, to meet the various exigencies to which they were applied. Even his enemies, who were disposed to deny him almost every other merit as a Minister, acknowledged him to be the ablest financier whom the nation had ever produced; and, while they made this acknowledgment, they did full justice to the pure disinterestedness, and the inflexible integrity, with which he conducted that branch of the public business.

"As a parliamentary orator his powers were various. In statement he was perspicuous, in declamation animated. If he had to explain a financial account he was clear and accurate. If he wanted to rouse a just indignation, for the wrongs of the country, he was rapid, vehement, glowing, and impassioned. And whether his discourse was argumentative or declamatory, it always displayed a happy choice of expression, and a fluency of diction, which could not fail to delight his hearers. So singularly select, felicitous, and appropriate, was his language, that, it has often been remarked, a word of his speech could scarcely be changed without prejudice to its harmony, vigour, or effect. He seldom was satisfied, with standing on the defensive in debate; but was proud to contrast his own actions with the avowed intentions of his opponents. These intentions,

intentions, too, he often exposed with the most pointed sarcasm; a weapon which, perhaps, no speaker ever wielded with more dexterity and force than himself. He admired much, in Mr. Fox, the happy effect with which he illustrated his arguments, by the application of well-known anecdotes, or by passages from modern authors; but he did not imitate him in this respect;—on the other hand, he used to condemn his habit of repetition.

"Mr. Pitt's love of amplification has been sometimes urged as detracting from his excellence as an orator; but, it was his own remark, that every person who addressed a public assembly, and was anxious to be distinctly understood, and to make an impression upon particular points, must either be copious upon those points or repeat them, and that, as a speaker, he preferred copiousness to repetition. Of his eloquence, it may be observed generally, that it combined the eloquence of Tully with the energy of Demosthenes. It was spontaneous; always great, it shone with peculiar, with unequalled, splendour, in a reply, which precluded the possibility of previous study; while it fascinated the imagination by the brilliancy of language, it convinced the judgment by the force of argument;—like an impetuous torrent, it bore down all resistance; extorting the admiration even of those who most severely felt its strength, and who most earnestly deprecated its effect. It is unnecessary, and might be presumptuous, to enter more minutely into the character of Mr. Pitt's eloquence;—there are many living witnesses of its powers; it will be admired as long as it shall be remembered. A few of his speeches in Parliament were published by his friends, and some of them under his own superintendance;—but, it has been observed, that they were considerably weakened in effect by his own corrections; that, if they gained any thing in accuracy, they lost more in vigour and spirit;—and that he had not himself the power of improving, upon reflection, the just and happy expression in which his thoughts were conveyed, as they occurred in the course of debate.

"As a public man, Mr. Pitt trusted his character to his public conduct; he rejected those arts and aids to which inferior men have sometimes had recourse to prop their fame; and he disdained to court popularity at the expence of unbecoming condescension; he never failed to be generally esteemed where he was generally known; but his public occupations did not permit him to enjoy much of the pleasures of private society, and his hours of retirement and relaxation were chiefly confined to the circle of a few friends, which circle he did not seem inclined to extend. Those hours, indeed, were few, for his life may be said to have been devoted to the public service; and, perhaps, to have been sacrificed by that devotion; for his health had gradually declined for the last five years of his life; but the vigour of mind was unimpaired, and directed, in spite of a feeble frame, with the most unremitted anxiety, to promote the interests and welfare of the country. With him, indeed, his *country* was ever the *first* object, *self* the *last*.

"It would be highly unjust, however, to dismiss the character of Mr. Pitt without correcting the erroneous impression which has too generally prevailed, that he was, in society,

society, cold, distant, and reserved. So far from it, that, in the relations of private life, he was no less amiable, than he was eminent in his public conduct; and, in the company of his select friends, none charmed more by the ease, playfulness, and vivacity of conversation. He possessed a peculiar sweetness and equanimity of temper, which, under all the varying circumstances of health and sickness, of good and adverse fortune, was never ruffled. The victory of Trafalgar, though he felt at it the honest pride of an Englishman, elated him to no unbecoming height; nor did the overthrow of his dearest hopes at Austerlitz, though it affected him most sensibly, sink him to an unmanly dejection. Yet this calmness and self-possession arose not from any apathy or coldness; on the contrary, the varied expression of his countenance, and the fire of his eye, shewed him to be, what he really was, exquisitely sensible to every feeling;—but they were the natural result of a strong and well-regulated mind—of the conscious rectitude of his measures, and of the happy mildness of his disposition.

"The same benevolence and simplicity of heart strongly marked his manners and deportment, which were, in the highest degree, prepossessing. They bespoke the total absence of any thing like moroseness in his nature. With the most playful vivacity, he assumed no superiority in conversation; nor ever oppressed any man with the strength of his talents, or the brilliancy of his wit. It was matter of surprize how so much fire could be mitigated, and yet not enfeebled, by so much gentleness;—and how such power could be so delightful. Modesty was a striking feature in Mr. Pitt's character; he was attentive to the humblest, and kindly patient to the weakest, opinions. No man was ever more beloved by his friends, or inspired those who had the happiness of living in his society with a more sincere and affectionate attachment. In his conduct, he was rigidly just, and strictly moral; and, as his virtues were greater, so were his failings less, than fall to the lot of most men.

"On the 27th of January, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Henry Lascelles, resolved, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that his "Majesty will be graciously pleased "to give directions that the remains of the Right Honourable "William Pitt be interred at the "public expence, and that a monument be erected, in the collegiate "church of St. Peter, Westminster, "to the memory of that excellent "statesman, with an inscription, "expressive of the public sense of "so great and irreparable a loss; "and to assure his Majesty, that "this House will make good the "expences attending the same."

"On the third of February, the House, on the motion of Mr. Cartwright, further resolved, "that an "humble address be presented to "his Majesty, to represent to his "Majesty, that this House, having "received information, that, on the "death of the Right Honourable "William Pitt, he left debts to a "considerable amount, for the payment of which his property has "been found insufficient, and being desirous to shew every testimony of their esteem and respect "for the memory of the said Right "Honourable William Pitt, most "humbly beseech his Majesty to "advance

" advance a sum, not exceeding " forty thousand pounds, towards " the payment of the said debts, " and to assure his Majesty that " this House will make good the " same."

" This sum was barely sufficient to discharge the debts which Mr. Pitt had contracted, and which had been, in a course of accumulation, during the whole period of his administration. His original private fortune was ten thousand pounds, and the late Duke of Rutland left him a legacy of three thousand. Immediately after his decease it was determined, that some persons should examine into the state of his affairs, and it was upon their estimate of the amount of his debts, and of the probable produce of his effects, that the £40,000 was voted by parliament. Previous to his entrance into public life, Mr. Pitt's expences never exceeded his income. But the inadequacy of the salary annexed to his appointments to meet the expenditure unavoidably attached to them, and the impracticability of attention, on the part of a man who had the affairs of an empire to regulate, to the economical regulations of his household, involved him in embarrassments. The only extra expences which he incurred were for improvements at Walmer and at Holwood, which constituted, indeed, his only amusement, during his hours of relaxation from official labours;—an amusement at once rational, congenial, and honourable, to a great and virtuous mind, which never indulged in habits of dissipation, nor rioted in licentious enjoyments. He was buried (on the 22d of February) in Westminster Abbey, near the *north door*, in the aisle in which the monument of his father stands. His funeral was a public one; and was attended by a considerable number of his political and private friends. The Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, several of the Bishops, and many members, of both Houses of Parliament, were present. The monument, to be erected to his memory, is to be placed over the *west door* of the Abbey.

Arrest of the Chevalier de St. Gervais by the Inquisition of Barcelona.

[From Stockdale's History of the Inquisitions.]

'AFTER dinner, I went to take a walk on that beautiful terrace which extends along the port, in that part called *Barcellonette*. The sides of this walk, which is named the *Lonja*, are adorned with fine buildings. I was tranquilly enjoying this delightful place and the serene evening of a fine day, wrapped in dreams of my projects, of my future destiny, and of the beautiful Seraphine. The sweetly pensive shades of twilight had began to veil the face of the sky, when, on a sudden, six men surrounded and commanded me to follow them. I replied by a firm refusal; whereupon one of them seized me by the collar; I instantly assailed him with a violent blow upon the face, which caused

caused him to bellow with pain; in an instant the whole band pressed on me so closely that I was obliged to draw my sword. I fought as long as I was able, but, not being possessed of the strength of Antæus or Hercules, I was at last compelled to yield. The ruffians endeavoured to inspire me with respect and dread of them by saying that they were familiars of the Holy Office, and advised me to surrender, that I might escape disgrace and harsh treatment. I submitted to force, and I was taken to the prison of the Inquisition.

"As soon as I found myself within the talons of these vultures, I began to ask myself what was my crime, and what I had done to incur the censure of this hateful tribunal. Have these jacobin monks, said I, succeeded to the Druids, who called themselves the agents of the Deity, and arrogated to themselves the right of excommunicating and putting to death their fellow-citizens? My complaints were lost in empty air.

"On the following day, a Dominican, shrouded in hypocrisy, and with a tongue of deceit, came to conjure me, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to confess my faults, in order to the attainment of my liberty. "Confess your own faults first," said I to him, "ask pardon of God for your hypocrisy and your injustice. By what right do you arrest a gentleman, a native of France, who is exempted from the jurisdiction of your infernal tribunal, and who has done nothing in violation of the laws of this country?"—'Oh, Holy Virgin,' said he, 'you make me tremble! I will go and pray to God in your behalf, and I hope he will open your eyes and turn your heart.' "Go pray to the devil," said I to myself, "he is your only divinity."

"However, on that same day, Mr. Aubert, having in vain waited for me, at the dinner hour, sent to the hotel to inquire about me. The landlord informed him that I had disappeared on the preceding evening, that my luggage still remained in his custody, but that he was entirely ignorant what was become of me. This obliging gentleman, uneasy for my fate, made inquiries concerning me over the whole city, but without being able to gain the smallest intelligence. Astonished at this circumstance, he began to suspect that some indiscretion on my part might have drawn upon me the vengeance of the Holy Office, with whose spirit and conduct he was perfectly acquainted. He begged of the captain-general to demand my enlargement. The Inquisitors denied the fact of my detention, with the utmost effrontery of falsehood; but Mr. Aubert, not being able to discover any other probable cause for my disappearance, persisted in believing me to be a prisoner in the Holy Office.

"Next day, the familiars came to conduct me before the three Inquisitors; they presented me with a yellow mantle to put on, but I disdainfully rejected this satanic livery. However, they persuaded me that submission was the only means by which I could hope to recover my liberty. I appeared, therefore, clad in yellow, with a wax taper in my hand, before these three priests of Pluto. In the chamber was displayed the banner of the Holy Office, on which were represented a gridiron, a pair of pincers, and a pile of wood, with these words; *Justice,*

tice, Charity, Mercy. What an atrocious piece of irony! I was tempted, more than once, to singe, with my blazing taper, the hideous visage of one of these jacobins, but my good genius prevented me. One of them advised me, with an air of mildness, to confess my sins. 'My great sin,' replied I, 'is to have entered a country where the priests trample humanity under foot, and assume the cloak of religion to persecute virtue and innocence.'

"'Is that all you have to say?' 'Yes, my conscience is free from alarm and from remorse. Tremble if the regiment to which I belong should hear of my imprisonment: they would trample over ten regiments of Spaniards to rescue me from your barbarity.' 'God alone is master; our duty is to watch over his flock as faithful shepherds; our hearts are afflicted at it; but you must return to your prison, until you think proper to make a confession of your fault.' I then retired, casting upon my judges a look of contempt and indignation.

"As soon as I returned to my prison, I most anxiously considered what could be the cause of this severe treatment. I was far from suspecting that it could be owing to my answer to the mendicant frier concerning the Virgin and her lights.* However, Mr. Aubert, being persuaded that the Inquisition alone had been the cause of my disappearance, placed spies upon all their steps. One of them informed him that three monks, of the Dominican order, were about to set out for Rome, being deputed to the conventual assembly which was to be held there. He immediately wrote to Mr. de Cholet, commandant at Perpignan, to inform him how I had disappeared, of his suspicions as to the cause, and of the passage of the three jacobins through Perpignan, desiring him to arrest them, and not to set them at liberty till I should be released.

"M. de Cholet embraced, with alacrity, this opportunity of vengeance, and issued orders, at the gates of the town, to seize the three reverend personages. They arrived about noon, in high spirits and with keen appetites, and demanded of the centinel, which was the best hotel. The officer of the guard presented himself, and informed them that he was commissioned to conduct them to the Commandant of the place, who would provide for their lodging and entertainment. The monks rejoiced at this lucky windfall, overflowed with acknowledgments, and declared they could not think of incommoding the commandant. 'Come, good fathers, M. de Cholet is determined to do you the honours of the city.' "In the mean time he provided them an escort of four soldiers and a serjeant. The fathers marched along with joy, congratulating one another and delighted with the politeness of the French. 'Good fathers,'

* "A mendicant having come to his chamber, with a purse, begging him to contribute something for the lights or tapers to be lighted in honour of the Virgin, he replied, 'My good father, the Virgin has no need of lights, she need only go to bed at an 'early hour.'—St. Gervais, Voyage en Espagne," page 135, vol. i.

said

said M. de Cholet, 'I am delighted 'to have you in this city, I ex-'pected you impatiently. I have 'provided you a lodging.' 'Ah, 'Mr. Commandant, you are too 'good, we are undeserving.' "Par-"don me, have you not, in your "prison at Barcelona, a French of-"ficer, the Chevalier de St. Ger-"vais?" 'No, Mr. Commandant, 'we have never heard of any such 'person.' "I am sorry for that, "for you are to be imprisoned, and "to live upon bread and water, "until this officer be forthcoming." The reverend fathers, exceedingly irritated, exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations, and then said that they resigned themselves to the will of Heaven, and that the Commandant should answer before God and the pope for the persecution which he was about to exercise against members of the Church. "Yes," said the Commandant, "I "take the responsibility upon my-"self, meanwhile you will repair to "the citadel."

"Now behold the three hypocrites, in a narrow prison, condemned to the regimen of the Pauls and the Hilaries, uttering the loudest exclamations against the system of fasting and the Commandant. Every day, the purveyor, when he brought them their pitcher of water and portion of bread, demanded whether they had any thing to declare relative to the French officer. For three days they persisted in returning a negative, but, at length, the cries, not of their consciences, but of their stomachs, and their weariness of this mode of life, overcame their obstinacy. They begged an interview with Mr. de Cholet, who instantly waited upon them.

"They confessed that a young French officer was confined in the prison of the Holy Office, on account of the impious language he had held respecting the Virgin. "Undoubtedly he has acted wrong," said Mr. de Cholet, "but allow "the Virgin to avenge herself. "Write word to Barcelona to set "this gentleman at liberty. In "the interim I will keep you as "hostages, but I will mitigate "your sufferings, and your table "shall be less frugally supplied." The monks immediately wrote word to give liberty to the accursed Frenchman.

"During this interval, vexations, impatience, and weariness, took possession of my soul, and made me weary of life. At length the Inquisition, reading their brethren's letter, perceived themselves under the necessity of releasing their prey. One of them came to inform me that, in consideration of my youth, and of my being a native of France, the Holy Office had come to a determination to set me free, but that they required me, for the future, to have more respect for La Madonna, the mother of Jesus Christ. "Most re-"verend father," replied I, "the "French have always the highest "respect for the ladies." Uttering these words, I rushed towards the door, and, when I got into the street, I felt as if I were raised from the tomb once more to life."

Memoirs of Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches.

[From Dr. Aikin's Life of him.]

"BEING now in my forty-sixth year, I thought it was time to be obedient to the divine call, and not only to wear the dress and external marks of the church, as I had done for some years, but to submit my neck to the yoke, and bind myself to her sacred orders. And as, in the transaction of affairs, especially those of greater moment, and relative to the regulation of life, I always thought it right to deliberate long, but to be speedy in executing what had been resolved upon, I determined, after a consultation of so many years, to put in practice the result without delay. I had long before received the clerical tonsure from Francis de Harlai, archbishop of Rouen, and some time after, had been initiated into the lesser orders by Francis Nesmond, bishop of Bayeux, to whose diocese Caen belongs. I therefore obtained an indulgence from the Pope, allowing me to be promoted to holy orders, without the observance of those intervals and stated times which the church has enjoined. In consequence, after the proper pious exercises, the business was completed in three successive days by the administration of Claude Auvri, bishop of Coutances. I then employed a whole month in learning the sacred rites; and when I thought myself sufficiently versed in them from practice, I first officiated at the tomb of St. Genevieve (for which the Parisians have a singular veneration) in a subterraneous crypt; hoping that, through the patronage of this holy virgin, my newly conferred priesthood would conduce to the glory of God and my own salvation. For I had long been excited by a pious ardour to the worship of this saint; nor from this time did I omit any year to perform my adorations at her shrine on her anniversary, whilst the state of my health permitted; but this being debilitated, first by a severe disease, and then by the infirmity of old age, I have latterly intermitted the practice. But that the Almighty has suffered me to survive to the present day; that I still live, after recovery from that dreadful disorder, under the attacks of which a few years ago I lay almost at the last gasp; I entirely ascribe to the protection and guardianship of my excellent patroness, which I humbly implored in my greatest danger, and obtained by no merit of my own.

"About this time, a Jew of the name of Saluces, not unskilled in the numismatic science, brought me some ancient gold and silver coins of the best kind. He sold them at the highest price he could obtain, and not without reason, as this traffic was his sole means of subsistence. As in his countenance, eyes, and discourse, he gave indications of singular candour of disposition, I thought him not far from the kingdom of God, and confidently hoped that the darkness of Judaism would be dispelled, and he would open his eyes to the light. Nor was this expectation frustrated; for though at first reluctant, and resisting my admonitions and arguments, he became at length more docile, and submitted

submitted to the yoke of Christ. He therefore received baptism at my hands, the duke of Montausier being his sponsor, who gave him his own name.

" All Europe being in these later times involved in a destructive war, I addressed a supplicatory poem to the holy virgin Genevieve, beseeching her to implore of the Deity the restoration of peace, and a speedy succour to the distressed state of the christian world. It will not, I think, be impertinent to place this prayer before the eyes of the pious reader.

Prodeas summo, Genovefa, cœlo, &c.

" Aulnai, a considerable town, is situated twelve miles to the south of Caen. Adjacent to it is an abbey of the Cistertian order, which has been governed by two abbots, illustrious for their abilities, writings, and piety; John Bertaut, and John Peter Camus; the latter, bishop of Bellei, the former of Seez. Being then (1678) vacant by the death of Charles Furnes, the king was graciously pleased to place me at its head. It was not, however, in my power till long afterwards, to take possession of it, when the Dauphin's studies were concluded, and his marriage was in agitation. Having at that period passed ten whole years at court, and permission being granted me of revisiting my native province, I first went to Caen, and then to Aulnai. With the rural charms of this place I was at the first view so much captivated, that I recollected to have seen nothing more pleasant and refreshing; such is the variety of hills, valleys, groves, meadows, fields, fountains, rivulets, gardens, and tall and verdant trees, either in scattered groups, or planted in long rows. Add to this, the salubrity of the air, and the sweet tranquillity of the spot; so that if God had granted me the power of choosing a retreat to my own fancy, I should not have formed it after a different model. It was not, therefore, according to poetic licence, but to the real truth of representation, that I celebrate this Tempe in the following strains:

Tibi grates, zephyris hospita tellus, &c.

The novelty of this measure, neglected, or perhaps shunned from its difficulty, by modern poets, and of which Horace affords only a single example, excited many to imitate the piece, almost all of whom repented of a task unhappily executed. But a counsellor of Dijon, Lantin, who was a great master of music, taken with its suavity, adapted notes to it of so pleasing a melody, that they set off my verses to great advantage, and even made me satisfied with my performance. I shall venture to subjoin another piece, in which, under the form of an address to Nicholas Heinsius, the undegenerate son of Daniel Heinsius, a celebrated poet, I have painted the beauties of this district, and described the charms of the Oudon, a very pure and cold stream that waters it:

Ergo ne æternis agitemur, Heinsi, &c.

" By these verses I endeavoured to make a return to Heinsius for the present of Virgil, carefully edited by himself with new revisions, and elegantly printed, accompanied by a very polite letter. As I had thus the prospect of acquiring the friendship of so excellent a person, I chose not to be wanting to myself, or to seem to decline, when offered, a benefit which I ought spontaneously to have sought for.

" After I had once tasted the delights of Aulnai, as the approach of winter drove me from it, I returned

thither with the greatest satisfaction every year at the first flight of the swallow and song of the nightingale, and passed the whole summers there in charming retirement, occupied day and night in meditating on abstruse points, for the study of which I had never before found so quiet and agreeable a residence. Hence proceeded my "Questiones Alnetanæ," in which I undertook the discussion of the very difficult topic concerning the agreement of Reason and Faith; or, what ought to be the province of reason in adopting faith; and how far the empire of faith over reason ought to extend. I there shewed by the strongest evidence, that nothing so adverse to common feeling, either in belief or practice, is proposed to us by our holy religion, something similar to which in doctrine and precept, or even more contrary to the apprehension and manners of mankind, the best regulated nations have not either believed or admitted among their customs; and that there is therefore no cause why they should be rejected by the impious. Hence also proceeded the "Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ;" in which the vanity of the Cartesian system is demonstrated by arguments so certain, that when the late champion of the sect, Peter Silvain Regis, attempted to refute it, he could no otherwise maintain his ground than by giving a false interpretation of those words of mine which were to be cited; so that, while pretending to give a reply to my argumentation, he fraudulently and idly answered himself.

"Each of these treatises, that in which I endeavoured to conciliate reason and faith, and that in which I oppugned the Cartesian philosophy, were parts of a greater work, which I had planned in my mind, and of which it will not be foreign to the purpose of this book here to give a sketch. From my school reading, so ardent a love and esteem of ancient philosophy had pervaded my inmost feelings, that from that period classical literature seemed to me the handmaid of this science. By this passion I was led to obtain a knowledge of the sects of those ancient high-priests of philosophy, which are treated of by Diogenes Laertius; and though his work is cursorily written, without that accuracy which the dignity and importance of the subject demanded, yet I made use of it as a kind of storehouse, whence valuable articles might be taken for occasional purposes. To it was added the commentary of Menage; of which, being desirous of my revision and examination, he sent me by post the sheets as they came from the press; and the careful perusal of these, compared with the observations of others, gave me an intimate acquaintance with the history of philosophy. From this period I undertook no journey, and set apart no leisure time for study, without Laertius for my companion, and philosophy for one of the objects of my contemplation. And as this science is boundless, wandering into immensity beyond the limits of time and creation, whilst the human mind, cooped within narrow bounds, depressed to earth, and involved in thick darkness, attempts, by the aid of its reason, to break forth into the light, and to seize upon the arduous summits of truth, I proposed to enquire how high it could raise itself by its own powers, and what aids were to be sought for it from faith. These exalted studies, long, much, and not unpleasantly, exercised my mind; and the accumulated product of my labours was swelling to a great bulk,

bulk, when I thought it would be more useful, and better accommodated to common understandings, if it were divided into parts, and brought under certain heads. Hence arose my "Alnetanæ Questiones," and my "Examination of the Cartesian Philosophy." These, however, would have been more profitable, had not the age declined in love of solid literature, and been disposed to give more credit to the prejudices of the ignorant, than to the suggestions of pure truth.

"Aulnai was also the parent of my treatise "On the Situation of the terrestrial Paradise," the discovery of which I have declared to be due neither to myself nor to Bochart, but to writers of greater antiquity. Hence also issued my work "On the Navigations of Solomon," a question tortured by infinite disputes of commentators. My "Notes on the Anthology of Greek Epigrams" came from Aulnai, not designedly, but by chance, that is, at the request of George Grævius, who was preparing an edition of the Anthology, when he understood from the letters of Emeric Bigot that I had written many notes worthy of observation in the margin of my copy. Hence, likewise, proceeded the "Antiquities of Caen," the investigation of which, attempted by many with little success, and then deserted, gave me various occupation, and abstracting me from my accustomed and more agreeable studies, plunged me into the midst of barbarism and mouldy records.

"I was led fortuitously to the writing of this book. John Blois de Quesnay, whom I have formerly mentioned, had seen in the "Capitularies of Charles the Bald," and in the "Life of Aldric, Bishop of Mans," edited by Baluze, that among the *pagi* of Lower Normandy, in the county of Bayeux, was reckoned Ottinga Saxonia, between the *pagi* Bagasin and Oxmise. From the situation of the place he conjectured that Caen was designated under this name, and he disclosed his opinion to Segrais, who took it not as a conjecture and suspicion, as Blois had offered it, but as an undoubted certainty, and he wrote me word that the true origin of our native place was at length discovered. This, however, I could not credit; and weighing the matter more attentively, I found that by the word *pagus* was here by no means understood a town, but a tract of country, or small district. Hence arose between Blois and me a disquisition concerning the origin or antiquities of Caen, to the examination of which, knowing him to be diligent and sagacious, I strongly exhorted him. He pleaded in excuse his advanced age, for he was in his eighty-fourth year. I, on the other hand, set before him the example of Cato, who at that very age composed his work on Roman antiquities. Blois, however, did not yield to my arguments: he only promised, if I would undertake the task, that whatever he could contribute by his authority, assistance, or advice, towards completing or embellishing the work, he would sedulously perform: and this, in effect, he did; for, as if he had been enjoined the task, he inspected places, ruins, and registers; consulted aged persons about the memorials of ancient times; and gave me accurate accounts of the whole. Nor was Nicholas Monstier, the mayor of Caen, wanting in the offices of old friendship; for he sent to me at Aulnai two bulky and plainly written volumes of town occurrences; not, indeed, very ancient, but in which every transaction was recorded, that, after the destruction made

made by fire and the English, could be recovered by the diligence of good citizens. Thither was also sent to me a book of acts of the university of Caen for two hundred years back, collected and digested by Peter le Monnier de l'Enauderie, a person who has deserved well of this seminary. Many of my fellow citizens also forwarded my enquiries, by supplying me with old deeds and charters, and public records, in running through which I was for a long time as much fatigued as if I had been grinding at a mill.

"From the same source of Aulnai sprang various poems, not so much the effusions of a mind labouring with poetic inspiration, as called forth by the smiling scenes of nature around me. Hence, among the discomforts of calamitous old age, I regard it as not the least, that it has made me tardy and unapt to undergo the inconveniences of the journey thither; so that I cannot without pain call to mind those former delights, and reflect that I must henceforth renounce them.

"Whilst I was intent upon these objects of pursuit at Aulnai, I from time to time made excursions to studies of a different kind, for which, the open and unobstructed face of the heavens, and the expanded bosom of bounteous nature, afforded ample materials. Thus, when any eclipses of the sun or moon occurred, I attentively observed them with the astronomical instruments formerly constructed by Gilles Macé for this purpose. By their means I found the elevation of the pole at Aulnai to be 48° 58′ 20″; that at Caen having been determined by the observations of Macé to be 49° 10′ 30″. I procured one of the newly invented instruments, by which the weight of the air is ascertained by a column of quicksilver, and which may properly be called an air-balance; and another to ascertain the heat of the air; the latter termed a thermometer, the former, a barometer. I also proposed to myself to investigate, if possible, the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, so that the whole of its temperature might be accurately known. Of the religious in the house of Aulnai, some were attached to mechanics, and they planned with me various contrivances for making exact and commodious hygrometers: these it is unnecessary here to describe. Two instruments for other purposes, invented by myself, appear, however, worthy of commemoration, on account both of their novelty and their utility. One of them, of a very simple construction, and easy application, enables any person, even a boy, to draw a sun-dial upon any area, however unequal and rugged, without difficulty. The other was of the following kind: — as the place in which we were was very open, and exposed to every wind, and we were often enquiring of one another whether the force of the wind were greater or less than on yesterday or the preceding day, it appeared to me worthy of consideration, whether, by any means, its various motions could be reduced to measure and calculation. After turning the matter long in my mind, I thought I had found a method of answering this problem. Some time before, there had settled at Paris an Englishman named Hubin, a man of ingenuity, and a skilful and industrious workman in mechanics. I went to him, and as soon as I mentioned my idea of weighing and measuring the wind, he thought it a matter of jest, and supposed I was ridiculing him. I then produced the figure of a machine, by which the force of the wind might easily be weighed as in a balance,

and

and which might be termed an anemometer. On an attentive survey he approved of the design, and promised to set to work upon it; and the machine which he had begun would have been completed, had not he been prevented by death.

"About this time an unexpected controversy arose between me and Peter Poussines, a Jesuit, and great benefactor to literature. I had learned that he had mentioned with some censure my name, which otherwise he professed to revere, when discussing the question of the origin of Herod the Great, the Ascalonite, in some of his writings. When I afterwards amicably complained of this attack to the eminent counsellor of Toulouse, Fermat, our common friend, Poussines apologized for what he had done, in a letter to me, so strongly expressive of good will, that this slight altercation was in fact a renewal of affection. And because the explanation of his argument is contained in my letters, which are before the public, it is unnecessary here to add more.

"But before I relinquish the history of my writings, the order of my narrative requires that I should speak of some others, on which also I bestowed a good deal of labour. I had long ago made a commencement of a work upon a subject new to myself, though relating to a common topic—the commerce and navigation of the ancients; and at leisure hours I had collected many facts worthy of remark, hitherto unnoticed. It was, indeed, as yet, a rude and unformed mass, and written in the vernacular tongue, but by means of attention and arrangement, might rise to a work, neither useless nor contemptible, provided a vacation were granted me from severer studies; and this, through the divine favour, I afterwards obtained.

"When I first turned my mind to this speculation, I had already projected something greater, to which I might especially refer all my studies and meditations; namely, the interpretation and elucidation of the Holy Scriptures. For, from my early youth, I had entertained so great a reverence for this book, on account of its divinity, and esteem, on account of its dignity and merit, that although my juvenile mind wantoned in the pursuit of mathematical science and polite literature, yet it willingly recurred to the sacred volumes, as if it were a stranger elsewhere, and at home here. I had not then, however, any knowledge of the Hebrew language, and my perusal was limited to the Vulgate translation. But after I had passed these barriers, and had tasted of the primary fountains, I was sensible of a different relish in the divine draughts, and appeared to behold the celestial mysteries without a veil: and from that familiarity with these books, which by constant reading I attained, I discovered that, although they had not been possessed of that divinity which we surely believe them to contain, and almost discern by our feelings, yet solely on account of their antiquity, and the vast abundance of grand, singular, and wonderful facts to be derived from this immense store, and hence only, they were most worthy to engage my closest attention and assiduous meditation.

"I shall now return to the order of time. Charles de la Rue, of the Society of Jesus, with whom I had a friendship of long standing, was then preaching the gospel at Alençon. He wrote me word at Aulnai that a controversy had arisen between

tween him and Benoit, a Calvinist minister, respecting a passage in Nehemiah (ch. viii. ver. 8), which he had publicly asserted to have been adulterated and perverted from its proper meaning in the Geneva translation of the Bible. Benoit, a man not void of learning and acuteness, had thought it his duty to clear his associates from the charge of falsification, and had therefore written a long epistle to de la Rue, which he refuted in a solid reply; and he sent me both the letters, requesting me to read them with attention, and give him my opinion on the dispute itself, and the argumentation employed in it. I complied with his desire, and weighed the question in an exact dissertation, which has been made public.

"Not long after, in 1684, I received a letter at Aulnai from Francis Mascaregne, count Coculin, a Portuguese nobleman of the first rank, which was delivered at Lisbon to the marquis of Torci, and by him transmitted to John Baptist du Hamel, who sent it to me. In this letter the count signified that he had composed a panegyrical poem in Latin on Louis le Grand, king of France, in which something was inserted to my honour; that, in order that I might not be ignorant of the circumstance, he had directed the poem to be sent to me; and that he was very desirous we might enter into a connexion of friendship. He added, what I rather choose to relate in his words than in my own: "A native of Cadiz formerly, incited by the fame of Livy, is said to have gone to Rome for the purpose of visiting him. I have, however, thought proper to send before me this pledge of my regard for you, meaning shortly to follow it, should you judge me worthy of your affection." His inclination, however, did not take effect, nor do I believe that this count ever came to France.

"This year was fatal to John Eudes, a priest, brother of Francis Mezerai, who had passed his 80th year. By his singular virtue and ardent piety he had long before engaged my love and admiration. It would be a needless work here to recite the praises of a man whose infinite labours in promoting the worship of God and the salvation of souls, and eminently pious and useful writings, rendered him dear to God and venerable to the church. The sanctity of this person caused me, when he was living, to pay him the most respectful attention; and whether I enjoyed his conversation in private, or heard him from the pulpit, I felt the flame of piety kindling in my breast, and rousing me from my langour. I recollect that once, during those days which the church has set apart for the commemoration of Christ's passion, I was so much animated by his exhortations, as to break out into the following strain:

Quis opacam novus horror tenet æthram, &c.

"When the assembly of the clergy was, according to custom, convoked at St. Germains in the year 1695, having now been called to the holy order of episcopacy, I was delegated thither by the province of Rouen, together with Mathurin Savary, bishop of Seez. The president of this convocation was Francis de Harlai, archbishop of Paris, who, three months after its dissolution, was carried off by a sudden death.

"After I had been liberated from the fetters of the court, and could pursue my studies with more freedom, I turned my attention to the revival of my Hebrew learning, which

which I had long intermitted, with the addition of the Syriac and Arabic, on which tongues I had, when young, bestowed some labour, without the help of a master: and aware that languages can be acquired only by daily and constant use, from 1681 to 1712, a space of thirty-one years, I suffered no day to pass in which I did not devote two or three hours to oriental literature; not permitting myself to be interrupted by journeys, business, or even indisposition. And as I understood the Hebrew to be the fountain of the languages abovementioned, and of some others disseminated through the East, and that nothing so much conduced to the comprehension of the sacred books, the knowledge of which was my great object, as exquisite skill in that tongue, which is only to be obtained by the assiduous study of those books themselves, I resolved to bestow unremitting and faithful attention upon that point; and, as I have already mentioned, my industry in the performance was such, that to the present period I have read through the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures four-and-twenty times.

"Whilst I was intent upon these studies, I experienced the kindness of the excellent John Pearson, whom his learning and virtues raised to the see of Chester. Through his attention, the various readings in the ancient manuscripts of Stockholm and Venice, containing some of the writings of Origen, were transcribed and sent to me by the care of Thomas Belk, himself a man of great erudition. I hoped, also, by their favour, that from the copy of the Anthology of Vettius Valens, the astronomer of Antioch, which had belonged to John Selden, the deficiencies in the copy which, as formerly mentioned, I had transcribed in Denmark, might be supplied; but neither could my book be safely sent to England, nor could it be asked that they would trust their's to the hazards of the sea and the roads: moreover, there was no one on whom I could or would impose the task of comparing the two copies; so that my hope was frustrated.

"Francis Combefis, of the Dominican order, afforded me the same assistance in my present lucubrations, that he had done long before in my edition of Origen. He was well acquainted with Greek literature and ecclesiastical antiquity; and was celebrated for his editions of several of the fathers, with translations of them, which were indeed faithful, but in a style so confused and rugged, that on reading them I was frequently obliged to recur for the sense to the Greek original, and make the author interpret his interpreter. He made enquiry into the places where manuscripts of Origen's works lay concealed, pointed them out to me, and gave me useful information and advice. When I had proposed to myself, from those collections which are termed Catenæ (Chains), and consist of extracts from the works of the fathers arranged connectively, to select all those taken from Origen, and had proceeded some length in this task, I found in them such a confusion of things, words, and names of authors, and the whole conducted with so little fidelity, that I was led to throw aside the Catenæ, and abandon the undertaking; but Combefis was not deterred by the difficulty, and completed the design. Hence arose a vast volume of Origenian extracts, which I keep in my possession, as an undoubted monument both of his industry, and his friendship for me.

"I must not suffer modesty to prevent

prevent me from mentioning a service which at this time I performed to the college of Jesuits at Caen, in the bosom of which I had been educated. Though it was frequented by youths of distinguished rank, and flourished under the excellent instructions of men of learning, the house was circumscribed within such narrow bounds, that there was scarcely a proper place for a garden. It had, moreover, lately been adorned with a splendid church, but placed so incommodiously, that by its various appendages it destroyed the whole use and pleasure of the garden. I therefore reminded the fathers, who were inattentive to their own convenience, that just beneath their walls there was a spacious rampart belonging to the public, of no use whatever, and only employed as a walk by the idle populace; and that if this were taken into their enclosure, it would be a great addition to their own recreation, and a great ornament to their house. They objected their own unwillingness to make such a request, and the difficulty of obtaining it. After chiding them for their bashfulness, I took the whole business upon myself; and all the influence I possessed, which was not a little, with the community of the city, and the governor of it and the citadel, I exerted in favour of the scheme. I at length succeeded in procuring this great accession, by which the seat of my early education was augmented more than half, and a charming prospect was afforded to the open fields and subjacent meadows, with the channel of the Orne flowing through them; so that nothing could surpass the pleasantness of the gardens. Thus I considered myself as having conferred no trifling school boy gift upon my old masters.

"Four years had passed from the publication of my "Demonstratio Evangelica," when Nicholas Boileau Despréaux published a second edition of his translation of Longinus "On the Sublime." This writer had composed Satires, which, indeed, abounded in wit, and captivated the ear by their happy versification, but were highly abusive, replete with the venom of malignity, and were levelled against the name and reputation of many worthy and eminent persons. By these arts he had acquired great fame with the public, itself malignant, and delighting in detraction. In that chapter of my work, in which, for the purpose of proving the antiquity of the Mosaic books, I had given a series of authors who, from the time of Moses to that of Christ, had celebrated him in their works, I had cited Longinus as one of the number; adding, however, this remark, that the passage quoted by him from Moses bore no mark of sublimity; that the thing, indeed, expressed in these words, was sublime, but the narration was simple, and devoid of all ornament; and that I therefore thought it probable that Longinus had taken it not from the original of Moses himself, but from its version in some later writers. Despréaux, thinking that by this observation the dignity and reputation of his Longinus was impaired, in the new edition of his Satires revenged, according to his manner, by a stroke of contumely, the supposed injury I had offered to that author. When I was informed of this circumstance by Montausier, who was a great enemy to the malevolence of this satirist, I wrote a letter to him, in which I maintained my opinion concerning the passage of Longinus, and repressed Despréaux' insolence. This, however, I did not intend to publish, but meant to keep within

in the walls of my library, when, twenty-three years afterwards, I found that it had escaped through some chink, and, by I know not whose contrivance, certainly not by mine, had got into the hands of John le Clerc, a man highly celebrated for erudition, at Amsterdam. The critical perspicacity in which he excels, induced him to adhere to my opinion, and he inserted my letter in his "Bibliotheque Choisié," confirmed by new arguments of great acuteness and solidity. The prince of vituperative poets, Despréaux, indignant that any one should presume to differ from him, the arbiter of literary glory and ignominy, left to his friends the office of pouring out upon Le Clerc all the gall which he had collected and prepared before his death; which this insolent faction performed with so much good-will, that, heaping abuse upon abuse, they seemed to think Despréaux guilty of too much moderation. Whatever, therefore, they considered him to have abated of his native petulance and ill language, they added from their own fund; and in the late edition of his works, besprinkled me, then struggling under a severe disease, and almost expiring with the venom of their malignity.

"About the commencement of this quarrel I had just returned to Paris, after half a year's residence at Aulnai, whilst the court was at Fontainebleau. Thence I received a letter from Montausier (1685), in which he informed me that I was designed by his most gracious Majesty for the see of Soissons. Conscious of my own inability to bear a burden which might be formidable even to angelic shoulders, I considered myself as the more bound to gratitude towards the king, who had conferred a favour upon me which I had never expected; and I interpreted the circumstance as proceeding from the will and suggestion of the Deity, who directs the course of human affairs, and especially of his church, according to his pleasure. Laying aside, therefore, all other business, and suspending my most beloved studies, I applied all my thoughts to the pious and faithful fulfilment of those duties which were assigned to me by Providence. Early in the next spring, therefore, I went to Soissons, in order more closely to inspect the diocese, and thoroughly examine the place which was to be the theatre of my labours, and that I might know my flock, and be known by them, as became a good shepherd. At this time momentous disputes existed between the courts of Rome and France, the causes of which it is unnecessary here to relate. The consequence was, that almost all intercourse of business between the two was broken off; and seven years elapsed after I was nominated bishop of Soissons, in which every product and grant of papal letters was withheld, and with the empty title of episcopacy, I was without all right of exercising its functions; whilst, in the mean time, there existed great disturbance in ecclesiastical affairs, the flocks of the faithful being in different parts neglected and deserted, and the succession of pastors interrupted. Although this was a great grief to me, and to the whole Gallican church, yet I derived from it this advantage, that the protraction of time rendered more tolerable to me the heavy expenses that this new accession of dignity demanded. For I then became sensible that I had fallen into great pecuniary difficulties, and that I must incur endless expense if I were to administer the office imposed upon me without meanness

meanness or discredit. First of all it was necessary to obtain an apostolic diploma, which was to be purchased at a great price from the bankers of the court of Rome; of whom, the person to whom I had committed the management of my affairs dealt with me faithlessly, and with the greatest rapacity and dishonesty. Through his unprincipled fraud it happened, that some persons highly recommended to him, who were but lately nominated by the king to bishoprics, received their Roman diplomas before me, who had enjoyed the same title for some years; and by the final ceremonies of consecration obtained a right of precedence over me. To this capital injury he added another, not dissimilar; for when I had thought it my duty to offer to the pope a copy of my "Demonstratio Evangelica," and having taken care to provide one magnificently bound and ornamented, had left the whole management of the presentation to him, he converted the book to his own use, and defrauded me of the expected acknowledgement and approbation of the pontiff.

"There came to me, during this interval, a young man named Anselm Baudot, of the religious order styled Penitents, who was not deficient in learning, and was especially attached to Greek literature. After he had passed through his philosophical course, he prepared himself, according to custom, to hold public disputations; and disdaining to confine himself on this occasion to the Latin tongue, he wished also to employ the Greek. And as in those literary contests an arbiter is usually appointed, he was desirous of having one who was not ignorant of the Greek language, and was likewise decorated with the episcopal dignity, and therefore fixed upon me. The business was conducted with great apparatus, concourse, and applause. His success raised sanguine hopes of him among his friends, when he undertook a voyage to Italy, which proved fatal, first to his liberty, and then to his life; for, being captured by pirates and carried to Tunis, he was thrown into prison, where he died of the plague.

"Four of the seven years had now elapsed since I had begun to be called bishop of Soissons, according to the custom prevailing among us, of taking the title of the destined see, without waiting for consecration, when the illustrious abbot Fabio Brulart de Sillery, promoted to the bishopric of Avranches, frequently sounded me, by means of friends, on a project of petitioning from the king the faculty of exchanging our sees; alleging as a reason, the vicinity of Avranches to my native place, Caen, and of Soissons to his of Sillery. In order more effectually to persuade me, he came to Aulnai, and by various arguments, and the intercession of friends, especially of Segrais, who on many accounts was much attached to his family, and whom he sent for on purpose, and also of Charles de la Rue, the Jesuit, who was then rusticating with me, he at length overcame my resistance, and I gave my consent. Brulart took upon himself the care of obtaining the royal rescripts; and the business being concluded according to his wishes, I immediately went to Avranches, where, on examining the state of things, I found much labour and trouble awaiting me. I was therefore obliged to make frequent journeys thither during three years, until, upon the accommodation of the differences between Rome and France, having received the

the papal diploma, in 1692 I was consecrated bishop of Avranches. For three years Brulart stood to the compact made between us; but he then began to seek remote causes why he should no longer submit to the conditions which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself. Our difference was about to undergo the decision of the supreme tribunal, when the illustrious prelates of Rheims, Meaux, and Troyes, brought it to a friendly termination This province I administered nearly ten years; and I had nothing more at heart than to restore the relaxed discipline of a diocese which had for so long a time been without a bishop. Wherefore, having maturely weighed the regulations of the ancient prelates, which are commonly termed Synodal Statutes, and having collected others from various sources, I drew up and duly promulgated a new set. And as in process of time my flock became better known to me at the diocesian assemblies, which were annually convoked, I curbed rising disorders by new injunctions, But I found at length, by my own experience, that he undertakes a task of infinite labour, and almost beyond the power of man to sustain, who attempts to administer the episcopal office according to its real importance, to watch over the salvation of souls, to destroy the germinations of vice, to promote the growth of virtue, to defend the purity of piety and religion, and to form himself to those morals which may present a rule of life to his whole flock.

"Having turned my view on all sides, for the purpose of inspecting the affairs of the church of Avranches, I discovered that Charles Marquetel de St. Evremond belonged to my flock. He had long been an exile in England, whither he had retired on account of the displeasure of the court, which he had brought upon himself, with the fear of something worse, by indulging to excess a spirit of ridicule. Well remembering that it is the office of a good shepherd to track the footsteps of a wandering sheep, and bring him back to the fold, I wrote to Henry Justell, our common friend, and requested him that he would call upon St. Evremond in my name, and awaken in him the desire of revisiting his country; adding, that perhaps, by the intervention and solicitation of my friends, I might obtain for him the liberty of returning to his family. But he had struck such deep root in England, that he appeared almost to have forgotten France; and besides, pleading the infirmity of age, he said that he chose to die and be buried there.

"It was my determination to devote the remainder of my life to the episcopal functions, had not the inclemency of the climate, and the hardness of the water flowing through hollow and flinty rocks, which brought upon me severe pains in the bowels, at length driven me from the spot. The effects of the water were so noxious, that for the two last years I was obliged to abstain from a single draught of it. My gracious king, on being informed of the circumstance, not only granted me permission (in 1699) to abdicate my bishopric, but in his bounty conferred upon me the abbacy of Fontenai, that I might not undergo the humiliation of being reduced to a narrow income. I then appeared to myself restored to my own country, for Fontenai, situated on the river Orne, is only two miles from Caen; and there I hoped to have found a harbour for my old age; remembering that I had frequented the place with

with great delight in my youth, upon the invitation of the worthy abbot, William Boivin. I therefore set about repairing and beautifying the abbatial mansion, providing it with suitable furniture, and putting the gardens in order, on which objects I spared neither expense nor pains. But I found too late, that a place cursorily viewed acquires a very different aspect when it becomes a place of abode. My old friends and kinsmen, too, the inhabitants of the surrounding lands, from whose neighbourhood I expected the comforts of society, proved my greatest adversaries. Such is the perversity of mankind, that the person whom they most love, or affect to love, when absent, is the object of their open enmity, when present. To my vexations were added numberless lawsuits brought upon me on all sides, especially those arising from the demands upon me for dilapidation on account of the house I left at Avranches, or from those which I myself made on account of that to which I succeeded. In this matter I experienced some unkindness (why should I conceal it?) from Francis de la Chaise, of the society of Jesus, the king's confessor. For when, in consequence of our ancient friendship, and his authority over me, he was nominated the arbitrator in these disputes, he treated me with a rigour that rendered him the instrument of the greatest injuries I sustained in my affairs. My successor in the see was also very hard to be dealt with, for he seemed to consider himself rather as my heir, than my successor, with so much avidity and pertinacity did he lay claim to my goods. Brulart joined in the persecution, by attempting, if possible, to rescind our former agreements; but both of them were foiled in their projects. These, however, were trifles, in comparison with the obstinate contests which I had to maintain, for ten entire years, with the renters of the produce of my farms: nor could I extricate myself from their chicane, without the aid of several decrees of parliament, and my own resolute exertions. Still I was not at the end of my troubles; for the very person whom I had employed to defend me against these attacks, and to whom I had committed the care of my whole property, who was joined to me by consanguinity, and the kindnesses of many years, and who lay under the highest obligations to me, entered into such secret machinations for my ruin, that had not his frauds been timely detected and exposed before equitable judges, who obviated their effects, I should have been stript of every thing.

"I gladly here insert the name Judith Barbara Tiliac, a matron worthy of the highest commendation, both for the suavity of her disposition and correctness of her manners; and much more for her knowledge of sacred antiquity and the Hebrew tongue, which, however, her singular modesty prevented her from disclosing. Although I had been familiar with her from our earliest years, neighbourhood having been the first bond of our acquaintance; yet she concealed her studies from me with so much care, that I suspected nothing in her beyond the usual attainments of her sex. Nor did she make me the confident of her secret, till, becoming a refugee to Holland on account of religion, she betrayed herself, on consulting me by letter relative to several obscure passages in the sacred books. But the remembrance of so much worth, and such a sincere friendship, is still vivid in my mind, and will

continue to be so, as long as life remains.

"When I first settled at Fontenai, John Mabillon, a Benedictine monk, came thither, not so much for the purpose of visiting me, as of examining the registers and old charters of this abbey, in the course of collecting materials for the History of the Benedictine Order, which he had undertaken to compose. I should have been glad to detain with me some days a man with whom I had been well acquainted for many years, and who was singularly skilled in ecclesiastical history, of which his long study of ancient records and diplomas had made him the most learned and scientific critic in the present age. Neither was he unwilling to spend some time with me; but the affairs of his order hastily recalled him to Paris.

"From early youth I had been intimate with Ezekiel Spanheim; for we were attached to the same studies, and his experienced urbanity and kindness induced me more and more to cultivate his friendship. Hence, neither length of time, nor distance of place, nor difference of occupations, but his death alone, could sever our cordial union."

Character of the Duke of Burgundy.

[From Mr. Mudford's Translation of Bausset's Life of Fenelon.]

"LOUIS XIV. saw the period approaching, when the education of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, would require the cares of a tutor. A prince, who had always connected his own grandeur with the employment of men of talents, and who had appointed Montausier and Bossuet to be the governor and tutor of his son, was well qualified to make as good a choice for his grandson. In seeking a tutor for him, he had only one wish to accomplish, which was, to confide him to the care of the most virtuous man in his court; and he had the good fortune to find a man, possessing virtue and every other quality necessary to form a great prince. This man was the Duke de Beauvilliers.

"This was a choice which none could condemn. The Duke de Beauvilliers was no less distinguished for the good qualities of his heart and mind, than for his birth. He was, originally, intended for the church. He had married the second daughter of Colbert; and he had the rare felicity of finding in his wife an entire conformity of opinions and of taste relatively to the discharge of the highest duties of piety. In being appointed by Louis XIV. to be the governor of the Duke of Burgundy, his post became arduous and important. In fact, the duty of providing a good king for the French nation devolved upon him. But that modesty and simplicity, which were inherent in his character, rendered him diffident, rather than ambitious, of an employment, the difficulties and the delicacy of which he so accurately appreciated.

"Louis XIV. when he fixed upon the Duke de Beauvilliers, wished to

to add, to so strong a proof of his confidence, every circumstance which could at all tend to confer upon it additional importance. With the exception, therefore, of the single place of *valet de chambre*, which he reserved as a recompence for the faithful services of a domestic *(Moreau)*, who had attended the earliest infancy of the young prince, with an unusual degree of propriety and of probity, he left to the Duke de Beauvilliers the unconstrained disposal of all the other places, as well as the choice of the persons who were to superintend the education of the prince.

" Louis XIV. had not hesitated for a moment as to whom he should select as a governor for his grandson; nor did M. de Beauvilliers hesitate a single moment as to the choice of a preceptor. He nominated Fenelon to that office on the 17th of August, 1689, the very day after he had received his own appointment. Fenelon knew not of his elevation. Bossuet heard of it on the 18th, while at his country-house at Germigny; and, in the first warmth of his joy, he wrote to the Marchioness of Laval that letter, which does both him and its object so much honour. It is here copied from the original, in the hand-writing of Bossuet.

" Yesterday, Madam, I was wholly occupied with the welfare of the church and the state; to-day, that I have had more leisure to reflect upon the cause of your joy, I am myself rejoiced. The Marquis, your father, who was so sincere and meritorious a friend, presents himself to my mind. I picture to myself how he would feel on this occasion; at the illustrious dawn of that merit, *which has been hidden with so much care.* In short, Madam, we shall not lose the Abbé de Fenelon: you can enjoy him: and I, though a provincial, shall escape from here, now and then, to visit him. Accept, I entreat you, the testimonies of my joy, and the assurances of that respect with which I am, Madam, your most humble,

" And most obedient servant,

" J. BENIGNE,

" Bishop of Meaux."

Germigny, Aug. 19, 1689.

" Madame de Maintenon frequently used to say, that she had contributed towards the nomination of the Abbé de Fenelon as preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy; and perhaps, indeed, connected as she was with the Duke de Beauvilliers, the new governor had taken the precaution to secure her approbation as a necessary preliminary to obtaining the sanction of the king. For it might be feared that Louis XIV. would retain some prejudices against Fenelon, since the time when he was prevailed upon, by injurious reports, to refuse his being nominated to the bishoprick of Poictiers and to that of Rochelle.

" The choice of the new governor and preceptor was no sooner made public, than all France resounded with applause: yet this choice had fallen upon two individuals, of whom the one, though obliged by his situation to reside at court, lived there, however, in close retirement; and the other possessed no other title than that of superior of a convent of women. But the one, in spite of his modesty, could not elude renown; and the other had disclosed, unconsciously, the secret of his character and genius in two works, whose primary object it was to be useful to religion and to friendship.

" But in the midst of all those applauses,

applauses, and of all those honourable and flattering testimonies of admiration; in the midst of all the bustle of courtiers; of that delight, which is often excited in the public by an unexpected prosperity and a premature elevation; in the midst of the most sincere praises, which this splendid triumph of virtue drew forth from the mouth of every friend of religion and of his country; one solemn, one austere voice was heard; a voice which the heart of Fenelon had been accustomed to interrogate with docility for many years. It came to guard him against the dangerous ebriety of success, and to recall his mind to serious reflections upon the duties and the dangers of his new condition. M. Tronson wrote to him the following letter.

August, 1689.

"You will, perhaps, be surprised, "Sir, at not finding me among the "crowd of those who have felici- "tated you upon the recent mark "of royal favour which has been "bestowed upon you. But I en- "treat you, very humbly, not to "condemn me for this little delay: "I thought that, on an occasion "which so greatly interested me, I "could not do better than to com- "mence by adoring the designs of "God towards you, and to implore "for you the continuation of his "mercies. I have endeavoured to "do both according to the best of "my ability; and I can assure you, "that I felt afterwards a sincere joy "in reflecting that you had been "chosen.

"The king has given, in this "choice, a proof of his piety, and "a striking testimony of his discern- "ment; and these are surely very "consolatary truths. The educa- "tion which his majesty has thought "fit to confide to your care has such "an important connection with the "welfare of the state, and the good "of the church, that every sincere "lover of his country must unfeign- "edly rejoice that it is committed "into such hands; but I very can- "didly confess to you, that *my* joy "is considerably mingled with un- "easiness, when I consider the pe- "rils to which you are exposed; "for it cannot be denied that, in "the ordinary course of events, our "elevation only renders our salva- "tion more difficult. It opens the "door to the dignities of the earth; "but we should tremble, lest it "shuts us out from the eternal "greatness of heaven. It is true, "you may perform much good in "your present situation; but you "may also become guilty of great "crimes. There can be no medium "in such a post; the good or the "bad success has, almost always, "unceasing results. You are in a "country where the Gospel of Je- "sus Christ is hardly known, and "where they, who do know it, use "it only as a means of recommen- "dation among men. You live "now among persons whose lan- "guage is pagan, and whose ex- "ample leads too often towards "things that are perilous. You "will behold yourself surrounded "by a variety of objects which flat- "ter the senses, and which are "only calculated for awakening the "most dormant passions. A more "than ordinary degree of grace, "and an uncommon portion of "faith, must be necessary to enable "you to resist such violent and such "seducing temptations. The dark "mists which cloud the moral at- "mosphere of a court, are capable "of obscuring the plainest and "most evident truths. It is not ne- "cessary to remain there long, be- "fore we learn to consider as un- "natural

" natural and excessive, those very " truths which had been so often " felt, and so often acknowledged, " when they have been meditated " at the foot of the cross. The most " established duties of life become " gradually either doubtful or im- " practicable. A thousand occa- " sions will present themselves, in " which you will consider yourself " as bound by prudence, and even " by benevolence, to concede some- " thing to the world; and yet, what " a strange state it is for a Christian " to be in; and still more, for a " priest, to behold himself obliged " to enter into a compact with the " enemy of his salvation! Truly, " Sir, your post is a dangerous one: " confess, with sincerity, that it will " be a difficult task to remain un- " weakened; and that it will re- " quire a most consummate virtue " to resist temptation. If ever the " study and meditation of the sa- " cred writings have been needful " to you, they are now so in an espe- " cial manner. Hitherto you have " needed only to cultivate virtuous " thoughts, and to nourish the love " of truth; but henceforth you will " have to shield yourself from evil " impressions, and to avoid false- " hood. It is certainly of the great- " est consequence to you, that you " you forget not the hour of your " death; that hour, when all the " glory of the world will disappear " as a dream, and when every crea- " ture in it, who may have been " your support, will sink from be- " neath you.

" Your friends, no doubt, will " console you, because you have not " sought your employment; and " this indeed is a source of just con- " solation, and a great mercy of " God towards you; but you must " not rest too much upon it. We " have often more to do with our " own elevation than we are aware " of. It is very seldom that we see " the path which conducts to it, " and that we fly from it with sin- " cerity. Few persons have arrived " at this degree of self-denial. We " do not, indeed, always seek for " our promotion with our usual " eagerness; but, at the same time, " we seldom fail to remove the ob- " stacles which are in our way: we " do not, perhaps, solicit very urg- " ently those persons who might " be able to serve us; but we are " not sorry when we exhibit our- " selves to them under the most " favourable aspect; and it is pre- " cisely to those minute discoveries " of human qualities that we may " attribute the commencement of " our preferment; and thus no per- " son can be quite certain that he " has not influenced his own pro- " motion. This way of evincing " the talents which we possess is " often done without much reflec- " tion; yet it should be avoided; " and it is always useful to obviate " its effects by contrition and hu- " mility.

" Perhaps you will consider this " letter as being somewhat too free, " and a little too long; or you may " probably regard it as a sermon in- " judiciously made, instead of a ju- " dicious compliment. I should cer- " tainly have been more laconic and " more reserved, if I had been less " anxious about your salvation.— " Read it as the language of my " heart, which cannot be otherwise " than tenderly interested about " your real welfare. I entreat you " to believe that I shall unceasingly " implore God to fill you with an " inviolable love of him, in order " that no temptation may change " nor weaken the pious sentiments " with which he will inspire you. " Such is the prayer made by the

" church

"church to obtain the love of God "for its children.

"I am, with respect, &c."

"Fenelon was worthy of hearing such language, dictated by the best and most tender motives. He retraced in it all those principles in which he had been brought up, and which had been so useful in regulating his conduct. But this paternal voice must have awakened in him painful recollections. Of the three persons who had guided his infancy and his youth, M. Tronson was the only one that now remained. His uncle, the Marquis de Fenelon, had been dead since the year 1683; but he had to mourn a much more recent loss in the death of his other uncle, the Bishop of Sarlat, who died on the 1st of May, 1688, in the eighty-third year of his age. There can be no doubt that two relations, so affectionate and so pious, and who had been as a father to their nephew, would have experienced the highest gratification in seeing all France applaud a choice which justified their cares and their hopes; and Fenelon himself must have regretted that he had lost such tender witnesses of the purity of his intentions, and such useful guides to secure him from the rocks which now threatened his course.

"The Duke de Beauvilliers had too much esteem for Fenelon, and too much confidence in him, to wish otherwise than that he should be perfectly free in the nomination of those who should act under him in educating the young prince. The Abbé de Langeron was therefore appointed reader; he was one of the oldest of Fenelon's friends, and he deserved to be so. The Abbé Fleury was made sub-preceptor; of such a choice we need not mention the propriety. All his works are impressed with the qualities of his heart and genius. His virtue obtained the veneration of his contemporaries; and his name is still pronounced with esteem, in an age different from the one in which he lived. He knew by experience how to educate, and well educate, princes. Previously to his being called to his situation about the Duke of Burgundy, he had been entrusted with the instruction of the Prince of Conti and the Count of Vermandois. The death of the latter, in 1683, had restored the Abbé Fleury to the freedom of his own studies; but his first desire was to be useful to the church; and when, in 1685, Fenelon was charged with the missions of Poitou, he called upon Fleury, and Fleury attended at his call. The more Fenelon knew him, the more he learned to love and to esteem him; and he considered it as a fortunate circumstance with regard to himself, and an invaluable advantage to the Duke of Burgundy, the concurrence of such an assistant towards such an education.

"The Abbé de Beaumont, the son of a sister of Fenelon, was also associated with him in the capacity of sub-preceptor. His zeal and his assiduity sufficiently evinced that he was not influenced by motives of personal consideration. He was ten years the sub-preceptor of the grandson of Louis XIV. without receiving, and without soliciting, the smallest mark of his favour. Included in the proscription of Fenelon, he had the glory of participating in his misfortunes, his exile, and in his labours.

"All the persons who were concerned in the education of the young prince entered upon their office in the month of September 1689. Fenelon was then in his thirty-eighth

year, and the Duke de Beauvilliers was in his forty-first.

"There never was an instance, and perhaps there never will be again, of such an unanimity as reigned between all the persons about the Duke of Burgundy. They seemed to have but one heart, one mind, and one soul, and this soul was that of Fenelon.

"Such was the extraordinary charm of Fenelon, and the irresistible ascendancy which he obtained over every one who approached him, that neither difference of age, nor pre-eminence of rank and titles, nor even the superiority of talents and knowledge in those branches of science with which he was unacquainted, were able to prevent his friends from becoming his disciples, and from interrogating him, as an oracle which was invested with an authority to direct all their thoughts, and all their actions. Such is the character of him, as it is delivered down to us by his contemporaries; and their testimony is the less likely to be partial, as it proceeded from persons, whom difference of opinion, or a certain malignity of mind, would incline to judge Fenelon with severity.

"The Chancellor d'Agnesseau has given us, in his *Memoirs of the Life of his Father*, the following interesting portrait of Fenelon:

"The Archbishop of Cambrai "was one of those uncommon men "who are destined to give lustre to "their age, and who do equal ho- "nour to human nature by their "virtues, and to literature by their "superior talents. He was affable "in his deportment and luminous "in his discourse, the peculiar qua- "lities of which were a rich, deli- "cate, and a powerful imagination, "but which never let its power be "felt. His eloquence had more of "mildness in it than vehemence, "and he triumphed as much by the "charms of his conversation as by "the superiority of his talents. He "always brought himself to the le- "vel of his company; he never dis- "puted, and appeared to yield to "others at the very time that he "was leading them. Grace dwelt "upon his lips: he seemed to dis- "cuss the greatest subjects with "facility; the most trifling were "ennobled by his pen; and upon "the most barren topics he scat- "tered the flowers of rhetoric. A "noble singularity pervaded his "whole person; and a certain in- "definable and sublime simplicity "gave to his appearance the air of "a prophet. The peculiar, but "unaffected, mode of expression "which he adopted, made many "persons believe that he possessed "universal knowledge as if by in- "spiration: it might, indeed, have "been almost said, that he rather "invented what he knew, than "learned it. He was always ori- "ginal and creative; imitating no "one, and himself inimitable. His "talents, which had been long hid- "den in obscurity, and not much "known at court, even at the time "when he was employed upon the "mission of Poitou, burst forth at "length, in consequence of the "king's choice of him to educate "his grandson, the Duke of Bur- "gundy. The theatre was not too "spacious for the actor; and, if his "predilection for the *mystics* had "not developed the secret of his "heart and the weakness of his "mind, there could have been no "situation to which public opinion "would not have destined him, nor "any which would not have appear- "ed inferior to his talents."

"A man, much more severe than the

the Chancellor D'Aguesseau; a man, whose misanthropy and satirical character naturally inclined him to censure, rather than to praise: the Duke de St. Simon, the most observing of courtiers, and the most bitter of historians, represents Fenelon to us in the same colours.

" He describes him as " being " gifted with a natural, a mild, and " a florid eloquence; with persua- " sive politeness, but yet dignified " and discriminating; and with a " fluent, perspicuous, and agreeable " power of conversation, which was " combined with that precision so " necessary for rendering the most " complicated and abstract subjects " intelligible. He was a man who " always appeared to have just as " much mind as the persons he " might be conversing with; he " stooped to their level, but with- " out appearing to do it; this put " them at their ease, and excited " in them a lively sentiment of de- " light, so that they could neither " quit him, nor, when absent, help " returning to his company. To " this rare talent, which he pos- " sessed in a remarkable degree, " we must attribute the steady fide- " lity of his friends, who remained " attached to him all his life, even " after his fall, and which, when " they were scattered through so- " ciety, re-assembled them together " to speak of him, to wish for him, " and to attach themselves to him " more devotedly."

" The celebrity of Fenelon was such, that it obtained for him at court several distinctions, to which his birth gave him claim, but which could not be said to belong to his situation as preceptor. Louis XIV. granted him permission to eat at the same table with the Duke of Burgundy, and to ride in the same carriage with him. These, indeed, were distinctions which could add nothing to the intrinsic merit of Fenelon; and we may easily believe that he grounded no pretensions of superiority upon them over Bossuet, to whom similar honours had not been accorded; nor could Bossuet the less esteem Fenelon, or envy him for distinctions which resulted merely from the accident of birth. We should not, perhaps, have recorded so trifling an event, were it not to shew how minutely Louis XIV. who possessed so eminently the art of reigning, attended to the maintenance of those honorary distinctions, the absence of which can humiliate no reasonable mind, and which discharges the gratitude of the sovereign, without costing any thing to the people. It was with this money of opinion that a King of France rewarded the blood and services of those ancient families, " who," as Montesquieu says, " not being able to acquire " wealth, hoped for honours, and " who consoled themselves for not " having obtained the one, by re- " flecting that they had acquired " the other."

" Fenelon was fully impressed with the magnitude and importance of his office. The idea of educating a king, the king too of a monarchy which had obtained its highest point of splendour, and the almost absolute master of twenty millions of men, whose welfare or misery was connected with the virtues or the vices, the energy or the weakness, the talents or the incapacity, of the sovereign, must, while it exalted his imagination, communicate an involuntary terror to his mind. His own age, that of the king, and that of the young prince, must also have impressed him with the idea that he

he was, perhaps, destined to receive the gratitude or the reproaches of many generations.

"Whatever confidence he might possess in the purity of his own intentions, in his talents, in his character, and in the fortunate occurrence of all those means, and that assistance, which he saw united with him, yet he could not be without some alarm, lest he might have to contend with an untoward nature, which would countervail all his efforts. Perhaps he might have to infuse a soul, a mind, a character, into a lifeless statue; to extirpate the germs of those vices, which had been fostered by the interests and passions of individuals; and to restrain the imagination of a child, whom every thing combined to impress with an idea of his present greatness, and of the power which awaited him in the future.

"Fenelon had also before his eyes the father of his pupil. He was a mild and good prince; but his character, equally remote from virtue and from vice, partaking neither of good nor bad, insensible to glory, to the sciences, and to the arts, promised to France little else than an obscure and doubtful reign: yet this prince was the son of Louis XIV. and the pupil of Bossuet and Montausier. But neither of these preceptors had to struggle with alarming dispositions of nature; with an untameable character, a disgusting pride, irritable desires, and all those violent passions which native vigour of mind, and an extreme aptitude to acquire every thing that can be acquired, might render fatal to the happiness of mankind. For such is the picture of the Duke of Burgundy, as unanimously transmitted to us by all historians: and such was the prince that Fenelon had to educate. It cannot be supposed, indeed, that a child of seven years old was capable of exhibiting such decided marks of character as are above pourtrayed; yet, from his earliest infancy, and during the first years of his education, he gave indication of every thing that was to be feared from him; for they who have boasted, with admiration, of what he afterwards became, yet could not but remember, with a sort of terror, what he once had been.

"The Duke of Burgundy," says M. de St. Simon, "was by nature "formidable, and in his earliest "youth gave cause for terror. He "was unfeeling and irritable to the "last excess, even against inanimate "objects. He was furiously impe- "tuous, and incapable of enduring "the least opposition, even of time "and the elements, without burst- "ing forth into such intemperate "rage, that it was sometimes to be "feared the very veins in his body "would burst; *this excess I have "frequently witnessed.* His obsti- "nacy was beyond all bounds; he "was passionately addicted to every "kind of pleasure; to the luxuries "of the table; to the chace with "extraordinary avidity; music he "delighted in with a sort of ec- "stacy: he was also fond of play, "but he could not endure to be "conquered; and they who played "with him ran much risk. In "short, he was the prey of every "passion, and the slave of every "pleasure: he was often ferocious, "and naturally inclined to cruelty. "In his raillery he was unfeeling, "employing the force of ridicule "with a precision which completely "overwhelmed the object: inordi- "nately proud, he looked upon men "only as atoms, with whom he had

"no

" no sort of similarity whatever. " Even the princes, his brothers, " scarcely seemed, in his estimation, " to form an intermediate link be- " tween himself and the rest of man- " kind; *though it had always been* " *studiously endeavoured to educate* " *all three of them with perfect* " *equality*. But the brilliancy of " his mind, and his penetration, " were at all times evident, and " even in his moments of greatest " violence. His replies created asto- " nishment in all who heard them: " his observations were never with- " out justness, even in his most fierce " anger: the most abstract branches " of knowledge cost him little trou- " ble to acquire; the extent and vi- " gour of his mind were prodigious, " and prevented him from steady " and individual application."

" Such was the prince who was confided to Fenelon. There was every thing to be feared from such a character, and every thing to be hoped from a soul possessing such energy. Let us hear, once more, St. Simon.

" So much mind, and such power " of mind, joined to such sensibility, " and to such passions; every qua- " lity, in fact, partaking of such ar- " dour, must necessarily have ren- " dered his education no easy pro- " cess. The Duke de Beauvilliers, " who was fully aware of its diffi- " culties and its consequences, sur- " passed even himself in his appli- " cation, his patience, and the va- " riety of his remedies. Fenelon, " Fleury, and the other persons con- " nected with his education, were " all brought into action; and they " all with one accord acted under " the instructions of the duke, whose " plan, were it minutely detailed, " would furnish a curious and inte- " resting work. The prodigy was, " that, in a very short time, grace " and devotion transformed him into " quite another man, and changed " such fearful vices into perfectly " opposite virtues. From that abyss " issued a prince, who was affable, " mild, humane, moderate, patient, " modest, humble, and austere to- " wards himself; wholly occupied " with his future obligations in life, " which he felt to be great; and " thinking only of uniting the du- " ties of the son and the subject " with those which he saw himself " destined afterwards to fulfil."

" But what incessant vigilance, what art, what industry, what skill, what variety in the means adopted, and what delicacy of observation must have concurred to produce such an extraordinary alteration in the character of a child, of a prince, and of an heir to a throne! Nay, had not his tutors been the most virtuous of men; if their pupil, possessed as he was, of such intellectual perspicacity, had discovered in them the smallest appearance of weakness or tergiversation, all their skill, all their care, and all their assiduity, would have been ineffectual. They were, in fact, less indebted for their success to their genius and their talents, than to their virtues and their dispositions.

" Fenelon soon perceived that that part of education, which generally excited the greatest zeal in teachers, and the most self-love in parents, was what would give him the least trouble. He foresaw that his pupil, possessing from nature such rare gifts of mind, would make a rapid progress in every branch of knowledge; but the most difficult task would be to subdue that fiery soul which he possessed; to preserve all its noble and generous qualities, and to extirpate all its undue passions: to form, in fact, a new moral being; to form a prince, such as

the

the genius of Fenelon had conceived, for the welfare of human nature. He wished, indeed, to realize upon the throne an ideal beauty of virtue, as the artists of antiquity endeavoured to impress upon their works that ideal beauty, which gave to the human form a celestial appearance.

"The child that was confided to the care of Fenelon was destined to reign; and Fenelon saw in that child the whole of France awaiting its happiness or misery, from the success or failure of his endeavours. To obtain this success, he prescribed to himself no precise rule of action; he watched each moment the dispositions of the young prince, and followed, with a calm and patient attention, all the variations of his intemperate nature, and always extracted the lesson from the fault itself.

"Such an education consisted rather in action than in instruction. The pupil never could anticipate what was to be his lesson, because he could not anticipate what faults he might commit; and thus advice and censure became the necessary result of his own excesses.

"They who wish to know the method which Fenelon adopted in educating his pupil, may read his *Fables* and *Dialogues* which he wrote for him. Each of these fables, each of these dialogues, was composed at the very moment when the preceptor judged it necessary to remind his pupil of some fault which he had committed, and to inculcate at the same time the necessity and the means of amendment.

"These fables and dialogues have been printed, but without any intention to a consecutive series. Such an attention, indeed, was not necessary. Fenelon composed them without order, and yet it would be easy to ascertain their chronology (so to speak) by comparing them with the gradual progress which age and instruction must have produced in the education of the Duke of Burgundy. It is immediately discernible that these fables and dialogues relate only to a prince, and to a prince destined to ascend the throne. Every thing in them is made to connect itself with this almost exclusive object. The precision, the simplicity, and the perspicuity, of some of these fables (which were probably the first that were written), evince that they were addressed to a child whose mind should not be overburthened, and to whom such things only should be presented as could easily be apprehended. Others possess a more elevated character; and they contain allusions to history and mythology, according as the young prince became better able to comprehend and to apply them.

"The fables which Fenelon wrote for the Duke of Burgundy had almost always an allusion to some circumstance that had previously happened, and the impression of which being yet fresh upon his mind, he could not mistake the application. They formed a mirror in which he could not help beholding himself, and in which he sometimes appeared in a manner little gratifying to his self-love. But then the tenderest wishes, the mildest hopes, were added to these humiliating pictures, lest the child should naturally imbibe an aversion to a species of instruction which merely recalled to him painful recollections, or which contained severe reproaches. It was thus, with such delicate propriety, and with such imperceptible advances, that Fenelon gradually rendered his pupil susceptible of the first dictates of reason and of the first lessons of virtue.

"But

"But it was not in the power of Fenelon to subdue, all at once, so imperious a character. It too often resisted the paternal hand which sought to restrain its impetuosity.

"When the young prince broke forth into those violent excesses of passion, which were so habitual to him, the governor, the preceptor, the sub-preceptor, the gentlemen in waiting, and all the servants in the house, concerted together to preserve towards him the most profound silence: They avoided answering any of his questions; they waited upon him with averted looks; or if they directed their eyes towards him, it was with an expression of fear, as if they dreaded to be in the company of a being who had degraded himself by bursts of rage, which were incompatible with reason. They appeared to attend to him only from that kind of humiliating compassion which is shewn towards persons who are insane. They merely performed those offices about him, which seemed to be simply necessary for the preservation of his miserable existence. They took from him all his books, and all his means of instruction, as if they would be henceforth useless to him, being reduced to such a deplorable state. They then left him to himself, to his own reflections, to his own regret, and to his own remorse. Struck with such an entire desertion, and the distressing solitude to which he was consigned, the penitent prince, convinced of his fault, was eager to fly once more to the indulgence and goodness of his preceptor. He threw himself at his feet, confessed his errors, and declared his firm resolution of avoiding them in future; and he watered with his tears the hands of Fenelon, who pressed him to his bosom with the tender affection of a father, compassionate, and always open to the repenting child.

"In these violent contests between an impetuous disposition and a premature reason, the young prince seemed distrustful of himself, and he summoned honour in aid to his promises. The originals of two contracts of honour which he placed in the hands of Fenelon, are yet extant. They are as follow:

"*I promise, on the faith of a "prince, to M. the Abbé de Fenelon, "to do immediately whatever he "shall order me; and to obey him "the moment he forbids me to do "any thing. If I fail in this, I will "consent to any kind of punish-"ment and dishonour. Done at Ver-"sailles, the 29th of Nov.* 1689.

(Signed) Louis.

"*Who promises again, to keep his "word better. This 20th of Sept. "I entreat M. de Fenelon to take "care of it.*"

"The prince, who subscribed to these engagements of honour, was only eight years old, and he already felt the force of those magic words, *the faith of a prince*, &c.

"Fenelon himself was not always secure from the exacerbations of his pupil. We have an account of the manner in which he conducted himself on a very delicate occasion. The effect which he deduced from it was, a lesson to the Duke of Burgundy, which no time could efface from his heart and mind. The conduct of Fenelon in this affair may serve as a model to all those who have to exercise the same functions towards the children of princes and noblemen.

* See Life of the Dauphin, father of Louis XV. by the Abbé Proyart.

"Fenelon

"Fenelon saw himself compelled to speak to his pupil with an authority, and even a severity, which the nature of his offence required; but the young prince replied, *No, no, Sir: I know who you are, and who I am.* Fenelon answered not a word; he felt that the moment was not arrived, and that, in the present disposition of his pupil, he would be unfit to listen to him. He appeared, therefore, to meditate in silence, and contented himself with shewing how deeply he was hurt, by the seriousness and solemnity of his deportment.

"On the following morning, the Duke of Burgundy was hardly awake, when Fenelon entered his room. He would not wait until the usual hour of meeting, in order that every thing he had to say to him might appear more marked, and strike more powerfully the imagination of the young prince. Fenelon addressed him with a cold and respectful seriousness, very different from his usual manner.

"I know not, Sir," said he to him, "whether you recollect what "you said to me yesterday, that "*you knew who you were, and who* "*I am.* It is my duty to inform "you, that you are ignorant of both "one and the other. You fancy, Sir, "I suppose, that you are greater than "I am; some servants, no doubt, "have told you so; but I, I do not "fear to tell you, since you force "me to it, that I am greater than "you are. You will easily under-"stand that I do not mean to speak "of superiority of birth. You would "regard that man as mad, who "should aspire to any merit, be-"cause the rains of heaven had fer-"tilized his field, and had not wa-"tered his neighbour's. But you "yourself would not be much wiser, "if you sought to derive any im-"portance from your birth, which "can add nothing to your personal "merit. You cannot doubt that I "am far above you in knowledge "and in mind. You know nothing "but what I have taught you: and "what I *have* taught you is no-"thing, compared to what I *could* "have taught you. As to authori-"ty, you have none over me; but, "on the contrary, I have an un-"bounded authority over you. This "you have often been told by the "king, and the prince your father. "You think, perhaps, that I ac-"count myself happy, in being ap-"pointed to educate you; but un-"deceive yourself, Sir: I undertook "the office only in obedience to the "king's commands, and to please "your father; not for the laborious "advantage of being your precept-"or; and, in order to convince you "of this, I am now come to con-"duct you to his majesty, and to "beg of him to appoint you another "tutor, whose endeavours, I hope, "will be more successful than mine "have been."

"The Duke of Burgundy, whom a whole night passed in painful reflections and self-reproach, added to the cold and formal deportment of Fenelon, had overwhelmed with grief, was astonished at this declaration. He loved Fenelon with all the tenderness of a son; and, besides, his own self-love, and a delicate deference towards public opinion, made him immediately anticipate what would be thought of him, if a preceptor of Fenelon's merit should be forced to renounce his education. He burst into tears, while his sighs, his shame, scarcely permitted him to utter these words: "*Oh, Sir, I am sincerely sorry for* "*what passed yesterday; if you* "*speak to the king, I shall lose his* "*friendship.... if you desert me,*

"*what*

" what will be thought of me? I " promise,..... I promise you, that " you shall be content with me;.... " but promise me.....

" Fenelon would promise nothing; he left him the whole day in a state of anxiety and uncertainty. It was not until he was well convinced of the sincerity of his repentance, that he appeared to yield to fresh supplications and to the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, whom he had persuaded to interfere in the business, in order to confer upon it more effect and solemnity. It was thus, by continual observation, patience and care, that Fenelon was gradually enabled to subdue the violent dispositions of his pupil, and to calm his intemperate passions. To this important object both he, and M. de Beauvilliers, directed all their efforts, and they were amply rewarded by their success.

" The literary education of the Duke of Burgundy caused but little trouble. The precocity of his intellect, and the brilliancy of his imagination, gave him an aptitude for acquiring whatever it was wished he should acquire. In looking over the papers which have passed into my hands, I could not behold, without emotion, all the different fragments in the hand writing of Fenelon, and of the Duke of Burgundy, and which formed the first endeavours towards his literary instruction.

" At that time there were few elementary books of education, if we except some that had been produced by the *Messieurs de Port-Royal*, and Fenelon did not consider it as derogatory to his genius or to his situation, as preceptor, to draw up, with his own hands, such introductory works as were necessary. He even compiled a sort of dictionary of the Latin language, which exhibited the definitions of each word, and the degree of affinity which they had to the French word that was to be translated. And this dictionary he composed under the eyes of his pupil, and during the time of the lesson. This mutual labour served to excite the attention. Sometimes, Fenelon pretended to seek for a word which he knew was not yet effaced from the memory of the pupil, and the pupil triumphed in the idea of being able to suggest, to his master, a more accurate or more felicitous expression.

" Fenelon, however, never forgot that this pupil was the heir to a throne. Hence, he always contrived to take his themes and versions from mythology, which he considered as a pleasing embellishment of the mind, or from some events of modern or ancient history, which he judiciously turned to his moral instruction. He particularly endeavoured to mingle with them the most remarkable facts of sacred history. He thus fixed deeply in the heart of the young prince, those important truths of religion, which can, alone, repress the pride of kings, and interpose a check upon the abuse of absolute power; and thus, while he appeared to be instructing him in merely human science, he familiarised him, in fact, with that knowledge which is intimately combined with religion and public morals.

" After having given, to his pupil, models of composition, he excited him to elicit subjects of the same kind from his own imagination, and to discuss them, with such materials only, as could be within his power from the natural progress of years and instruction. Many of these attempts are yet extant, and they display more connection

tion of ideas, than would be supposed to belong to a child of his age. Some of them are fables, and others, themes and versions.

" It must not be supposed, however, that the vanity of self-love induced the preceptors of the Duke of Burgundy to exact from him performances which were beyond his age and power to produce; nor did they wish to make his education remarkable for a premature degree of success which would exalt their own skill and labour. Fenelon himself relates (after the death of the young prince*) " that he was always careful to make him relinquish his studies whenever he shewed any inclination for discourse, or when he could acquire useful knowledge, and this often happened. There was still time enough for study, for he was naturally inclined to it; but his preceptor had also to give him a taste for rational conversation that he might become sociable; and to accustom him to contemplate and to know mankind as they appeared in society. In these conversations his mind continued to make a perceptible progress upon questions of literature and politics, and even of metaphysics. All the evidences of religion were also made to form a part, by a natural and easy transition. His character was meliorated by these conversations: he became tranquil, affable, gay, and interesting; every one was delighted with him: he had no haughtiness, and he was more entertained than with his own childish amusements, for, during them, he was often angry without a cause."

" It was during the pleasing familiarity of these conversations, that he used sometimes to say, " I have " left the Duke of Burgundy behind the door, and now I am " only little Louis with you." These were remarkable words in the mouth of a child only nine years of age: they shewed how sensible he was of the rank to which he was born, even at the very moment when he wished it to be forgotten.

" He has frequently said to us," adds Fenelon, " that he should never " forget the delight which he felt in " being permitted to study without " constraint. He has often desired " to be read to during his meals, " such was his fondness for what- " ever he needed to learn. I never " knew a child who understood with " such celerity, and with so much " propriety, the most refined parts " of poetry and eloquence. He con- " ceived, without any difficulty, the " most abstract principles: when- " ever he saw me doing any thing " for him, he always began to do " the same, and continued at it with- " out being bidden so to do."

" This young prince entered, with such enthusiasm, into the situations and feelings of those persons with whom he became acquainted in the course of his reading, that Fenelon delighted to recall, after the death of his pupil, the first emotions that had agitated his youthful bosom. " I have seen," says he, in his letter to the French Academy, " I have seen a young prince of " eight years old, filled with terror, " as he contemplated the danger of " *Joas*; I have seen him angry be- " cause the high-priest concealed " from him his name and his birth; " I have seen him weep bitterly as " he heard these lines:

" Ah! miseram Eurydicen anima fugiente vocabat,
" Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ."

* Letter to Père Martineau, by Fenelon, 1712.

" When

"When we consider the premature intellectual powers of the Duke of Burgundy, we shall not be surprised to learn, that in his tenth year he was able to write, elegantly, in Latin, to translate the most difficult authors with a precision and with a felicity of style, which astonished every one; that he could explain Horace, Virgil, and the Metamorphoses of Ovid; and feel all the beauties of Cicero's Orations. At eleven years, he had read the whole of Livy; he had translated the Commentaries of Cæsar, and begun a translation of Tacitus, which he afterwards finished, but which was subsequently lost.

"It would be difficult to believe an account which appears to be so exaggerated, if the Abbé Fleury, whose candour and simplicity are well known, and who, in the quality of sub-preceptor, had concurred to produce these miracles of education, had not, himself, attested, "that he never saw, in any one, so "quick an apprehension, so vast "and so correct a memory, so just "a judgment, and so brilliant and "so fruitful an imagination. His, "indeed, was a mind of the first "order; it did not rest satisfied "with superficial attainments; he "explored, fully, whatever he un-"dertook; his curiosity was bound-"less; and, at the commencement, "when his extreme vivacity pre-"vented him from adhering to pre-"scribed rules, he accomplished "what he wished by the power of "his genius."

"In conducting the religious education of the Duke of Burgundy, Fenelon directed his attention to several works, the very names of which would, perhaps, excite a smile of contempt, upon the countenance of a modern preceptor, were they mentioned to him as being fit for the perusal of a young prince. These were the select letters of *St. Jerome*, of *St. Augustine*, of *St. Cyprian*, and of *St. Ambrose*. Yet, he who recommended this course of study was Fenelon, whom no one will accuse of being unacquainted with the pleasures of profane literature, nor of having neglected to render his pupil acquainted with them.

"But Fenelon knew that as religion was the only check upon kings, it was for the welfare of the people, as well as for that of the monarch, to display it to them in the writings of those great men, who have illustrated it by their knowledge as well as by their virtues. Towards this important object, therefore, Fenelon directed his most zealous endeavours; and he was seconded in the noble task, by a man, who was, of all others, the most worthy and the most capable of producing the desired effect. Religion itself could not select a more blameless, or a more enlightened interpreter than the Abbé Fleury.

"Fenelon wished that the religion of the Duke of Burgundy should be such as to secure him from the sophisms of impiety, and the illusions of superstitious credulity. He wished to form a prince who should be deeply sensible of his dependence on a being more powerful than the most powerful of kings. He wished that this prince should never cease to recollect that awful day of account, when he must render a faithful statement of his conduct, and when his own subjects will be admitted as witnesses, as accusers, and as victims of his injustice.

"To accomplish this virtuous object, Fenelon strove to awaken and to cherish in the soul of his pupil, sentiments that were truly religious, and

and to accustom him to those sacred practices and duties which religion prescribes. Experience sufficiently shews, that without the habitual performance of these practices, the very idea of God will be lost in the midst of the turbulent passions and pleasures of life, and the remembrance of him will be reduced to a vain theory, which never reaches the heart, which has no influence upon morals, and which opposes no check of sufficient efficacy to the abuses of power.

"When Fenelon was convinced, that the Duke of Burgunday was qualified, by the progress of his reason, and of his theological attainments, to receive the sacrament with that faith and piety which the church demands, he allowed him to communicate. We have found, among his manuscripts, the original of the following speech, which Fenelon addressed to the Duke of Burgundy on this occasion:

"The day which you have so "long and so ardently desired, Sir, "has at length arrived; a day, which "ought to influence every other one "of your life, and even that of your "death. Your Saviour approaches "you now under the appearance of "familiar food, that he may nourish "your soul, even as bread daily "nourishes your body. To you, it "will appear only as a piece of com-"mon bread; but the grace of God "is hidden in it, and will manifest "itself to your faith. Say to him, "as Isaiah said, *Verè tu es Deus ab-"sconditus*. He is a God who con-"ceals himself from love; he hides "his glory, lest our weak sight "should be dazzled; and, in order "that we may approach him more "easily; you will find there, the "hidden manna of various fra-"grance, and containing every ce-"lestial virtue. You will eat the "bread which surpasses all material "substance; it will not assimilate "to you, vile and mortal man, but "you will assimilate to it, becom-"ing thus a living member of "Christ. May faith and love ren-"der you sensible of the gift of "God; *Gustate, et videte quoniam "suavis est Dominis.*"

"This ceremony was of advantage to the whole court, and the Duke of Burgundy received from it the impression of a sincere and well-grounded piety. During all his after life, he sought, in frequently communicating, that aid and consolation which princes need more than other men, to enable them to support the evils and the miseries which lie hidden beneath the exterior pomp of their station. Contemporary writers relate, that the Duke of Burgundy used "to com-"municate, at least, twice a month, "and always with that solemnity "and self-abasement, which struck "every one who was present, and "always in the habiliments of the "order of the Holy Ghost," as if to render a more sacred homage to the greatness of that God whom he adored.

"But, religion was not merely an outward ceremony in the Duke of Burgundy. It had a visible and real influence upon his conduct. Fenelon, indeed, had so meliorated his violent nature by its aid, that he could, in an instant, command to silence his most imperious caprices, by only pronouncing the name of God. He relates, in a letter to father Martineau, that "one day, "when the prince was in a very "bad humour, and was striving to "conceal the truth of something "which he had done, he urged him "to disclose it *before God:* this "made him very angry, and he ex-"claimed, 'Why do you ask me

'about

'about it *before God?* Very well: 'since you do ask it thus, I cannot 'deny that I did do such a thing.'— "He was almost mad with passion; "and yet, religion so prevailed over "him, that it extorted from him so "painful a confession."

"In the same letter, Fenelon also observes, that the force of religion was so great in him, "that he "never knew him, except in mo- "ments of irritation, entertain a "single thought which was not "strictly conformable to reason and "to the purest maxims of the gos- "pel."

"It must not be supposed, however, that in thus attending to religious duties, he was suffered to neglect his literary studies. It was Fenelon's object to make his pupil a pious and an enlightened prince; he wished him to ascend the throne with all the virtues of christianity, and with all the knowledge necessary to govern an extensive empire. It was with this view that he endeavoured to instil, into the mind of the prince, an ample acquaintance with ancient and modern history. He had, himself, made this branch of knowledge a particular study. It appears, from a letter to the Duke de Beauvilliers, that, before being entrusted with the education of the Duke of Burgundy, Fenelon had written an abridgment of the life of Charlemagne, and from what he has disclosed of the principles and plan upon which he proceeded in drawing up this historical work, it cannot but be regretted that it is irrecoverably lost. It is evident, from this letter to the Duke de Beauvilliers, that Fenelon wrote this work from some motives that have hitherto remained a secret, though they were known to the Duke. "I am persuaded," says he, "that the life of Charlemagne "will be of much use to us in giv- "ing to the Duke of Burgundy, "those sentiments and those max- "ims with which he ought to be "familiar. You know, however, "that when I made this abridgment "of the life of Charlemagne, I had "not the most distant idea of being "concerned with his education; and "*no one can better declare, than* "*yourself, how I came to write that* "*work. My intentions were candid* "*and upright. No one can read it* "*without seeing, that I go plainly* "*forwards, and, perhaps, too much* "*so.*"

"It was the opinion of Fenelon, that there never existed, perhaps, a prince, "whose history is more "worthy of being studied, nor who "possesses a greater weight, with "regard to those maxims which "they, who are destined to govern, "may derive from it, than that of "Charlemagne. The beauties of "this history, he continues, consist "in the greatness of its events, and "in the wonderful character of the "prince. It would be impossible "to find one more amiable, or more "proper to serve as a model in all "ages. There is a pleasure, even, "in beholding some imperfections "mixed with so many virtues and "talents. It teaches us that he is "not a hero of the imagination, "like those of romances, who, by "being perfect, become fabulous."

"Fenelon adds, afterwards, a very judicious reflection, and one which is too little attended to, when we read the history of those rude ages, the great men of which are less to be censured for those errors which we are apt to consider as their own, than to be pitied, as living at a period when the manners of the times rendered it almost impossible, that they should be exempt from them. "Perhaps," says he, "many

"many things may be discovered "in Charlemagne which will not "please; but, it may be, that he "is not to blame, and our disgust "arises from the extreme difference "between our own times and those "in which he lived. The advan-"tage which he possessed of being "a Christian, places him above all "the heroes of Pagan antiquity, "and the circumstance of being al-"ways successful in his enterprises, "renders him a more interesting "model than St. Louis."

"When Fenelon thought that the Duke of Burgundy had made sufficient progress in the study of ancient and modern history, he conceived the design of recalling to him, successively, all the principal personages who have distinguished themselves on the theatre of the world. In doing this, he would not only invigorate his memory, with regard to the events in which these individuals were concerned, but he intended also to fix the attention of the young prince on their real and undisguised merits. He was anxious, that his pupil should not be dazzled by that kind of illusive renown, which accompanies the memory of celebrated men.

"To accomplish this, Fenelon wrote his *Dialogues of the Dead*. They were produced, in proportion as the Duke of Burgundy made such progress with historical authors and facts, as enabled him to derive from them a due advantage. These dialogues are well known, and any particular observations upon them would be superfluous. Yet, it may be permitted to advert to the singular variety of subjects which Fenelon has chosen. From a casual inspection of the work, it might be supposed that he had resigned himself wholly to his imagination, or, in choosing his subjects, he had employed those which were most obviously contrasted. Such, however, was not the case. If we accurately examine the book, we shall easily perceive, that its author was actuated by one prevailing motive, which was, the education of his pupil. This object was constantly present to him, and his attention to it may be traced even in those *Dialogues*, which appear to have the least connection with the duties of a prince destined to ascend the throne. Such are the two dialogues between *Parrhasius* and *Poussin*, and between *Leonardi de Vinci* and *Poussin*. But Fenelon knew, that a king, and above all, a king of France, should neither be ignorant of, nor indifferent to, the progress of the fine arts." *

* "It is to the biographer of the celebrated Mignard, (the Abbé de Monville) that we are indebted for the following fact. Mignard's situation as first painter to his Majesty, necessarily required him to be much at Versailles: "and" says Monville, "Fe-"nelon used frequently to surprise him at his work, and discourse with him upon "painting. He also took every opportunity of shewing him the great esteem and re-"spect which he entertained for him."

Character and Merits of Torquato Tasso.

[From Mr. Black's Life of him.]

"THE person of Tasso has been described by Manso, with a detail, which, though somewhat too minute, it would serve little purpose to abridge. "Torquato "Tasso," says he, "was a man of "stature so lofty, that, among men "of large size, he might have been "considered as one of the bulkiest "and best proportioned. His com- "plexion had been exceedingly fair, "but, first, studies and vigils, and "afterwards disasters and infirmi- "ties, had made him somewhat "pale. The colour of his hair and "beard was a medium, between "brown and fair; in such a way, "however, that the former was "somewhat darker than the latter; "but that of both was soft, and "smooth, and fine. His head was "large, and raised both in the fore- "head, and in the hinder part, "which the Greeks call *occiput*; in "the middle, however, above each "temple, it was rather depressed "than round. His forehead was "large and square, first rising to "the middle, and afterwards in- "clining to the hair, which latter "time had in a great degree re- "moved, and rendered him almost "bald. His eye-brows were well "arched, dark, scanty, and dis- "joined. His eyes were large in "proportion to his head, round in "themselves, but somewhat length- "ened in the corners; their pupils "were of a moderate size, their "colour of a brilliant blue, such as "Homer attributes to Pallas; in "their gaze and motions, they were "grave and staid, and sometimes "they were turned upwards, as fol- "lowing the soarings of the mind "within, which was generally "raised to things celestial. His "ears were of a middling size; his "cheeks were rather long than "round, meagre by nature, and dis- "coloured by indisposition. His "nose was large, and inclined to- "wards the mouth, which was also "large and leonine; his lips were "thin and pale; his teeth white, "large, and thickly set; his voice "clear and sonorous, and, at the "close of sentences, of a sound "more grave. Though his tongue "was very nimble, his conversa- "tion was rather slow than quick, "and he was often accustomed "to reiterate his last words. He "laughed very rarely, and when "that happened, gently, without "any noise, and somewhat lan- "guidly. His chin was square, his "beard was thick, and, as I have "already mentioned, of a chesnut "colour. His neck was well pro- "portioned, his head elevated, his "breast and shoulders broad and "full, his arms long, free, and "sinewy, his hands were very large, "but soft and delicate, his fingers "such as could easily bend back, "His legs and feet were also long "and well proportioned, but more "muscular than fleshy; and indeed "his whole body was lean, though "suitable in thickness to the height "of his figure. His whole limbs "were so active, that, in exercises "of chivalry, he was very expert, "and in fencing, riding, or tilting, "needed envy no one. All these

" things, however, he performed " with more ability than grace, as " the vivacity of his natural, by no " means corresponded with that " of his animal spirits. For this " reason, likewise, in the public " orations which he pronounced in " different academies, and in the " presence of great princes, his sen- " timents appeared to the audience " much more wonderful than the " manner in which they were de- " livered; perhaps, because his " mind, collecting, by its conti- " nual speculations, the better part " of the spirits to the brain, it did " not leave a sufficient quantity in " the rest of the body to animate " and enliven it. Nevertheless, in " all his actions, and even when " doing nothing, he discovered, to " the most careless observer, a " manly grace and beauty, especi- " ally in his countenance, which " was resplendent with such ma- " jesty, that it induced every be- " holder, previous to any know- " ledge of his merits, to hold him, " from his aspect only, in the great- " est reverence."

" Such is the portrait of Tasso, as minute as if drawn by a lover of his mistress. Like the lover, also, Manso conceals some of the circumstances in which nature had been less favourable to the object of his admiration. The sight of Tasso was dim and weak, so that he was almost purblind; a circumstance which may have been occasioned by his continual reading both of books, and of his own small, and almost illegible writing. This near-sightedness is indeed acquired by most literary men in a greater or less degree. Our poet also stammered somewhat, as I have already mentioned, so that he could not speak with much grace or quickness.

" In his dress this illustrious man was extremely simple. His common habit, even in his youth, was black; without those fantastic ornaments usual in that age. He had generally, likewise, only one suit; but, though his dress was simple, it was far from slovenly. He was fond of white and fine linen, of which he loved to make large provision, and which he wore plain, without lace or broidery. I mention these things merely as I find them, without any plan of building upon them a superstructure of admiration, or examining whether, if the poet had been 'tricked and 'frounced,' he would have been worthy of less distinction as a man and writer. As to food, he wa extremely temperate, but " loved," says Serassi, " things sweet to the " taste, such as candied fruits, " cakes, and sweetmeats, and made " a plentiful use of sugar even to " his salad." His dislike to any thing bitter approached to horror, so that, notwithstanding his indispositions, he could scarcely be prevailed upon to take any medicine, of which the taste was disagreeable. I am sensible these remarks must seem trivial; but even the most trifling circumstances connected with great men are interesting, and have perhaps their value; for who can say (for example) whether there be not a close relation between sensation and sentiment, between natural delicacy of organic and intellectual taste? In drinking, Tasso was less temperate than in food; at least this was the case after his distemper, and might probably be produced by that event, and resorted to for the purpose of expelling dejection. He loved, he tells us, such wines as were sweet and piquant. Above all, says Brusoni, (who, however, is an apocryphal writer,) he was fond of good Malmsey, and was accustomed

accustomed to say, that Malmsey filled him with poetical inspiration.

"The conversation of Tasso, though no doubt sensible and judicious, does not appear to have been gay or brilliant. His soul was naturally lofty, his conceptions elevated, his look pensive, and his manners dignified; and, upon the whole, he had too large a portion of what Milton calls a 'tragic sadness and gravity.' This might indeed be in some measure attributed to his misfortunes; but, though his *Aminta* discovers wit and liveliness, I am doubtful if he ever possessed much of that mobility of imagination, that facility, that rapidity, that abandonment, and gaiety, which give a charm to social intercourse. Gravity, indeed, was, in the age and country of Tasso, numbered among the virtues, and in the eulogy of any illustrious man, is mentioned as one of his most commendable qualities. Notwithstanding, however, the esteem in which it was held, it is not improbable that some of the ladies of that age were of the opinion of the Marchioness in Goldoni's comedy, who, speaking of our poet, thus contrasts his writings and conversation:

Vi dirò: dell' Autore ho qualche stima, è vero;
Ma è troppo melanconico, troppo in volto severo,
Ne so, come prodotte abbia si dolce rime
Un uom, che nel vederlo nera mestizia imprime:
Ammiro il suo talento, gradisco, i carmi suoi,
Ma egual piacer non trovo a conversar con lui.

Manso has dedicated one of the books of his life of Tasso to a detail of the wise and witty sayings of that poet. It unfortunately happens, however, that of these a considerable part are to be found in the *Apophthegms* of Erasmus, published before Tasso was born. It was usual indeed for a biographical writer in those times, to pillage Plutarch, or Diogenes Laertius, for good things to put into the mouth of his hero; a practice from which Machiavel could not abstain in his short detail of the life even of an illiterate soldier, Castruccio Castracani. In the ages of pedantry, it is true, it is not improbable, that many of the sayings of the old philosophers might have been repeated as their own by the learned men of the time; and that an Italian or German sage might make his hearers occasionally wise, or merry, with an apophthegm, or jest, of Diogenes or Socrates.

"One of the best of the sayings mentioned by Manso, is the following, which has, moreover, an air of authenticity. Some Neapolitan gentlemen investigating, in presence of our poet, which is the most beautiful stanza in his *Jerusalem*, Salvator Pasqualoni, a lawyer, and excellent writer of verses, recited and gave the preference to that which begins in the following manner, and his opinion was confirmed by Tasso;

Giunto alla tomba, ove al suo spirto vivo
Dolorosa prigione il ciel prescrisse.

One of the company, not overseasoned with salt, resolving to push himself into notice by a sagacious interrogation, demanded which is the most beautiful of the verses of Petrarch. To this, Tasso, not much delighted with the change of subject from himself to Petrarch, replied, it is the following:

Infinita è la schiera degli Sciocchi.

One Julius Cortese, a learned Greek, and professor of that language at Naples, complained to Tasso, that he had every where in his poem

poken ill of Greece; saying of it, for instance,

Or se tu se' vil serva, è il tuo servaggoi
(Non ti lagnar) giustizia, e non oltraggio.

All the virtues, said Julius, issued from Greece.—They did so, replied Tasso, and in such abundance, that there was not one remaining.

"With regard to the Christian virtues, and moral qualities of Tasso, these were eminent in a very high degree. I have mentioned, that religious principles were early implanted in his soul, and these seldom altogether wither, when they have been planted with care. In the mind of Torquato they met a congenial soil; there they fixed themselves, and there they grew. His devotional habits must have been nurtured by the composition of his immortal work, in which the processions, the litanies, and all that regards religion, are represented, (as Voltaire himself remarks,) with uncommon majesty. In short, it appears from the whole of his writings, and his life, that Torquato was animated with a spirit of the warmest piety, a "spirit of faith, "of charity, of hope."

Spirto di fè, di carità, di speme.

That this great poet was fond of pleasure, is evident, not only from his own confession, but indeed from the whole character of his poetical productions. His soul, however, was sublime, and his taste refined; and to these we may add, (as protectors of his purity,) in youth, the elevation of his passion, and in manhood, his calamities. In fact, the sensibility that appears in his works, seems not to be such as could be felt by a supplied voluptuary; it is the aspiration of a heart, unallured by common objects, after Elysian scenes, and more than mortal beauty. The disposition of Tasso was by nature affectionate and courteous; so artless was he, as easily to be deceived, but ever ready to forgive and pardon. In all his works, I do not recollect a single passage, in which he decries any other writer. The sentiment of gratitude was in him very strong; and such had been his sufferings, that a very small benefit was sufficient to excite it. What was most irksome in his temper was a strange fear he had of being slighted, and a suspicious and mistrustful disposition. This, however, (though partly, perhaps, owing to his poverty, and residence in a ceremonious court,) must be principally attributed to disease; as, with his birth and talents, it was impossible for him reasonably to suppose, that he could ever be despised. That quality which, above all others, gives security against contempt, was possessed by the poet in a sovereign degree. He was courageous almost to excess; and, after a particular display of his prowess at Ferrara, it was a proverb, we are told, in that city, that no one equalled Torquato in the use of the pen and of the sword.

Colla penna, e colla spada,
Nessun val quanto Torquato.

It is to be regretted that this illustrious man was so extremely inattentive to economy, a circumstance which exposed him to many hardships, and (what happened, indeed, to almost every writer in the days of patronage) to some humiliating descents. When a man naturally proud humbles himself, he is the most abject of beings; it is against his nature, and he cannot descend with grace. The letters of Bacon remain

remain an insult to human genius, and a mournful lesson of human weakness; the manners of Rousseau were at times not merely obsequious, but cringing; and it cannot be disguised, that the poverty and mismanagement of Tasso subjected him occasionally to mean solicitation. We have seen, that, at his departure to France, what little he had was in the hands of Jews; and, as I formerly remarked, one is sometimes surprised at seeing in his letters, that, a few days after receiving a considerable present, he is as poor as ever. This seems to have proceeded, not from prodigality, but carelessness, and from an opinion, that attention to worldly concerns is unworthy of a philosopher.

"There was another quality of Tasso, which, in the scenes into which his destiny threw him, must have greatly impeded his fortune, as it not only made him enemies, but delivered him into their hands. This was an uncommon frankness and openness of nature, which, however, if it be not itself a virtue, is their very common attendant. It proceeds, in general, from a heart free from guile, and which, therefore, is at once unsuspicious of others, and unconscious of any thing which it thinks necessary to dissemble; or it may arise from an upright dignity of soul, which sees or hears with abomination, all that is base and wicked, and in which the love of truth is a true passion. There are some persons, too, of a sensibility so powerful, that, whoever happens to be with them, is at that moment to them the world; their hearts involuntarily open, they are prompted by a strong desire to please, and they thus make confidants of their sentiments, people, whom in reality they regard with indifference. Tasso, likewise, appears to have been variable and irresolute; but this, it is probable, proceeded from his indisposition. Inactivity of body, when the mind is tortured, is unsupportable; and in the fever of the soul, every change of posture is attempted in search of relief.

"With regard to the intellectual character and endowments of Tasso, these were in the highest degree exalted and vast. His apprehension was exceedingly quick, since no such specimen as the *Rinaldo*, both of early progress in literature and of genius, is to be found in the history of learning. So tenacious was his memory, that he tells us, in a letter formerly quoted, that, before it was weakened by sickness, he was accustomed very seldom to write, as he could retain at once, three or four hundred stanzas. His principal study, next to poetry and criticism, had been the dialogues of Plato; but I know not that he had ever been a profound Greek scholar, and it is certain, though concealed by his biographers, that he had lost to a considerable degree his facility in that language. His erudition, however, was very extensive, and, from some of his dialogues, indeed, would appear to have been immense. With the French and Spanish, which at that period were considered (with the Italian,) as the only refined languages of Europe, he was well acquainted. He was deeply skilled in what that age considered as philosophy; and (what was then, and even now, is too rare among literary men,) was not a stranger to the mathematical sciences.

"As to the excellence of the poetical taste of Tasso, this appears, in the first place, from his discourses on epic poetry, and from several

critical memoirs extant in his works. To me, these discourses, (which were written in the early youth of their author,) seem the most perfect of all literary discussions. They are the blended result of the profoundest judgment, and the most exquisite sensibility; and, with the letters on the subject of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, are of inestimable importance to the student of poetry and criticism. But, above all, the excellence of the taste of Tasso appears from the judicious choice of the subject of his poem, and the admirable conduct it displays throughout. He seems early, as I have more than once remarked, to have been sensible of the advantage which would spring from an union of Gothic splendour and variety, with classic regularity. While the romantic writers were huddling together adventures without connexion, and without contrast; without distribution of light and shade, of bustle and repose; while they were placing the simple by the grotesque, and the lofty by the mean, the followers of the ancients were reproducing only common thoughts, and faded pictures. It was then that this mighty genius conceived, and conceived, as we have seen, in early youth, the idea of uniting the Grecian graces of order and regularity, with the Gothic solemn fancies and bewitching incantations. For this purpose, he selected a subject, interesting beyond all others; where ambition might be represented as spiritualized by devotion; where angels and dæmons might be exhibited as naturally interested; where the manners and customs were different on both sides, and on both picturesque; where scenes touching, or sublime, or terrible, might alternately be displayed; and the most specious miracles be mingled with the sweetest pictures of nature.

"It is in this way, that the poetical judgment of Tasso is to be estimated; and not from a few points, and strained conceits, scattered through his poem. These are to be attributed to his familiar acquaintance with the lyric poets of his country, and to his own extensive practice of that species of composition. Accordingly, it will be found that these faulty verses are to be met with only in the discourses of his lovers, in different parts of his *Jerusalem*, love being the principal province of the lyric poetry of Italy. In his pastoral, also, the two most faulty passages are the address of Aminta to the tree, from which he is unbinding Sylvia, (Act III. Scene 1.) and that of Sylvia to the girdle of Aminta, which had broke in the hands of the shepherd, who attempted to detain him, when falling from the rock, (Act IV. Scene 2.) Defects of a similar kind exist in the twelfth canto of the *Jerusalem*, where Tancred, at the tomb of Clorinda, laments her death; and in the love conversations of Rinaldo and Armida, in the sixteenth. In these, and a few analogous passages, subtle and artificial reflections are substituted for the true sentiments of nature. No one had felt the passion of love more ardently than Torquato; no one has delineated beauty with so sweet a pencil, or expressed so powerfully the magic of its influence; but in Italy, so much had been written on the subject of love, at the very dawn of its literature, that nothing remained for the later poets but fanciful conceits and elaborate wit. They sat down, not to give vent to the emotions, or sufferings of the heart, but to ransack the memory, and fatigue the

the fancy, in search of occult qualities, and dissimilar similarities. They seem to have been more anxious to be admired than pitied by their mistresses; as *they*, on the other hand, appear to have been more flattered with exciting respect and awe than desire or love. Tasso did not altogether escape the metaphysical jargon of his country; for the greatest genius cannot wholly surmount the empire of habit and education; and, in a quibbling and punning age, its Miltons and its Shakespeares will be quibblers at times, and punsters. The blemishes, however, in the *Jerusalem* are in no great number, and most of those passages of that poem, which, by Bouhours, and others, have been blamed as conceits, are, in fact, most beautiful and ingenious thoughts. True criticism will, perhaps, find at length, that what, in some of the ancients, has been called simplicity, is only mawkish insipidity; and will estimate the productions of genius, not by the chronological table, but by the pleasure which they give.

"Of the criticisms which I have met with of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, by far the best, is that of Voltaire, in his Essay on Epic Poetry; a criticism, indeed, compiled in a considerable degree from Terrasson, and other writers; but to which that illustrious poet has given the sanction of his authority. Voltaire himself has derived from the Crusades, the subject of *Zaire*, the most affecting of his tragedies; and never did poet, except perhaps Tasso himself, represent heroism as speaking with sentiments more dignified: or enthusiasm with accents more pathetic, and more true.

"There is (says this distinguished "writer, in speaking of the *Gof-"fredo,*) there is no monument in "Italy, that more deserves the "attention of a traveller than the "*Jerusalem* of Tasso. Time, which "undermines the reputation of "common performances, has only "rendered more stable that of this "poem. The *Jerusalem Delivered* "is now sung in many parts of "Italy, as the poems of Homer "were in Greece; and Tasso is "placed without scruple by the "side of Virgil and of Homer, "in spite of his defects, and the "criticisms of Despreaux."

"The *Jerusalem* seems, in some "respects, to resemble the *Iliad:* "but, if it be an imitation to select "in history a subject analogous to "the fable of the war of Troy; if "Rinaldo be a copy of Achilles, "and Godfrey of Agamemnon, I "will venture to say that Tasso "has far surpassed his model. In "his battles, he has as much fire "as Homer, with more variety. "His heroes, like those of the "*Iliad*, have a difference of cha-"racter; but the characters of Tasso "are introduced more skilfully, "marked more strongly, and sus-"tained more artfully. In the "Grecian poet there is scarcely "one which is not inconsistent "with itself; in the Italian every "character is uniform, and sup-"ported to the last.

"Tasso has painted what Homer "only sketched; he has perfected "the art of varying his tints; of "discriminating in the different "virtues, vices, and passions, spe-"cific differences, which no eye "had discerned but his own. Thus "the characteristic, both of God-"frey and Aladin, is sagacity; but "in Godfrey it is a calm and cau-"tious prudence; in Aladin a "restless and cruel policy. Cou-"rage is predominant both in

"Tancred and Argantes; but in "Tancred it is a generous con- "tempt of danger: in Argantes a "brutal fury. Love, in Armida, "is a mixture of coquetry and mad- "ness; in Erminia, it is a sweet "and pleasing tenderness. There "is indeed no figure in the pic- "ture which discovers not the "hand of a master; even the her- "mit Peter is finely contrasted "with the enchanter Ismeno, and "these two personages are assu- "redly superior to the Calchas and "Talthybius of Homer. Rinaldo "is indeed imitated from Achilles; "but his faults are more excusable, "his character is more amiable, "and his leisure is better em- "ployed. We are dazzled with "Achilles, but for Rinaldo we are "interested.

"I know not whether Homer "has acted rightly in exciting so "strongly our sympathy for Priam, "the enemy of the Greeks; but it "was indeed a master-stroke in "Tasso to render Aladin odious. "Had this not been the case, the "reader might have taken part "with the Mahometans against "the Christians; he might have "been led to consider the latter "as a band of robbers, who had "agreed to issue from the heart "of Europe to lay desolate a coun- "try to which they had no claim; "and to massacre in cold blood a "venerable monarch of fourscore "years, and a whole innocent "people, against whom they had "no pretence of complaint."

"After a sally against the Cru- sades, which he represents as equally foolish and barbarous, Voltaire thus proceeds:

"Tasso has, with much judg- "ment, exhibited them in a very "different light. In his poem we "behold an army of heroes, march- "ing under the conduct of a vir- "tuous chief, to deliver, from the "yoke of infidels, a country which "had been consecrated by the birth "and death of a God. Considered "in this view, the subject of the "*Jerusalem* is the most noble that "can be conceived. Tasso has "treated it with all the dignity of "which it is worthy; nor is this "elevated work less interesting "than it is sublime. The action is "well conducted, the incidents in "general artfully disposed, the ad- "ventures skilfully introduced, the "lights and shades admirably dis- "tributed. He transports his reader "from the tumults of war, to the "sweet solitudes of love; and from "scenes of exquisite bliss, he again "conducts him to the field of "battle. The sensibility which "he at first awakens is gradually "augmented; he rises gradually "above himself, as he proceeds "from book to book. His style "is almost always clear and ele- "gant; and, when his subject re- "quires elevation, it is astonishing "to perceive how he impresses a "new character on the softness of "the Italian language; how he "sublimes it into majesty, and "compresses it into strength.

"One may find, indeed, in the "*Jerusalem*, about two hundred "verses, in which the author has "indulged himself in puerile *con- "cetti*, and a mere play upon "words. These weaknesses, how- "ever, were a sort of tribute which "his genius paid to the epigram- "matic taste of the age in which "he lived."

"After this very high eulogy, Voltaire points out what he con- siders as defects in various parts of the poem, a circumstance which,

as

as Mr. Hoole remarks, gives his testimony in behalf of Tasso, so far as it goes, new force. Of these criticisms, the greater part seem to be made, according to the practice of the author, merely *pour egayer les choses*, and the few that are serious, (if indeed any one but the objection to the episode of Olindo and Sophronia is so,) are not more just. With regard to this episode, if it had no other merit than throwing odium on the character of Aladin, a circumstance which Voltaire considers as of such mighty consequence, it would be far from useless. What the French poet objects to, are the enchantments, that is to say, the finest passages of the work of Tasso. Of these objections, the principal have been answered by Mr. Hoole, in the preface to his translation of the *Jerusalem Delivered*.

"In our criticisms of the poem of Tasso, we ought not to forget the singular nobleness and dignity of his characters. His Tancred is a chevalier Bayard, refined to the highest degree, by the lofty genius of the poet. When Rinaldo leaves in a rage the Christian army, he does not, as has been remarked by Terrasson, repose, like Achilles, in his tent, and behold with apathy the ruin of his countrymen. He does not pray like him, that no one, whether friend or foe, may escape from slaughter. No—he refuses to be accompanied by the heroes, who wish to follow him, as partakers of his fortunes: he resolves to go to Egypt to oppose its monarch, who was arming against the crusades, and thus, though at a distance, to co-operate with the Christian arms: he determines to explore the head of the Nile, and revolves in his mind the greatest and most unwonted exploits.

Molta intanto à concorsa amica gente,
E seco andarne ogn'un procura, e prega:
Egli tutti ringrazia, e seco prende
Sol duo Scudieri, e su'l cavallo ascende.

52.

Parte, e porta un desio d'eterna, ed alma
Gloria, che a nobil core è sferza, e sprone;
A' magnanime imprese intenta hà l'alma,
Ed insollte cose oprar dispone.
Gir fra i nemici: ivi ò cipresso, ò palma
Acquistar per la fede, ond' è campione;
Scorrer l'Egitto, e penetrar fin dove
Fuor d'incognito fonte il Nilo move.*

"But, above all, the principal charm of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, is the enchantress Armida, and the adventures and events to which she gives birth. Never did the imagination conceive a woman so bewitching; never did genius array with such seducing charms an ideal being. Her boldness in undertaking

* A crowd of friends around the hero throng,
And seek to share his glory, and his fate;
He thanks them all; but only with him takes
Two trusty squires, and slow the camps forsakes.

52.

And, evermore, gay visions of delight
Enrapt, as on he rode, his burning mind;
Achievments vast, unheard-of deeds of might,
And fall of Paynim empires he designed:
Alike to him to gain in toilsome fight
The palm or cypress, if with glory joined:
Egypt he means to waste, and bend his course
To where mysterious Nile conceals its source.

the preservation of her faith; her arts in the attempt; these arts yielding to her love for Rinaldo; her genius, her vivacity, her profound sensibility, affect, in the strongest degree, the fancy and the heart. The enchantresses of other poets; the Alcina of Ariosto, and Duessa of Spenser, are foul and filthy hags; and Tasso seems, first of the romantic poets, to have perceived that there is no witchery so powerful, as natural and virgin grace. In every country, Armida, and the gardens of Armida, are proverbial terms for beauty and delight; and there is no reader of sensibility, who does not adopt, or at least confess the justness of the sentiments which Quinault, in his opera on this subject, puts into the mouth of the enamoured Rinaldo:

Que j'etois insensé de croire
Qu'un vain laurier, donné par la victoire,
De tous les biens fut le plus precieux!
Tout l'eclat dont brille la gloire,
Vaut il un regard de vos yeux?
Est il un bien si charmant, et si rare,
Que celui dont l'Amour veut combler mon espoir?

"To an English reader, some of Tasso's paintings of the spiritual world may, perhaps, seem mean, owing to the elevation of our ideas of this kind, by the sublime pictures which have been pourtrayed by the genius of Milton. This, however, can only apply to his description of the Devil, and the infernal scenes; for the angels of Tasso are beautiful as those of Raphael, and have evidently been the principal study of the English poet. What vision of the *Paradise Lost* is more happily conceived, or more exquisitely delineated, than the picture of Gabriel, in the first canto of the *Jerusalem*, or the descent of Michael, in the ninth. Tasso has indeed, in the description of his Devil, injured the picture, by some disgusting strokes, but it was not his object to exhibit that being as the rival of the Omnipotent. Satan is not, as in the *Paradise Lost*, the principal character of the *Jerusalem*; nor was it the purpose of the poet to depict him as sublime, but horrible. Nevertheless, he has raised the leader of the infernal regions higher than Michael Angelo, or any painter or poet who preceded him, and has described him as towering, terrible, and majestic as Atlas. One of the commentators, indeed, of Tasso, apologises for his attributing majesty to the Devil: nor is it probable, that, if he had conceived an idea of this being similar to that of Milton, that he would have dared to embody it. In the *Jerusalem Delivered*, however, the speech of Lucifer is equally dignified with any in the *Paradise Lost*; and from it, the English poet has manifestly derived several of those dauntless sentiments and proud resolves, which wake alternately our pity and admiration for the fallen angel.

Ah non fia ver: che non sono anco estinti
Gli spigi in noi di quel valor primiero,
Quando di ferro, e d'alte fiamme cinti,
Pugnammo già contra il celeste impero:
Fummo (no'l nego) in quel conflitto vinti;
Pur non mancò virtute al gran pensiero:
Hebbero i più felici allor vittoria;
Rimase a noi d'invitto ardir la gloria.*

"Of

* Oh be not then the courage fled away,
That courage proud, which in your breasts prevail'd,
When, girt with flames, we rose against the sway
Of Heaven's King, and fierce his hosts assail'd;

I grant,

" Of the enemies of the reputation of Tasso, one of the most formidable has been Boileau, who, though he confesses, in his *Art of Poetry*, that this writer has *de son livre illustré l'Italie*, has a most illiberal verse on the subject in the ninth of his satires. For this line the satirist has been often reproached by Voltaire, and by other critics of sensibility: but it received, in this country, both notoriety and authority from Addison, whose critical discernment was quite subdued by Bouhours, Boileau, Bossu, and other French writers, the fashionable Aristarchi of those days. My reflections on this subject, I shall subjoin to a passage taken from Bishop Hurd's *Remarks on the Plan and Conduct of the Faerie Queene*, which, though of considerable length, is so connected with the topics I am now treating of, and so important, that I should deem myself unpardonable not to give it a place in the Appendix. Meanwhile, I may remark, that, if Tasso's merit is to be decided by his popularity, his admirers can point out an hundred and sixty editions of the *Jerusalem*, and above forty translations; if it is to be estimated by authority, his glory is equally secure. We have already seen the admiration which Voltaire entertained for the Italian bard, an admiration which appears in a great number of passages in his works. " With regard to the *Iliad*," says he, in his *Essay on Universal History*, " let each reader consult his " feelings, and tell us what would " be his opinion upon the first " reading of this poem, and that " of Tasso, without knowing the " names of the authors, and the " period at which they wrote, but " determining only by the pleasure " he received from each. Could " he avoid giving the preference " to Tasso in every respect? Would " he not find in the Italian more " conduct, interest, variety, exact- " ness, graces, and that tenderness " which gives relief to the sub- " lime?—In a few ages hence, " I question whether they will even " be compared."

" Rousseau, in the most eloquent of his works, shows his high esteem of Tasso, by the frequency with which he names and quotes him; and the story of our poet seems first to have inspired the citizen of Geneva with the sweet transport of composition. " In an " heroic ballet, (says he, in his " *Confessions*) I proposed three dif- " ferent subjects, in three acts, de- " tached from each other, set to " music of a different character, " and taking for each subject, the " amours of a poet. I entitled " this opera, *Les Muses Galantes*. " My first act, in music strongly " characterised, was Tasso.... I tried " my skill on it, and applied to it " with an ardour, which, for the " first time, made me feel the de- " lightful sensation produced by " the creative power of composi- " tion. One evening, as I entered " the opera, feeling myself strongly " incited and overpowered by my " ideas, I returned to my apart- " ment, locked the door, and, after " having close drawn all the cur-

I grant, we fell—I grant, oppress'd we lay,
Yet not our virtue, but our fortune fail'd:
To him was giv'n the conquest of the field,
To us, superior minds, that scorn'd to yield.

Canto IV. Stanza 15.

" tains,

"tains, that every ray of light "might be excluded, I went to "bed, abandoning myself to this "musical and poetical *oestrum*, and "in seven or eight hours, rapidly "composed the greater part of an "act. I can truly say, that my "love for the princess of Ferrara, "(for I was Tasso for the moment,) "and my noble and lofty senti-"ments with respect to her unjust "brother, procured me a night an "hundred times more delicious "than—'it is possible for me to "describe.' In the morning, but "a very little of what I had done "remained in my head, but this "little, almost effaced by sleep and "lassitude, still sufficiently evinced "the energy of the piece of which "it was the scattered remains."

"Nor have examples of the interest which Tasso excites in minds of genius and sensibility been less but more remarkable, among the writers of this island. To Spenser he has furnished the most beautiful passages of his poem—to Milton his fame was an incentive, and his work a model. Dryden, in the preface to his *Virgil*, declares the *Jerusalem Delivered* to be the next heroic poem to the *Iliad* and *Æneid*. Gray, in a letter to Mr. West, tells him that he is reading Tasso, "whom (says he,) "I hold in great admi-"ration;" of which, indeed, he gave a most unequivocal proof, by leaving among his papers a translation of part of the fourth canto of the *Jerusalem*, which Mr. Mason tells us has great merit. In short, it may be affirmed, that, in proportion as a person is himself possessed of poetical genius, of a vivid imagination, and a tender heart, in that proportion shall Tasso be admired. With what transport he could affect Collins, even in the rugged and unequal translation of Fairfax, he has left us a testimony in the following beautiful lines:

In scenes like these, which daring to depart
From sober truth, are still to nature true,
And call forth fresh delight to Fancy's view,
Th' heroic Muse employ'd her Tasso's art,
How have I trembled, when at Tancred's stroke,
Its gushing blood the gaping Cypress pour'd!
When each live plant with mortal accents spoke,
And the wild blast upheav'd the vanish'd sword!
How have I sat, when pip'd the pensive wind,
To hear his harp by British Fairfax strung:
Prevailing poet! whose undoubting mind
Believ'd the magic wonders which he sung!
Hence at each sound imagination glows!
Hence at each picture vivid life starts here!
Hence his warm lay with softest sweetness flows,
Melting it flows, pure, murmuring, strong, and clear,
And fills the impassion'd heart, and wins the harmonious ear.

Memoirs of Victor Alfieri.

[From the Translation of his Life and Writings, written by Himself.]

"WHILE assiduously occupied in correcting my four Greek translations, and buried in studies, undertaken perhaps at too late a period, the French again took possession of Tuscany, on the fifteenth of October. On this occasion time was not allowed me to retire to the country: besides, I had succeeded in obtaining, as a foreigner, from the municipality of Florence, an exemption from what I con-

I conceived the greatest of all misfortunes, having soldiers billetted in my house. As soon as my mind ceased to contemplate such an event, I resigned myself to circumstances. I shut myself up in my own house, and never went abroad, unless to take an airing for two hours in the morning. This exercise, which my health rendered indispensable, I took in the most solitary places, and always without any attendants. But though I religiously shunned on all occasions the society of the French, they evinced not such a disposition towards me. Unfortunately the French general at Florence was attached to literature. Wishing to become acquainted with me, he called several times at my house. I determined, however, to be visible to no one; and instead of returning his politeness, I took not the least notice whatever of his calls. After an interval of a few days, I received from him a verbal message, requesting to know when he might be permitted to wait on me. Finding that he persisted in his intentions, and unwilling to entrust a servant with a verbal message, which might not be faithfully communicated, I dispatched the following note:——"If the General "in his official capacity commands "his presence, Victor Alfieri, who "never resists constituted autho-"rity of any kind, will imme-"diately hasten to obey the order; "but if on the contrary he re-"quests an interview only as a "private individual, Alfieri begs "leave to observe, that being of "a very retired turn of mind, he "wishes not to form any new ac-"quaintance, and therefore entreats "the French general to hold him "excused."

"To this the general immediately returned the following laconic reply: that having read my works, he had been desirous of becoming acquainted with their author; but as that appeared not to be consonant to my wishes, he would no farther importune me on the subject. In fact, he left me to myself, and I was thus freed from an interview, which must necessarily have proved no less embarrassing than painful to my feelings.

"In the mean time, Piedmont having been revolutionized, and wishing to ape their masters in every thing, transformed their Royal Academy of Sciences into a National Institute, modelled on the plan of that of Paris, in which the belles lettres were united to the fine arts. It pleased these gentlemen, whose designations I am unacquainted with, since my friend Caluso had been dismissed from his office of secretary to the academy, to nominate me one of its members. This circumstance was immediately notified in a letter addressed to me on the occasion. Having been previously informed by the abbé of the honour they meant to confer on me, I returned the letter unopened, and caused them to be informed that I was little solicitous of matriculation, either in their society or any other; and, in short, that I would never enroll myself among any body of men who had excluded such characters as Cardinal Gerdil, Count Balbo, and Chevalier Morozzo, merely because they were sincere royalists.

"Because I have never been a royalist, it by no means follows that I must belong to the class who style themselves democrates. Their republic is not conformable to my fancy; and I declare that I am, and shall

shall ever be, hostile to all their opinions. The irritation I experienced on this occasion once more caused me to infringe my vow, and I composed fourteen verses, which I transmitted to my friend Caluso. I did not keep a copy of them, nor ever shall preserve those which resentment or any other passion may impel me to write.

"I did not display equal resolution in the month of September, 1799, in resisting a newly awakened impulse, or, more properly speaking, an old one revived, which I experienced during several days, and to which I at length found myself forced to yield. Having always entertained the idea of trying my powers in the composition of comedy, I sketched the plan of six all at once. These I determined to augment to twelve; but repeated disappointments, chagrin, and particularly my unremitted study of a language so extremely copious as the Greek, had so exhausted my powers of conception, that I believed it would thenceforward be utterly impossible to compose any work requiring much mental exertion: thus I abandoned the idea. I know not how my mind was led to enter on this species of composition, during the most sorrowful period of my life, when we had fallen into a state of the most abject slavery, from which it was impossible to escape; at a period too when both time and opportunity were denied me to execute what it was my wish to undertake. Suddenly a poetizing spirit animated my mind, and in one of my excursions I almost simultaneously conceived my four first comedies, which, in the ground-work, form only one, since they all tend to the same object by different means. On returning home, I sketched them, and on the following day I essayed my strength in others of a different kind. I conceived the plan of two others, the first of which had no relation to Italian manners, while the second was truly an Italian comedy of the present day. I wished to demonstrate by this piece that I was competent to delineate the manners of the present age. But since these change, it is necessary that he who wishes his comedies to be handed down to posterity, should confine himself to depict the follies of man in the aggregate, and not those of men of any particular country, or existing at any particular period; otherwise, the spirit of comedy, and the fame of an author, must evaporate with the characters and manners he has described. Hence, these six comedies may be divided into three different kinds. The four first are adapted to every age and country; the second is a production altogether fanciful and poetical; while the sixth may be considered as a *true Italian* comedy of the present day. To write such as the last, nothing more is necessary than to imitate the trash we see every day published. They afford little amusement, and are productive of still less utility. Our age, which is far from fertile in imagination, seems disposed to derive tragedy from comedy, and has converted the drama into what may be termed the *Epopee of the Frogs:* while I, on the contrary, with greater probability, in my opinion, have derived comedy from tragedy. This appears to me better adapted to amuse, to be productive of greater utility, and more compatible with truth. We often witness grandees and nobles who make us smile, but

citizens,

citizens, such as bankers and lawyers, we regard as objects of wonder, because they are rarely seen. Mean and grovelling sentiments ill accord with the dignity of tragedy. However this may be, time will evince whether I ought to preserve these trifles, or whether I ought to throw them into the fire."

Life of the Rev. Thomas Warton.

[From Dr. Drake's Essays.]

"IT has been related, that, in the second edition of the Idler, Dr. Johnson acknowledged the contribution of twelve papers. Of the authors of those essays whose names have been disclosed, we are now, therefore, to give some account. They are, in number, three; the Rev. Thomas Warton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Bennet Langton, Esq.

Thomas Warton, B. D. the son of the Rev. Thomas Warton, vicar of Basingstoke, Hampshire, and brother of Dr. Joseph Warton, was born at Basingstoke, in the year 1728. Until his sixteenth year he was educated solely by his father, and then, on the 16th of March, 1743, sent to Oxford, where he was admitted a commoner, and soon after elected a scholar, of Trinity College.

The bias of Mr. Warton's mind towards poetry and elegant literature was early shown; in his ninth year, in a letter addressed to his sister, he sends her a translation from Martial; and it has been affirmed,* that in 1745, when only in his eighteenth year, he published "Five Pastoral Eclogues," the scenes of which are laid among the shepherds of Germany, ruined by the war of 1744. The authenticity of this production has, however, been much doubted by Mr. Mant, who says, "I do not learn that they ever had "the name of Warton affixed to "them, and can assert, on the au"thority of his sister, that he abso"lutely disclaimed them." † Yet it cannot be denied, that a vein of description runs through these Eclogues of a kind very similar to that which Mr. Warton was afterward accustomed to indulge: the following allusion, for instance, to the chivalric combat, in Eclogue the 3d, and the subsequent picture of the convent, in Eclogue the 4th, are of this cast.

The wood, whose shades the plaintive shepherd sought,
Was dark and pathless, and by neighbouring feet
Long time untrod: for there in ancient days
Two knights of bold emprize, and high renown,
Met in fierce combat, to dispute the prize
Of beauty bright, whose valiant arm should win
A virgin fair, whose far-emblazon'd charms
With equal love had smote their rival breasts.
The knight who fell beneath the victor's sword,
Unhears'd and restless, from that fatal day
Wanders the hated shades, a spectre pale;
And each revolving night, are heard to sound,
Far from the inmost bow'r of the deep wood,
Loud shrieks, and hollow groans, and rattling chains.

&c. &c.

* Anderson's Poets, and Biographical Dictionary. † Mant's Life of Warton, p. 14.

Dent

Dost thou remember at the river's side
That solitary convent, all behind
Hid by the covert of a mantling wood?
One night, when all was wrapt in darkness deep,
An armed troop, on rage and rapine bent,
Pour'd o'er the fields, and ravag'd all they met;
Nor did that sacred pile escape their arms,
Whose walls the murd'rous band to ruin swept,
And fill'd its caverns deep with armed throngs
Greedy of spoil, and snatch'd their treasures old
From their dark seats: the shrieking sisters fled,
Dispers'd and naked, through the fields and woods,
While sable night conceal'd their wand'ring steps.
Part in my moss-grown cottage shelter sought,
Which haply scap'd their rage, in secret glade
Immersed deep.—I rose at early morn,
With fearful heart to view the ruin'd dome,
Where all was desolation; all appear'd
The seat of horror and devouring war.
The deep recesses and the gloomy nook,
The vaulted aisles, and shrines of imag'd saints,
The caverns worn by holy knees appear'd,
And to the sun were op'd.—In musing thought
I said, as on the pile I bent my brow,—
"This seat to future ages will appear
"Like that which stands fast by the piny rock;
"These silent walls with ivy shall be hung,
"And distant times shall view the sacred pile,
"Unknowing how it fell, with pious awe!
"The pilgrim here shall visit, and the swain
"Returning from the field, at twilight grey
"Shall shun to pass this way, subdued by fear,
"And slant his course across the adverse "vale!"

Ecl. 4.

"The close imitation of Milton, too, in Eclogue the 2d, the description of the Hermit's Cell in Eclogue the 5th, and various other passages, of considerable merit for the age at which they are supposed to have been written, might, not without reason, lead to the attribution of these pieces to our author.

"It must, indeed, be admitted, that the first acknowledged production of Mr. Warton, "The Pleasures of Melancholy," published in 1747, but composed in 1745, is in a strain superior to the Eclogues. This beautifully romantic poem, though executed at a period so early in life, betrays almost immediately the tract of reading, and the school of poetry, to which its author had, even then, sedulously addicted himself. Every page suggests to us the disciple of Spenser and Milton, yet without servile imitation; for, though the language and style of imagery whisper whence they were drawn, many of the pictures in this poem are so bold and highly coloured, as justly to claim no small share of originality.

"The year succeeding this effusion he wrote, on the recommendation of Dr. Huddesford, President of his college, "The Triumph of Isis," in reply to Mr. Mason, who had published an Elegy, under the title of "Isis," reflecting, rather harshly, on some circumstances which had lately occurred, of a political nature, in the university of Oxford. The Triumph of Isis was printed in 1749, and received with a burst of applause, as a noble and spirited vindication of the honour and reputation of his Alma Mater. It has, moreover, the merit, though written upon a temporary subject, of containing imagery and sentiment which must always please and interest. That it is superior to the poem which gave rise to it, has been, not only the opinion of the public, but of Mr. Mason himself, who, writing to Mr. Warton in 1777, for the purpose of thanking him for a present of his poems, which he had then just published, but in which, out of delicacy to his former opponent, he had omitted the Triumph of Isis, says with much candour, "I am, however, sorry to "find that the Triumph of Isis has "not found a place near the deli-"cate "Complaint of Cherwell,"

"to

"to which it was a proper compa-
"nion; and I fear that a punctilio
"of politeness to me was the occa-
"sion of its exclusion. Had I
"known of your intention of making
"this collection, most certainly I
"should have pleaded for the in-
"sertion of that poem, which I
"assure you I think greatly excels
"the Elegy which occasioned it,
"both in its poetical imagery, and
"the correct flow of its versifica-
"tion." *

"The strong attachment of the Poet to Gothic architecture, though only in his 21st year, is very apparent in the Triumph of Isis, and has given origin, in the following striking apostrophe, to perhaps the best lines which it contains.

Ye fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,
Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time;
Ye massy piles of old munificence,
At once the pride of learning and defence;
Ye cloisters pale, that length'ning to the sight,
To contemplation, step by step, invite;
Ye high-arch'd walks, where oft the whispers clear
Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear;
Ye temples dim, where pious duty pays
Her holy hymns of ever-echoing praise;
Lo! your lov'd Isis, from the bord'ring vale,
With all a mother's fondness bids you hail!

"This ardent love of feudal architecture and manners, and which never forsook him through life, has been ascribed by Dr. Huntingford, the present Bishop of Gloucester, to a circumstance which took place in his earliest years. "Dr. Joseph "Warton," he tells Mr. Mant, "was accustomed to relate a cir-"cumstance, which though in it-"self apparently unimportant, yet, "with respect to the writings of "Mr. Thomas Warton, was per-"haps in its effects of considerable "consequence. When they were "both boys, their father took them "to see Windsor Castle. The se-"veral objects presented to their "view much engaged the attention, "and excited the admiration, of "the father and his son Joseph. "As they were returning, the fa-"ther with some concern said to "Joseph, 'Thomas goes on, and "takes no notice of any thing he "has seen.' This remark was never "forgotten by his son, who how-"ever, in mature years, made this "reflection: 'I believe my brother "was more struck with what he "saw, and took more notice of "every object, than either of us." And there is good reason to think, that the peculiar fondness for *Castle Imagery* which our author on many occasions strongly discovers, may be traced to this incident of his early days. That his imagination should afterwards be turned to the description of scenes, with which in his youth his fancy had been captivated, it is very natural to conceive, if we do but recollect how often the mind takes its complexion and bias through life, from a trivial circumstance happening before we arrive at manhood.

"To the same cause," adds his Lordship, "we may perhaps refer "that love of Spenser which our au-"thor every where professes. Ideas of "Chivalry are intimately connected

* Mant's Warton, p. 18. That Mason thought much, however, of the impression which his poem had made upon the members of Oxford, is very evident from the annexed anecdote. "Several years after he had written his Elegy, he was coming into "Oxford on horseback; and as he passed over Magdalen Bridge, (it was then evening,) "he turned to his friend, and expressed his satisfaction, that, as it was getting dusk, "they should enter the place unnoticed. His friend did not seem aware of the advan-"tage. 'What!' rejoined the poet, 'do not you remember my *Isis?*'" Mant's Warton, vol. 1. p. 22.

" with Castle Imagery, and 'The " Fairy Queen' is a mine inex- " haustible in lore of that nature."

" From this period to the year of his death Mr. Warton continued occasionally to write and publish a variety of poetical pieces. These appeared either separately, or in editions published by himself, or in collections by others; thus, to " The Student," a periodical paper printed at Oxford in 1750; to " The Union, or select Scots and English Poems," 1753; to the Oxford Collections of 1751, 1761, and 1762; to the " Oxford Sausage, or Select Poeti- " cal Pieces, written by the most " celebrated Wits of the University " of Oxford;" 12mo, 1764; and to Pearch's Collection; he contributed many very valuable effusions. Beside his " Pleasures of Melancholy," and his " Triumph of Isis," his " Newmarket, a Satire," and his " Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's " Painted Window at New Col- " lege," were published separately, the first of these in 1751, and the last in 1782.

" It was not until 1777 that our author printed a volume of Poems; the size was a thin octavo, which consisted principally of new Pieces, most of those which he had formerly published being, for reasons not now known, omitted. A second edition was called for soon after, a third appeared in 1779, and a fourth, much more ample than the former, came from the press in 1789. The most complete edition, however, under the superintendence of the author, and which was partly printed off before his death, was given to the world in 1791. The brief observations, however, which we are about to offer on the poetry of Mr. Warton, will be founded on the edition and arrangement of his Poetical Works as published by Mr. Mant in 1802, in two vols. 8vo, necessarily more perfect than any yet brought forward, as including not only all his *Carmina*, but his *Laureate Odes*.

" On the genius of Warton, as a Poet, an adequate value has not yet been placed; for in consequence of a sedulous imitation of the diction of our elder bards, especially of Spenser and Milton, originality of conception has been very unjustly denied him. To his brother Joseph, with whom he has been commonly ranked, he is greatly superior, both in vigour and fertility of imagination, though, perhaps, less sweet and polished in his versification.

" In the rhymed pentameter, indeed, and in blank verse, he is inferior, in point of versification, to Dryden, Pope, and Milton; but in the eight-syllable metre, to which he was particularly partial, he has exhibited, almost uniformly, great harmony and sweetness. The mixture of *trochaics* of seven syllables, and *iambics* of eight, which has been objected to him as a fault, in this species of verse, I am so far from considering as a defect, that, as in Milton and Gray, I esteem it productive of much beauty and much interesting variety.

" Against the antique cast of expression which he has so frequently adopted in his poems, the disciples of Dryden and Pope have brought many complaints. That an *indiscriminate* use of the phraseology of our elder bards must be admitted as a blemish will not be denied; but when, as in Warton, the theme is drawn from the bosom of legendary lore, and abounding in pictures of Anglo-Norman arts and manners, a judicious admixture of old words throws a rich-

ness

ness and mellowness over the composition that admirably blends with the nature of the subject, and which no other expedient can supply.

"The imagery, indeed, throughout the greater part of the poetry of Warton is altogether antiquated; it is founded on the costume of the chivalric ages, and is every where thickly strewn with feudal pictures and embellishments. The language is accordant, and has given to these glowing sketches a tint which, as removing all rawness and glare of colouring, appears the work of time. In fact, more than any other poet since the era of Spenser, our author may be termed *The Bard of Gothic Painting*. In lyric poetry he approaches nearer the genius of Collins than of Gray; for, like the former, he was strongly addicted to the *wild*, the *wonderful*, and the *romantic*. In *these departments*, after enumerating our three great poets, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, may we not add, as forming the closest approximation, the names of Collins and of Warton? and, as, in these days of coarse and illiberal criticism, to honour living merit has become a virtue most rare, I am induced to finish the modern triumvirate with the latest of our poets, with the name of Walter Scott.

"We shall now, according to the arrangement of the last edition, consider the classes into which the poems of Mr. Warton have been divided. Of these the first, entituled "Miscellaneous Pieces," embraces eight productions, including the "Triumph of Isis," and the "Pleasures of Melancholy." Four of the number, I regret to say, are political poems, written on the decease of Frederick Prince of Wales, and George the Second; on the marriage of George the Third; and on the birth of the Prince of Wales. On such subjects it is sufficient encomium to say, that common-place eulogy is avoided, and that much poetical imagery is introduced. Of the "Monody, written near Stratford upon Avon," the twelve concluding lines are peculiarly fine; but the poem that, under this head, now demands our first attention, is addressed to "Sir Joshua Reynolds, "on his Painted Window at New "College, Oxford," and is completely characteristic of the genius and mind of the Poet: it opens with a confession of his attachment to Gothic antiquity, and with an admirable description of a Gothic Cathedral, which paint the propensities of the author in vivid colours.

Long have I lov'd to catch the simple chime
Of minstrel harps, and spell the fabling rhime,
To view the festive rites, the knightly play,
That deck'd heroic Albion's elder day;
To mark the mould'ring halls of barons bold,
And the rough castle cast in giant mould;
With Gothic manners Gothic arts explore,
And muse on the magnificence of yore.
But, chief, enraptur'd have I lov'd to roam,
A ling'ring votary, the vaulted dome,
Where the tall shafts, that mount in massy pride,
Their mingling branches shoot from side to side;
Where elfin sculptors, with fantastic clew,
O'er the long roof their wild embroid'ry drew;
Where SUPERSTITION with capricious hand
In many a maze the wreathed window plann'd,
With hues romantic ting'd the gorgeous pane,
To fill with holy light the wondrous fane;
To aid the builder's model, richly rude,
By no Vitruvian symmetry subdued;
To suit the genius of the mystic pile;
Whilst as around the far-retiring isle,
And fretted shrines, with hoary trophies hung,
Her dark illumination wide she flung,
With new solemnity the nooks profound,
The caves of death, and the dim arches frown'd."

This poem, as addressed to one of the first artists of his age, may seem to court a comparison with the Epistle of Dryden to Sir Godfrey Kneller, and of Pope to Jervas; but as the Muse of Warton was princi-

pally employed in the delineation of Gothic scenery, or in contrasting it with the chaste production of Sir Joshua, there are few traces of parallelism. In point of poetical merit it is not inferior to the finished pieces of his predecessors.

"Of the *Inscriptions*, that written "In a Hermitage at Ansley Hall, "in Warwickshire," is singularly pleasing both in its sentiment and imagery; the fourth stanza, more especially, closes with a picture exquisitely glowing and beautiful.

"The Four *Translations* call not for much attention; they are elegant, however, and correct; the versification of the passage from Job is spirited and harmonious; the paraphrase of the twentieth Idyllium of Theocritus is a perfect copy of the style and stanza of the first two months of Spenser's Calendar, and the blank odes from Horace have as much melody as can usually be exhibited in this department independent of rhyme.

"It is to the *Lyric Poetry* of our author, however, that we are to turn for a full view of his talents and genius. He has left us three and twenty odes, sixteen of which are entitled to high praise. These I would separate into *six* classes; the *Picturesque*, the *Historic*, the *Gothic*, *Chivalric*, *Pathetic*, and *Sublime*.

"Under the title of *Picturesque* I would arrange Ode 2, The Hamlet; Ode 7, sent to a Friend, on his leaving a favourite Village in Hampshire; Ode 10, The First of April; Ode 11, On the Approach of Summer; and Ode 23, Descriptive of the Mineral Springs of England.

"I consider the descriptive poetry of Warton, as it appears in these five odes, to be of the very first order, and so far original, as it presents us with new pictures, and new combinations of ideas. The language, it is true, is modelled upon that of Milton, especially in his Ode on the Approach of Summer, but the imagery is his own, and frequently of a kind very distinct from that which characterizes the minor poetry of our great Epic Bard. The mind of Warton was, indeed, peculiarly alive to the minutiæ of rural scenery, and he has sketched his objects with such fidelity to nature, that they frequently might, with all their circumstances, be transferred with full effect to the canvas. Neither Gray nor Collins can vie with him in this respect; and, as Mr. Mant has justly observed, "neither Claude nor Ruysdale ever painted a more glowing "or a more distinct picture, than "are many of the descriptions of "Warton." *

"It has been mentioned, however, by this ingenious biographer, as a defect in the descriptive poetry of Warton, that it is so little mingled with manners, passions, or moral reflection. Yet, of the five odes that we have just alluded to, only two, the 2d and the 23d, are purely descriptive. The *Hamlet* is throughout moral, both in design and execution; it is, indeed, a most fascinating display of the pleasures to be enjoyed from innocence and industry in rural privacy, contrasted with the illusive gratifications of splendour, wealth, and revelry. The *Ode sent to a Friend* has a pathetic charm which will endear it to every reader, when he shall recollect that it mourns the departure of a beloved brother, who was then leaving his favourite residence at Wynslade for the continent; and if we appeal to

* Mant's Warton, vol. 2. p. 150.

the

the *Ode on the Approach of Summer*, it will be found interspersed with an occasional vein of the most pleasing pathos and morality: what, for instance, can better prove this than the insertion of the following lines?

—When life's busier scene is o'er,
And age shall give the tresses hoar,
I'd fly soft luxury's marble dome,
And make an humble thatch my home,
Which sloping hills around inclose,
Where many a beech and brown oak grows;
Beneath whose dark and branching bow'rs
Its tides a far-fam'd river pours:
By Nature's beauties taught to please,
Sweet Tusculane of rural ease!
Still grot of Peace! in lowly shed
Who loves to rest her gentle head.
For not the scenes of Attic art
Can comfort care, or sooth the heart:
Nor burning cheek, nor wakeful eye,
For gold and Tyrian purple dye.
Thither, kind Heaven, in pity lent,
Send me a little, and content;
The faithful friend, and cheerful night,
The social scene of dear delight:
The conscience pure—
O ever to sweet Poesy
Let me live true votary!—
She, from my tender youthful cheek,
Can wipe, with lenient finger meek,
The secret and unpitied tear,
Which still I drop in darkness drear.

"The 23d Ode, composed for his Majesty's Birth-Day, June 4, 1790, which contains an eulogy on the chief mineral springs of this country, was the last which our Laureate wrote, and is, perhaps, in point of language and description, fully equal, if not superior, to any of his former productions. The scenery of Matlock, Bristol, Bath, Malvern, and Buxton, is depicted in colours alike rich, clear, and appropriate.

"In the class which I have termed *Historic* may be placed three Odes, the seventeenth, the nineteenth, and the twenty-first. Of these the first, written for his Majesty's Birth-Day, 1786, commemorates the bards of Greece, who paid their homage "to the throne of virtuous kings," Alcæus, Pindar, and Theocritus; while the second, for the same occasion, 1787, chaunts the praises of the great Laureate Poets of England, Chaucer, Spenser, and Dryden. The idea is a happy one, and it is brought forward and embodied with the noblest imagery, and with the choicest lyric expression. The characters of our author's favourites, Theocritus and Spenser, are highly wrought. The third and last of these pieces is a spirited eulogium on Liberty, and an admirable poetic record of the effects of the Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman invasions.

"Proceeding to the next department, the *Gothic*, we shall discover three odes, two of which possess very great merit. The first, *Written at Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire*, is rendered rather heavy and monotonous by an injudicious choice of the elegiac metre: it contains, however, some striking gothic imagery, and, particularly, some very fine lines on the utility of monastic protection to literature and the arts. The second, Ode the 18th for the New Year, 1787, and the third, Ode the 20th, for the New Year, 1788, abound in the richest and most characteristic Gothic Paintings, "which give," remarks the Monthly Reviewer of the edition of 1791, "that kind of mellowness to "these poems, that time confers on "medals and productions of the "pencil." * The first and second stanza of the Ode for 1788 present us with a finished picture of the exterior of a Norman castle.

Rude was the pile, and massy proof,
That first uprear'd its haughty roof
On Windsor's brow sublime, in warlike state:
The Norman tyrant's jealous hand
The giant fabric proudly plann'd:—
Unchang'd, through many a hardy race
Stood the rough dome, in sullen grace;
Still on its angry front defiance frown'd:

* Monthly Review, vol. 10, New Series, p. 277.

Though

Though Monarchs kept their state within,
Still murmur'd with the martial din
The gloomy gateway's arch profound;
And armed forms, in airy rows,
Bent o'er the battlements their bows,
And blood-stain'd banners crown'd its hostile head,
And oft its hoary ramparts wore
The rugged scars of conflict sore.

"To the kindred title of *Chivalric* we refer the Odes termed "The Crusade," and "The Grave of King Arthur," which, owing to their dramatic form, possess an interest and animation exclusively their own. They have also, if we advert to the invention discoverable in their structure, a claim to a higher poetical assignment than any other of our author's productions. The manners and costume of chivalry are likewise accurately preserved; and the imagery, especially in the Crusade, is of a cast unusually bold and impressive.

"To the quotation which we have just given, descriptive of the exterior of a Norman castle, it will not, probably, be irrelevant to add a picture equally faithful of the interior, from the pencil of the same master, and which forms the opening of the Grave of Arthur.

Stately the feast, and high the cheer:
Girt with many an armed peer,
And canopied with golden pall,
Amid CILGARRAN'S cast e hall,
Sublime in formidable state,
And warlike splendour, Henry sate;
Prepar'd to stain the briny flood
Of Shannon's lakes with rebel blood.
Illumining the vaulted roof,
A thousand torches flam'd aloof:
From massy cups, with golden gleam
Sparkl'd the red metheglin's stream:
To grace the gorgeous festival,
Along the lofty-window'd hall,
The storied tapestry was hung:
With minstrelsy the rafters rung
Of harps, that with reflected light
From the proud gallery glitter'd bright:
While gifted bards, a rival throng,
(From distant Mona, nurse of song,
From Teivi, fring'd with umbrage brown,
From Ever's Vale, and Cader's crown,
From many a shaggy precipice
That shades Iern's hoarse abyss,
And many a sunless solitude
Of Radnor's inmost mountains rude)
To crown the banquet's solemn close,
Themes of British glory chose.

"A single, but a most exquisitely moral and tender ode, may be deservedly characterised among the lyrics of Warton, by the appellation of *Pathetic*; it is entitutled, "The Suicide," and is calculated, from its noble sentiments and religious tendency, to impart as much comfort to the wretched and care-worn, as its melody and imagery can afford delight to the lovers of poetic fancy. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth stanzas, make the most touching appeal to the heart; and the close, while it suggests the most important truths, is at once awful and majestic.

"The odes to which we have applied the epithet *Sublime*, are the 16th and 22d of Mr. Mant's edition; the first written for the New Year, 1786, and the second for the Birth-Day, 1789. The opening of the Ode for 1786 is built upon a passage in the fourth Odyssey of Homer, and on another in the second Olympic Ode of Pindar; and their appropriation to Great Britain is one of the happiest efforts in lyric poetry. The first and second stanza of this magnificent ode truly merit the appellation which designates the class; nor will the commencement of the birth-day ode for 1789, which commemorates the recovery of our beloved Monarch, prefer a less powerful claim to similar eulogium. It is, indeed, a most striking proof of the genius of Warton, that, with all the formidable obstacles to excellence which must ever attend a perpetually recurring subject, he should so completely have surmounted every difficulty, as to render his laureate odes, with one exception, some of the most beautiful specimens of lyric

poetry

poetry which our language can exhibit.

"Having occupied so much space, considering our limits, on this branch of our author's effusions, it will be necessary to notice the residue of his poems with somewhat more than common brevity.

"The *Sonnets*, which are written on the legitimate Italian model, are rich in imagery, but the versification is rather harsh and heavy. The last, addressed to the River Lodon, is the best, and is rendered peculiarly pleasing from the pensive tone which pervades it.

"To the *Humourous Pieces* we are inclined to attribute no small share of merit. "Newmarket, a satire," would do honour to Pope; the "Progress of Discontent" is in the best manner of Swift, and the "Panegyric on Oxford Ale," though an imitation of Philips's "Splendid Shilling," is more interesting than its prototype, and, being written on a favourite subject, is executed *con amore*. Ale and tobacco were the luxuries of Warton;

My sober evenings let the tankard bless,
With toast embrown'd, and fragrant nutmeg fraught,
While the rich draughts with oft repeated whiffs
Tobacco mild improves! Divine Repast!

and, social and goodhumoured as he generally was, to have partaken of his heart-rejoicing ale, and to have listened to his varied erudition and rich vein of hilarity, as

. . . . . in capacious chair
Of monumental oak and antique mould
He plac'd his gladsome limbs---while round
Return'd replenish'd the successive cup;
And the brisk fire conspir'd to genial joy.

must have been a treat of no vulgar kind.

"The classical taste and acquirements of our amiable bard are shewn to great advantage in his *Poemata*, which have been divided into "Hexametra," "Epigrammata," and "Græca atque Anglica quædam Latine reddita." To these is added, "Inscriptionum Romanarum Metricarum Delectus," in which are introduced five inscriptions of his own composition.

"The Hexameters include three poems; "Mons Catharinæ;" "On the Rebuilding of Trinity College Chapel," and "On the Death of Frederic Prince of Wales," in 1751. The first is the most generally interesting; but they all display an intimate and very correct acquaintance with the language in which they are written.

"To the Epigrams too much praise cannot be given; they breathe the very spirit of simplicity and tenderness, and their style is such as would reflect honour on the pages of Catullus and his disciple Flaminius. Than the Epitaph on Mrs. Serle, nothing can be more delicately and pathetically elegant.

"The Translations from the Greek and English into Latin are executed, both as to diction and versification, with great classical purity; and the hendecasyllables in the Inscriptionum Delectus, beginning

O Dulcis puer, O venuste Marce,

are, as Dr. Warton has observed, worthy of the genius of Meleager.

"Reverting to the chronological order of events in our biography, we have to record, that on the first of December, 1750, Mr. Warton took his degree of Master of Arts; that in 1751 he succeeded to a fellowship, and in 1754 published his "Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser," in one volume octavo. This book led the way to that species of commentary which attempts the illustration of our elder bards by the perusal and quotation of their contemporary

contemporary writers. To this plan of elucidation Warton was very early addicted; for there is extant a copy of Fenton's edition of Milton's smaller Poems, which belonged to him in his seventeenth year, and which is filled with MS. notes of this kind. The "Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser," a great portion of which has been since incorporated in Mr. Todd's edition, throw much light on the obscure and legendary resources of that romantic poet, and on his allegory, versification, and imagery; the incidental disquisitions, also, on Chaucer, Ariosto, &c. are rich in sound and discriminative criticism. In the second edition of these Observations, which our author republished in 1762, corrected, enlarged, and extended to two volumes, he introduced a long and valuable note on a subject that was particularly endeared to him, the *Ecclesiastical Architecture of England*; a note the more remarkable, as it gave birth to that spirit of enquiry into our Gothic Remains, which has since been so widely diffused. In his attempt, however, to ascertain the origin of the pointed arch, he appears to have failed, from deference to the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren, who attributed it to the Saracens. It has lately been the object of some antiquaries to prove that the Pointed Order of Architecture is exclusively English, a position equally baseless; for that the Pointed style existed upon the continent long anterior to the Norman invasion, or to any specimens of such an order now left in this country, is demonstrative from impartial research. "The earliest and most "authentic model," says Dr. Sayers, "of a Gothic building, with which "we are yet acquainted, is that "which is represented on a coin of "Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who made himself master "of a considerable portion of Italy "in the year 490. It has been "hence inferred (and by no means "unreasonably), that the palace of "that prince was constructed in the "pointed style."* It appears also, from the enquiries of this gentleman, that the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the Cathedral of Monte Real, near Palermo, and the Cathedral of Rheims, erected in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, are all in the Gothic style, and possess numerous specimens of the pointed arch.

"Even the *florid* Gothic, which was not visible in this kingdom before the fifteenth century, evidently existed upon the continent so early as the thirteenth, twelfth, and even the eleventh centuries. "The grand entrance," observes Dr. Sayers, "to "the Cathedral of Strasburgh, founded in 1027, is formed by some "magnificent pointed arches; its "top and sides are also decorated "by a number of pointed niches and "pinnacles most richly ornamented. "Statues are placed upon it in great "profusion."†

"Nothing would better contribute toward establishing the origin and age of the different styles of military, civil, and ecclesiastical architecture in England, than a comparative view of the state of Gothic architecture in Normandy and this island, before, at, and after the conquest. To form *criteria*, indeed, for the purpose of fixing the dates of Saxon, of Norman, and Anglo-Norman buildings, had occupied much of the attention of Mason, and Gray; and they planned, but never exe-

* Sayers's Disquisitions, 2d edition, 1808, p. 233. † Ibid. p. 235.

cuted,

cuted, a series of drawings, which should ascertain with facility and accuracy the era of the erection of the whole, or parts, of every gothic structure. It was, likewise, the full intention of Warton to publish a History of Gothic Architecture in England, for which purpose he made several summer tours through various districts of the kingdom; and in the second Dissertation prefixed to his "History of English Poetry," after remarking in the text, that the Normans had brought with them the arts, and had built castles and churches on a more extensive and stately plan, he informs us, in a note, that "this point will be further illustrated in a work now preparing for the press, entitled, *Observations Critical and Historical, on Castles, Churches, Monasteries, and other Monuments of Antiquity in various Parts of England. To which will be prefixed, the History of Architecture in England.*" How much is it to be regretted that this production, which, Mr. Price of the Bodleian Library says, was written out fairly for the press, and with directions to the printer, has not yet been discovered, and that only the *prima stamina* of the work, in a crude state, were found among his papers!

Some considerable progress, however, toward establishing the *criteria* we have alluded to, has been lately made in a very learned and ingenious paper by Dr. Sayers, entitled *Hints on English Architecture*; in which the author says, "I have endeavoured to sketch out from the writings of others, and from the observations which I have been able to make myself, a general view of those classes into which the structures, or remains of structures, in this island, may be conveniently distributed; and under each of these divisions I have noticed, where necessary, the kinds of buildings, &c. which may be properly included in it, and *some* of the more remarkable peculiarities by which the structures of that class, or age, are commonly distinguished."* This Essay, and the series of Engravings by Mr. Britton, will be indispensable to the student of our architectural antiquities.

"To the occupation of his time, by taking pupils in College, we are to attribute, about this period, the loss of two works by our critic, of considerable importance; namely, an additional volume of Observations on the best of Spenser's works, and a translation of Apollonious Rhodius; of which, the former was actually commenced. He was likewise solicited, at the beginning of 1754, by Colman and Thornton, to assist them in the composition of the Connoisseur. "He declined," says Dr. Huntingford, in a communication to Mr. Mant, "being a principal conductor; but he occasionally favoured their work, as he did the Adventurer and the World, with gratuitous assistance."† The papers, however, which he contributed to these works, if there be no mistake in the supposition of his having afforded any assistance, are wholly unknown.

"It was at this era of his life also that he printed, though anonymously and without any date, two small duodecimos, which evince his taste, both for antiquarian lore and genuine humour, a combination not frequently to be detected. The first is entitled "A Description of the City, College, and Cathedral of Winchester,"

* Disquisitions, p. 168, 169.

† Mant's Life of Warton, p. 41.

&c.

&c. and the second, "A Companion to the Guide, and a Guide to the Companion; being a complete supplement to all the accounts of Oxford hitherto published;" a *jeu d'esprit* in which the burlesque is admirably supported, and the satire of the most playful and good-humoured kind.

"In the year 1757, Mr. Warton was elected Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, for the customary term of ten years; an office, the duties of which he discharged with great credit to himself, and great utility to his pupils. The lectures which he delivered from the chair, if we may judge of them from the only one that has been published, and which is prefixed to his edition of Theocritus, under the title "De Poesi Bucolica Græcorum Dissertatio," would be highly acceptable to the public. He contributed this year some notes to his friend Johnson's edition of Shakspeare; and in 1758 and 1759 three essays to the Idler. In 1758 also he printed, but without his name, his Latin "Delectus," and began his edition of Theocritus.

"He appeared before the world as a biographer in the year 1760, by the contribution of the Life of Sir Thomas Pope to the Biographia Britannica; an attempt which was followed in 1761 by the life and literary remains of Dr. Bathurst. To these efforts he was induced by the love which he bore his college; the former of these personages being its founder, and the latter its principal benefactor. It was impossible, perhaps, to throw much interest round the biography of characters not much celebrated either for active or literary exertion; but what was to be effected, he has obtained, by amusing anecdote and collateral disquisition.

"As a kind of companion to his Inscriptionum Romanorum Metricarum Delectus, he published in 1766 an edition of Cephalas's Anthology, with an elegant Latin Preface; towards the conclusion of which he mentions his being ardently employed on his intended edition of Theocritus; *proxime sequetur, cui nunc omnes operas et vires intendo, Theocritus.*

"On the seventh of December 1767, he took his degree of B. D. and in 1770 appeared in two splendid volumes, 4to, his long-promised edition of *Theocritus*. To this unrivalled pastoral poet Mr. Warton was peculiarly attached; and, as it was his wish, on accepting the office of Poetry Professor, to present the University with an edition of a Greek classic, he naturally fixed upon his favourite; a choice to which he was still further stimulated by the bequest to the Bodleian Library, at that time, of many valuable manuscripts relative to his author. This edition, in which he was assisted by several of his learned contemporaries, has been, in general, highly estimated.

"In 1771 our author was elected a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society; and in the October of the same year he was presented by George Henry Earl of Litchfield to the living of Kiddington, in Oxfordshire. He had now commenced his great work upon English Poetry; and in the year 1774 appeared the first volume, in quarto, under the following title: "The History of English Poetry, from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century; to which are prefixed two Dissertations: 1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe; 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England." This laborious undertaking he continued by the publi-

cation

cation of a second volume in 1778, and by a third in 1781; to which last he prefixed a "Dissertation on "the Gesta Romanorum."

"It had been the intention of the Historian to have completed his plan in the compass of three volumes, 4to; but his materials growing upon him as he proceeded, the close of the third volume brought the reader no further than to the commencement of the Reign of Elizabeth, and is employed in sketching a general view and character of the poetry of her age. In 1785, however, the literary world was high in hope that the author would soon put a finishing hand to his interesting labours; for in the edition of Milton's Juvenilia which he that year presented to the public, he issued the welcome intelligence that "speedily will be published the "fourth and last volume of the His-"tory of English Poetry." Five years, however, elapsed between this period and his death, and yet the public expectation remained unfulfilled. Perhaps no defalcation in literary promise has ever been more regretted than this failure of Warton. At least to the lovers of English poetry it was an almost irreparable loss; for where could they hope again to find such indefatigable research, accompanied with an equal share of similar fancy, taste, and elegance.

"It appears, indeed, that the fourth volume had been begun, and that eleven sheets of it had been actually printed; but of the manuscript part, which report had affirmed to have been considerable, there is reason to apprehend either the non-existence or the entire loss. The printed portion, which, most probably, will be adopted, as far as it goes, by some future continuator,* is occupied by the consideration of the satirical poets of the Elizabethan era; and from the opening of the fragment, which is given by Mr. Mant in his Memoirs, we find it to have been the design of the author to have arranged the poetry of this period under five classes, Satire, Sonnet, Pastoral, and Miscellaneous; Spenser standing alone, without a class and without a rival.

"The idea of writing a History of English Poetry seems to have originated with Pope, who, attached to painting, and accustomed to the classification of its professors under their respective schools, endeavoured to introduce into Poetry a similar arrangement. The following table presents, if we may depend upon the authority of Ruffhead, the scheme which he had drawn out.

ÆRA 1.
Rymer, 2d part, page 65, 66, 67, 77.
Petrarch 78. Catal. of Provençal, (Poets.)

1 School of Provence. { Chaucer's Visions, Romaunt of the Rose, Pierce Plowman, Tales from Boccace, Gower.

2 School of Chaucer. { Lydgate, T. Occleve, Walt. de Mapes, Shelton.

* I am happy to learn, from the literary intelligence of the day, that Mr. Park is engaged to fill up the hiatus between the close of Warton's third volume and the era of Pope. Much may be expected from such a choice!

3 School of Petrarch.
- E. of Surry,
- Sir Thomas Wyat,
- Sir Philip Sydney,
- G. Gascoyn, Translator of Ariosto's Com.

4 School of Dante,
- Mirror of Magistrates,
- Lord Buckhurst's Induction, Gorboduc,
- Original of good Tragedy,
- Seneca (his model.)

ÆRA 2.

Spenser, Col. Clout, from the School of Ariosto and Petrarch, translated from Tasso.

5 School of Spenser and from Italian Sonnets.
- W. Browne's Pastorals,
- Phineas Fletcher's Purple Island, Alabaster, Piscatory Ec.
- S. Daniel,
- Sir Walter Raleigh,
- Milton's Juvenilia, Sleath Habinton.

Translators from Ita.
- Golding,
- Edm. Fairfax,
- Harrington.

6 School of Donne.
- Cowley, Davenant,
- Michael Drayton,
- Sir Thomas Overbury,
- Randolph,
- Sir John Davis,
- Sir John Beaumont,
- Cartwright,
- Cleveland,
- Crashaw,
- Bishop Corbet,
- Lord Falkland.

- Carew, T. Cary, G. Sandys, in his Par. of Job, Fairfax } in matter
- T. Cary, G. Sandys, in his Par. of Job, Fairfax } in versication

} Models to Waller.

- Sir John Mennis,
- Thomas Baynal.

} Originals of Hudibras.

"With this scheme Gray was so much pleased, that, under the promise of assistance from his friend Mason, he began seriously to meditate a History of English Poetry; and so far advanced, indeed, as to have made many elaborate disquisitions for the purpose, into the origin of rhyme and metre, and to have executed also, for the same end, his admirable imitations of Norse and Welch poetry. Deterred, however, from the prosecution of the design, by the labour and research attending it, and learning, likewise, that Mr. Warton had engaged in a similar work, he kindly communicated, at the request of our author, the improvements which he had made on the plan of Pope. His letter to Warton, a literary curiosity of much value, is thus preserved in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1783.

"Sir,

"Our friend, Dr. Hurd, having "long ago desired me in your name

"to

" to communicate any fragments, or " sketches, of a design, I once had, " to give a History of English Poe- " try, you may well think me rude " or negligent, when you see me " hesitating for so many months, " before I comply with your request. " And yet, believe me, few of your " friends have been better pleased " than I, to find this subject, surely " neither unentertaining nor unuse- " ful, had fallen into hands so likely " to do it justice; few have felt a " higher esteem for your talents, " your taste and industry. In truth, " the only cause of my delay has " been a sort of diffidence, that " would not let me send you any " thing so short, so slight, and so " imperfect, as the few materials I " had begun to collect, or the ob- " servations I had made on them. " A sketch of the division or ar- " rangement of the subject, how- " ever, I venture to transcribe; and " would wish to know, whether it " corresponds in any thing with " your own plan. For I am told " your first volume is in the press.

" INTRODUCTION.

" On the Poetry of the Galic, or " Celtic, nations as far back as it " can be traced.—On that of the " Goths, its introduction into these " islands by the Saxons and Danes, " and its duration.—On the Origin " of Rhyme among the Franks, the " Saxons, and Provençaux. Some " account of the Latin rhyming " Poetry, from its early origin down " to the fifteenth century.

" PART I.

" On the school of Provence, " which rose about the year 1100, " and was soon followed by the " French and Italians. Their he- " roic poetry, or Romances in verse, " Allegories, Fabliaux, Syrvientes, " Comedies, Farces, Canzoni, Son- " nets, Balades, Madrigals, Sestines, " &c. of their imitators the French; " and of the first Italian school, " commonly called the Sicilian, " about the year 1200, brought to " perfection by Dante, Petrarch, " Boccace, and others.—State of " Poetry in England from the Con- " quest, 1066, or rather from Henry " the Second's time, 1154, to the " reign of Edward the Third, " 1327.

" PART II.

" On Chaucer, who first intro- " duced the manner of the Proven- " çaux, improved by the Italians, " into our country; his character " and merits at large: the different " kinds in which he excelled. " Gower, Occleve, Lydgate, Hawes, " Gawen Douglas, Lyndesay, Bel- " lenden, Dunbar, &c.

" PART III.

" Second Italian school, of Ari- " osto, Tasso, &c. an improvement " on the first, occasioned by the " revival of letters, the end of the " fifteenth century. The Lyric Poe- " try of this and the former age, in- " troduced from Italy by Lord Sur- " rey, Sir T. Wyat, Bryan, Lord " Vaulx, &c. in the beginning of " the sixteenth century.

" PART IV.

" Spenser, his character: subject " of his poem, allegoric and roman- " tic, of Provençal invention; but " his manner of tracing it borrowed " from the second Italian school.— " — Drayton, Fairfax, Phineas " Fletcher, Golding, Phaer, &c. " This school ends in Milton.—A " third Italian school, full of con- " ceit, begun in Queen Elizabeth's " reign, continued under James and " Charles the first, by Donne, Cra- " shaw, Cleveland, carried to its " height by Cowley, and ending " perhaps in Sprat.

" PART V.

" School of France, introduced " after the Restoration—Waller, " Dryden, Addison, Prior, and Pope,

" —which

"—which has continued to our "own times.

"You will observe that my idea "was in some measure taken from a "scribbled paper of Pope, of which "I believe you have a copy. You "will also see I had excluded Dra- "matic Poetry entirely; which if "you have taken in, it will at least "double the bulk and labour of "your book. I am, Sir, with great "esteem,

"Your most humble and
"obedient servant,

Pembroke Hall, "THOMAS GRAY."
Apr. 15th, 1770.

"Another attempt has been very lately made to illustrate the annals of our poetry by a division into schools; it is from the pen of Dr. Sayers, who constitutes eight eras; thus, the Anglo Saxon school, commencing with the poet Cædmon; the Pure Norman school, commencing with the reign of Henry the First; the Anglo-Norman school, commencing with the poet Lazamon; the English school, commencing with Chaucer; the Italian school, commencing with Spencer; the French school, commencing with Dryden; the Greek school, commencing with Collins and Gray; and the German school of the present period.*

"Warton, however, uninfluenced by the example of Pope and Gray, determined, after mature consideration, to adopt the chronological plan, and, in so doing, he has probably consulted both the entertainment and information of his readers. At least, the arguments which he has brought forward in vindication of his choice, appear to convey the strongest conviction. "To confess "the real truth," says he, "upon "examination and experiment, I "soon discovered their mode (Pope's "and Gray's) of treating my sub- "ject, plausible as it is, and bril- "liant in theory, to be attended "with difficulties and inconveni- "encies, and productive of embar- "rassment both to the reader and "the writer. Like other ingenious "systems, it sacrifices much useful "intelligence to the observance of "arrangement; and in the place of "that satisfaction, which results "from clearness and a fullness of in- "formation, seemed only to substi- "tute the merit of disposition, and "the praise of contrivance. The "constraint, imposed by a mechanical "attention to this distribution, ap- "peared to me to destroy that free "exertion of research, with which "such a history ought to be exe- "cuted, and not easily reconcile- "able with that complication, va- "riety, and extent of materials, "which it ought to comprehend.

"The method I have pursued, on "one account at least, seems pre- "ferable to all others. My per- "formance, in its present form, "exhibits without transposition the "gradual improvements of our poe- "try, at the same time that it uni- "formly represents the progression "of our language." †

"To expect, in a work so multifarious and so full of research as is the History of English Poetry, that no errors should be discoverable, would be to require more than human ability can effect. The mistakes which were, and are still capable of being, detected in this laborious production, will, by every candid mind, be referred to its true cause, the necessary imperfection of intellect, however acute. With all

* Disquisitions, p. 149, &c.
† History of English Poetry, vol. i. 2d edition—Preface, p. 5.

its faults, indeed, I hesitate not to declare it, the most curious, valuable, and interesting Literary History which this country possesses. With the diligence, judgment, and sagacity of the antiquary, the critic, and the historian, are very frequently mingled the fire and fancy of the poet; and through the whole are every where protusely scattered the most indubitable traces of genuine taste and genius.

"For the illustration of ancient manners and customs, which forms so striking a feature in the History of English Poetry, Mr. Warton was, in no trifling degree, indebted to his frequent residence at Winchester. Here, during his long vacations, he spent his time with his brother, and here it was that he composed the greater part of his History, acquiring much information, with regard to antique usages and institutions, from the records preserved in the College, Church, and City of Winchester. It was in the shades of Winton also that he completed three works for the press which still remain in manuscript. The first, a *History of St. Elizabeth's College*, which formerly stood in a meadow near Winchester; the second, relates Dr. Sturges, "an "elaborate and very curious work, "St. Mary's Chapel in the Cathe- "dral, quite prepared for the press; "which I have seen by favour of "my friend Dr. Warton;" and the third is thus mentioned in two letters of our author to Mr. Price.

"Winton, Sept. 22, 1778.

"I have borrowed from the mu- "niment house of this college a "most curious roll of W. Wykeham's "house-keeping expences for the "year 1394. It is 100 feet long "and 12 broad, and really the most "venerable and valuable record I "have ever seen of this kind. I am "making an abstract of it, which I "believe I shall publish."

"Winton, Sept. 18, 1784.

"I will bring with me Wyke- "ham's *Rotulus Hospicii*, which "you will like to see, and where "some of the abbreviations are too "tough for me. I am ready for "publication, when they are got "over. But else I shall leave them "as I find them. It will be more "than a merely curious work."*

"In the year 1782, an additional piece of preferment, the donative of Hill Farrance, in Somersetshire, was given to Mr. Warton by his College; and he was, likewise, this year elected a member of the Literary Club, with many of the individuals of which he was intimately acquainted. His pen was also at this period actively employed; in May, 1782, he published his Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window; shortly afterwards, "An Enquiry into the "Authenticity of the Poems attri- "buted to Thomas Rowley;" and towards the close of the same year, a "History of Kiddington," intended as a specimen of a parochial History of Oxfordshire.

"Further honours awaited him in 1785; the Camden Professorship of History in the University of Oxford, on the resignation of Dr. Scott, and the Poet Laureateship, on the death of Mr. William Whitehead, were, during this period, conferred upon him.

"Never had the office of Poet-Laureate, since the death of Dryden, been filled with equal ability. With the exception of his first official ode, his annual tributes are such as will

* Mant's Memoirs, p. 76, 77.

survive

survive as long as any lyric compositions in the language; in expression, imagery, and poetic fervour, they are not inferior to any thing that he has voluntarily written; and they have the rare merit of celebrating the virtues of the sovereign without compliment or hyperbole, with the noble independent spirit, indeed, of the patriot and poet.

"He was destined, however, like his predecessors of the laurel, to endure the shafts of ridicule and satire; for, soon after the production of his first Birth-day ode, appeared a publication under the title of "Probationary Odes for the Laureateship;" in which the editor, after assigning a fictitious ode to each of the supposed candidates, has allotted to the Laureate his own composition, as, in his opinion, sufficiently ludicrous for the nature of the work. It must, in justice, be allowed, that the "Probationary "Odes" possess a large fund of wit and humour, and, though abounding in personal raillery, are but little tinged with malignity. Mr. Warton himself, with the good humour incident to his character, entered heartily into the spirit of the joke. "The Laureates of our country," remarks Dr. Warton, "have ever "been, as Falstaff says, 'the oc-'casion of wit in other men;' but "never of more wit than was "thrown away on Mr. Thomas "Warton, who, of all men, felt "the least, and least deserved to "feel, the force of the Probationary "Odes, written on his appointment "to his office, and who always "heartily joined in the laugh, and "applauded the exquisite wit and "humour that appeared in many of "those original Satires. But I beg "to add, that not one of those in-"genious Laughers could have pro-"duced such pieces of true poetry "as the Crusade, the Grave of King "Arthur, the Suicide, and Ode on "the Approach of Summer, by this "very Laureate." *

"The product of the Professorship of History was, we are sorry to say, merely an "Inaugural Lec-"ture;" this, which has been published by Mr. Mant, exhibits so much masterly criticism, in a style of great elegance, on the genius of the Greek and Latin historians, as to excite considerable regret that he did not prosecute the course.

"In the year 1785, and just previous to these promotions, he produced his edition of "Milton's Juvenile Poems," the last work of any bulk which he lived to publish.

"The great excellence of this edition depends upon the new line of commentary which it displays. To consult coeval books, to refer the imagery of Milton to its frequent source, traditionary superstition and romantic fable, to explain his allusions, illustrate his beauties, point out his imitations, elucidate his obsolete diction, and ascertain his favourite words and phraseology, were the objects that he had in view. The Commentators who have preceded him, little versed in old English literature, were content to trace their poet in the fields of classic lore, or in the steps of Spenser and Shakspeare, not aware that he was equally conversant with numerous other English poets, contemporaries or predecessors, which have now become scarce, but which are copiously and appositely referred to by Warton, who observes, that, "com-"paratively, the classical annotator

* Warton's Pope, vol. vi. p. 398.

"has

"has here but little to do. Doctor "Newton, an excellent scholar, was "unacquainted with the treasures "of the Gothic library.—Milton, "at least in these poems, may be "reckoned an old English poet; "and therefore here requires that "illustration, without which no "old English poet can be well il-"lustrated." *

"Another novel vein of information of the most interesting kind is to be found in the commentary of our author on the *Poemata Latina* of Milton. "These pieces," he remarks, "contain several curious "circumstances of Milton's early "life, situations, friendships, and "connections; which are often so "transiently or implicitly noticed, "as to need examination and en-"largement. It also seemed use-"ful to shew, which of the ancient "Roman poets were here Milton's "models, and how far and in what "instances they have been copied. "Here a new source of criticism on "Milton, and which displays him "in a new light and character, was "opened." †

"It was the intention of Mr. Warton, had he been blessed with longer life, to have continued his labours on our great poet, by commenting on the Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes; ‡ and the materials for this second volume were, I understand, collected and arranged. He had prepared, however, a second edition of the *Juvenilia* for the press, with many alterations and large additions, and which was published the year following his death, under the superintendence of his brother.

"The health of Mr. Warton had been uncommonly good until his sixty-second year, when he was seized with the gout; from which, though he partially recovered after a journey to Bath, the shock to his constitution proved irreparable. Between ten and eleven o'clock on Thursday night, May the 20th, 1790, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, in the common-room of his college, which instantly deprived him of his speech and intellects, and he expired on the following day.

"On the twenty-seventh he was interred in the ante-chapel of his college, with the highest honours which the University could confer. A plain marble slab, near the grave of the President Bathurst, thus records his professional and literary vocations.

THOMAS WARTON,
S. T. B. and S. AS.
Hujus Collegii Socius,
Ecclesiæ de Cuddington
In Com. Oxon Rector,
Poetices iterum Prælector,
Historices Prælector Camden,
Poeta Laureatus,
Obiit 21. Die Maii,
Anno Domini 1790,
Ætat. 63.

* Preface to his Milton, p. 24. † Preface, p. 24.

‡ The notes of Mr. Warton for his second volume, which, on the application of Mr. Dunster to Dr. Warton in 1795, were unfortunately mislaid, are, it has been said, recovered, and in the hands of Mr. Todd, who intends availing himself of them in the next edition of his Milton.

Excesses of the Emperor Paul of Russia.

[From Dr. Clarke's Travels.

"AFTER suffering a number of indignities in common with others of my countrymen during our residence in Petersburg, about the middle of March, 1800, matters grew to such extremities, that our excellent ambassador, Sir Charles (now Lord) Whitworth, found it necessary to advise us to go to Moscow. A passport had been denied to his courier to proceed with dispatches to England. In answer to the demand made by our minister for an explanation, it was stated to be *the Emperor's pleasure*. In consequence of which, Sir Charles inclosed the note containing his demand, and the Emperor's answer, in a letter to the English government, which he committed to the post-office with very great doubts of its safety.

"In the mean time, every day brought with it some new example of the sovereign's absurdities and tyranny, which seemed to originate in absolute insanity. The sledge of count Razumoffski was, by the Emperor's order, broken into small pieces, while he stood by and directed the work. The horses had been found with it in the streets, without their driver. It happened to be of a blue colour; and the count's servants wore red liveries: upon which a *ukase* was immediately published, prohibiting, throughout the empire of all the Russias, the use of blue colour in ornamenting sledges, and red liveries. In consequence of this wise decree, our ambassador, and many others, were compelled to alter their equipage.

"One evening, being at his theatre in the Hermitage, a French piece was performed, in which the story of the English powder-plot was introduced. The Emperor was observed to listen to it with more than usual attention; and as soon as it was concluded, he ordered all the vaults beneath the palace to be searched.

"Coming down the street called the *Perspective*, he perceived a nobleman who was taking his walk, and had stopped to look at some workmen who were planting trees by the Emperor's order.—"What "are you doing?" said he. "Merely "seeing the men work," replied the nobleman. "Oh, is that your "employment?—Take off his pe-"lisse, and give him a spade!—"There, now work yourself!"

"When enraged, he lost all command of himself, which sometimes gave rise to very ludicrous scenes. The courtiers knew very well when the storm was coming on, by a trick which he had in those moments of blowing from his under lip against the end of his nose. In one of his furious passions, flourishing his cane about, he struck by accident the branch of a large lustre, and broke it. As soon as he perceived what had happened, he attacked the lustre in good earnest, and did not give up his work until he had entirely demolished it.

"In the rare intervals of better temper, his good humour was betrayed

trayed by an uncouth way of swinging his legs and feet about in walking. Upon those occasions he was sure to talk with indecency and folly.

"But the instances were few in which the gloom, spread over a great metropolis, by the madness and malevolence of a suspicious tyrant, was enlivened even by his ribaldry. The accounts of the Spanish Inquisition do not afford more painful sensations than were excited in viewing the state of Russia at this time. Hardly a day passed without unjust punishment. It seemed as if half the nobles in the empire were to be sent exiles to Siberia. Those who were able to leave Petersburg went to Moscow. It was in vain they applied for permission to leave the country: the very request might incur banishment to the mines. If any family received visitors in an evening; if four people were seen walking together; if any one spoke too loud, or whistled; or sang, or looked too inquisitive, and examined any public building with too much attention; they were in imminent danger. If they stood still in the streets, or frequented any particular walk more than another, or walked too fast or too slow, they were liable to be reprimanded and insulted by the police officers. Mungo Park was hardly exposed to greater severity of exaction and of villainy among the Moors in Africa, than Englishmen experienced at that time in Russia, and particularly in Petersburg. They were compelled to wear a dress regulated by the police: and as every officer had a different notion of the mode of observing these regulations, they were constantly liable to be interrupted in the streets and public places, and treated with impertinence. The dress consisted of a cocked hat, or, for want of one, a round hat pinned up with three corners; a long cue; a single-breasted coat and waistcoat; knee-buckles instead of strings; and buckles in the shoes. Orders were given to arrest any person seen in pantaloons. A servant was taken out of his sledge, and caned in the streets, for having too thick a neckcloth; and if it had been too thin, he would have met a similar punishment. After every precaution, the dress, when put on, never satisfied; either the hat was not straight on the head, the hair too short, or the coat was not cut square enough. A lady at court wore her hair rather lower in her neck than was consistent with the decree, and she was ordered into close confinement, to be fed on bread and water. A gentleman's hair fell a little over his forehead; while dancing at a ball a police officer attacked him with rudeness and with abuse; and told him, if he did not instantly cut his hair, he would find a soldier who could shave his head.*

"When the ukase first appeared concerning the form of the hat, the son of an English merchant, with a view to baffle the police, appeared in the streets of Petersburg, having on his head an English hunting-cap, at sight of which the police officers were puzzled. "It was not a "cocked hat," they said, "neither "was it a round hat." In this embarrassment they reported the affair to the Emperor. An ukase was accordingly promulgated, and levelled at the hunting-cap; but not knowing how to describe the anomaly, the Emperor ordained that "*no "person should appear in public*

* A mode in which criminals are punished in Russia.

" *with the thing on his head worn*
" *by the merchant's son.*"

" An order against wearing boots with coloured tops was most rigorously enforced. The police officers stopped a gentleman driving through the streets in a pair of English boots. The gentleman expostulated, saying that he had no others with him, and certainly would not cut off the tops of his boots; upon which the officers, each seizing a leg as he sat in his droski, fell to work, and drew off his boots, leaving him to go barefooted home.

" If Englishmen ventured to notice any of these enormities in their letters, which were all opened and read by the police, or expressed themselves with energy in praise of their own country, or used a single sentiment or expression offensive or incomprehensible to the police officers or their spies, they were liable to be torn in an instant, without any previous notice, from their families and friends, thrown into a sledge, and hurried off to the frontier, or to Siberia. Many persons were said to have been privately murdered, and more were banished. Never was there a system of administration more offensive in the eyes of God or man. A veteran officer, who had served fifty years in the Russian army, and attained the rank of colonel, was broken without the smallest reason. Above an hundred officers met with their discharge, all of whom were ruined; and many others were condemned to suffer imprisonment or severer punishment. The cause of all this was said to be the Emperor's ill humour: and when the cause of all that ill humour became known, it appeared that his mistress, who detested him, had solicited permission to marry an officer to whom she was betrothed. To such excessive cruelty did his rage carry him against the author of an epigram in which his reign had been contrasted with his mother's, that he ordered his tongue to be cut out; and sent him to one of those remote islands, in the Aleoutan tract, on the north-west coast of America, which are inhabited by savages.*

* The following is the sense of that memorable Epigram, according to different translations in French and in English It originated in the Emperor Paul attempting to finish with brick-work the beautiful Church of St. Isaac, which his predecessor Catharine had begun in marble.

De deux regnes voici l'image allegorique:
La base est d'un beau marbre, et le somet de brique!

This great monument is emblematic of two reigns:
The bottom is of marble, and the top of brick!

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

Description of Moscow.

[From Dr. Clarke's Travels.]

THERE is nothing more extraordinary in this country than the transition of the seasons. The people of Moscow have no Spring: Winter *vanishes*, and Summer *is!* This is not the work of a week, or a day, but of one instant; and the manner of it exceeds belief. We came from Petersburg to Moscow in sledges. The next day, snow was gone. On the eighth of April, at mid-day, snow beat in at our carriage windows. On the same day, at sun-set, arriving in Moscow, we had difficulty in being dragged through the mud to the Commandant's The next morning the streets were dry, the double windows had been removed from the houses, the casements thrown open, all the carriages were upon wheels, and the balconies filled with spectators. Another day brought with it twenty-three degrees of heat of Celsius, when the thermometer was placed in the shade at noon.

"We arrived at the season of the year in which this city is most interesting to strangers. Moscow is in every thing extraordinary; as well in disappointing expectation, as in surpassing it; in causing wonder and derision, pleasure and regret. Let me conduct the Reader back with me again to the gate by which we entered, and thence through the streets. Numerous spires, glittering with gold, amidst burnished domes and painted palaces, appear in the midst of an open plain, for several versts before you reach this gate. Having passed, you look about, and wonder what is become of the city, or where you are; and are ready to ask, once more, How far is it to Moscow? They will tell you, "This is Moscow!" and you behold nothing but a wide and scattered suburb, huts, gardens, pig-sties, brick walls, churches, dunghills, palaces, timber-yards, warehouses, and a refuse, as it were, of materials sufficient to stock an empire with miserable towns and miserable villages. One might imagine all the States of Europe and Asia had sent a building, by way of representative, to Moscow: and under this impression the eye is presented with deputies from all countries, holding congress; timber-huts from regions beyond the Arctic; plastered palaces from Sweden and Denmark, not white-washed since their arrival; painted walls from the Tyrol; mosques

mosques from CONSTANTINOPLE; Tartar temples from BUCHARIA; pagodas, pavilions, and viraudas, from CHINA; cabarets from SPAIN; dungeons, prisons, and public offices, from FRANCE; architectural ruins from ROME; terraces and trellisses from NAPLES; and warehouses from WAPPING.

"Having heard accounts of its immense population, you wander through deserted streets. Passing suddenly towards the quarter where the shops are situated, you might walk upon the heads of thousands. The daily throng is there so immense, that, unable to force a passage through it, or assign any motive that might convene such a multitude, you ask the cause; and are told that it is always the same. Nor is the costume less various than the aspect of the buildings: Greeks, Turks, Tartars, Cossacks, Chinese, Muscovites, English, French, Italians, Poles, Germans, all parade in the habits of their respective countries.

"We were in a Russian inn; a complete epitome of the city itself. The next room to ours was filled by ambassadors from Persia. In a chamber beyond the Persians, lodged a party of Kirgisians; a people yet unknown, and any one of whom might be exhibited in a cage, as some newly discovered species. They had bald heads, covered by conical embroidered caps, and wore sheep's hides. Beyond the Kirgisians lodged a *nidus* of Bucharians, wild as the asses of Numidia. All these were ambassadors from their different districts, extremely jealous of each other, who had been to Petersburg, to treat of commerce, peace, and war. The doors of all our chambers opened into one gloomy passage, so that sometimes we all encountered, and formed a curious masquerade. The Kirgisians and Bucharians were best at arm's length; but the worthy old Persian, whose name was *Orazai*, often exchanged visits with us. He brought us presents, according to the custom of his country; and was much pleased with an English pocket-knife we had given him, with which he said he should shave his head. At his devotions, he stood silent for an hour together, on two small carpets, barefooted, with his face towards Mecca; holding, as he said, intellectual converse with Mahomet.

"Orazai came from Tarky, near Derbent, on the western shore of the Caspian. He had with him his nephew, and a Cossack interpreter from Mount Caucasus. His beard and whiskers were long and grey, though his eye-brows and eyes were black. On his head he wore a large cap of fine black wool. His dress was a jacket of silk, over which was thrown a large loose robe of the same materials, edged with gold. His feet were covered with yellow Morocco slippers, which were without soles, and fitted like gloves. All his suite joined in prayer, morning and evening; but the old man continued his devotions long after he had dismissed his attendants. Their poignards were of such excellent iron, that our English swords were absolutely cut by them. Imitations of these poignards are sold in Moscow, but of worse materials than the swords from England. When they sit, which they generally do during the whole day, they have their feet bare. Orazai was very desirous that we should visit Persia; and taking out a reed, and holding it in his left hand, he began to write from right to left, putting down our names, and noting the information we gave him of England.

Afterwards

Afterwards he wrote his own name in fair Persian characters, and gave it to me, as a memorial by which he might recognize me if we ever met in Persia.

"Upon the journey, they both purchased and sold slaves. He offered an Indian negro, who acted as his cook, for twelve hundred roubles. An amusing embarrassment took place whenever a little dog of mine found his way into the ambassador's room, in search of me. The Persians immediately drew up their feet, and hastily caught up all their clothes, retiring as far back as possible upon their couches. They told us, that if a dog touches even the skirt of their clothing, they are thereby defiled, and cannot say their prayers without changing every thing, and undergoing complete purification. His slaves sometimes played the *balalaika*, or guitar with two strings. The airs were lively, and not unlike our English hornpipe. The ambassador's nephew obliged us by exhibiting a Persian dance; which seemed to consist of keeping the feet close together, hardly ever lifting them from the ground, and moving slowly, to quick measure, round the room. They drink healths as we do; and eat with their hands, like the Arabs, all out of one dish, which is generally of boiled rice. If they eat meat, it is rarely any other than mutton, stewed into a soup. The young man used to drink the Russian beverage of hydromel, a kind of mead; and sometimes, but rarely, smoked. The ambassador never used a pipe; which surprised me, as the custom is almost universal in the East. Their kindness to their slaves is that of parents to children: the old man appearing, like another Abraham, the common father of all his attendants. The dress of their interpreter, who was of the Cossacks of the Volga, though stationed on Mount Caucasus, in the territories of the Circassians, was very rich. It consisted of a jacket of purple cloth lined with silk, and a silk waistcoat, both without buttons; a rich shawl round his waist; very large trowsers of scarlet cloth; and a magnificent sabre.

"Ambassadors of other more Oriental hordes drove into the court-yard of the inn, from Petersburg. The Emperor had presented each of them with a barouche. Never was any thing more ludicrous than their appearance. Out of respect to the Sovereign, they had maintained a painful struggle to preserve their seat, sitting cross-legged, like Turks. The snow having melted, they had been jolted in this manner over the trunks of trees, which form a timber causeway between Petersburg and Moscow; so that, when taken from their fine new carriages, they could hardly crawl, and made the most pitiable grimaces imaginable. A few days after coming to Moscow, they ordered all the carriages to be sold, for whatever sum any person would offer.

"But it is time to leave our Oriental friends and fellow-lodgers, that we may give an account of the ceremonies of Easter; during the preparations for which we had the good fortune to arrive. The people of Moscow celebrate the *Pâque* with a degree of pomp and festivity unknown to the rest of Europe. The most splendid pageants of Rome do not equal the costliness and splendour of the Russian church. Neither could Venice, in the midst of her Carnival, ever rival in debauchery and superstition, in licentiousness and parade, what passes during this season in Moscow.

"It should first be observed, there

there are no people who observe Lent with more scrupulous and excessive rigour than the Russians. Travelling the road from Petersburg to Moscow, if at any time, in poor cottages where the peasants appeared starving, I offered them a part of our dinner, they would shudder at the sight of it, and cast it to the dogs; dashing out of their children's hands, as an abomination, any food given to them; and removing every particle that might be left entirely from their sight. In drinking tea with a Cossack, he not only refused to have milk in his cup, but would not use a spoon that had been in the tea offered him with milk, although wiped carefully in a napkin, until it had passed through scalding water. The same privation prevails among the higher ranks: but in proportion as this rigour has been observed, so much the more excessive is the degree of gluttony and relaxation, when the important intelligance that "*Christ is risen*" has issued from the mouth of the archbishop. During Easter, they run into every kind of excess, rolling about drunk the whole week; as if rioting, debauchery, extravagance, gambling, drinking, and fornication, were as much a religious observance as starving had been before; and that the same superstition which kept them fasting during Lent, had afterwards instigated them to the most beastly excesses.

"Even their religious customs are perfectly adapted to their climate and manners. Nothing can be contrived with more ingenious policy to suit the habits of the Russians. When Lent fasting begins, their stock of frozen provisions is either exhausted, or unfit for use; and the interval which takes place allows sufficient time for procuring, killing, and storing, the first provisions of the Spring. The night before the famous ceremony of the Resurrection, all the markets and shops of Moscow are seen filled with flesh, butter, eggs, poultry, pigs, and every kind of viand. The crowd of purchasers is immense. You hardly meet a foot-passenger who has not his hands, nay his arms, filled with provisions; or a single *droski* that is not ready to break down beneath their weight.

"The first ceremony which took place, previous to all this feasting, was that of the *Pâque fleuries*, or Palm Sunday. On the eve of this day all the inhabitants of Moscow resort, in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, to the Kremlin, for the purchase of palm-branches, to place before their Boghs, and to decorate the sacred pictures in the streets, or elsewhere. It is one of the gayest promenades of the year. The governor, attended by the *Maître de police*, the Commandant, and a train of nobility, go in procession, mounted on fine horses. The streets are lined by spectators; and cavalry are stationed on each side, to preserve order. Arriving in the Kremlin, a vast assembly, bearing artificial *bouquets* and boughs, are seen moving here and there, forming the novel and striking spectacle of a gay and moving forest. The boughs consist of artificial flowers, with fruit. Beatiful representations of oranges and lemons in wax are sold for a few *copecks* * each, and offer a proof of the surprising ingenuity of this people in the arts of imitation. Upon this occasion, every person who visits the Kremlin, and would be thought a true Chris-

* The *copeck* equals in value an English halfpenny.

tian,

tian, purchases one or more of the boughs, called Palm-branches; and, in returning, the streets are crowded with *droskis*, and all kinds of vehicles, filled with devotees, holding in their hands one or more palm-branches, according to the degree of their piety, or the number of Boghs in their houses.

"The description often given of the splendour of the equipages in Moscow but ill agrees with their appearance during Lent. A stranger, who arrives with his head full of notions of Asiatic pomp and Eastern magnificence, would be surprised to find narrow streets, execrably paved, covered by mud or dust; wretched looking houses on each side; carriages drawn it is true by six horses, but such cattle! blind, lame, old, out of condition, of all sizes and all colours, connected by rotten ropes and old cords, full of knots and splices: on the leaders and on the box, figures that seem to have escaped from the galleys: behind, a lousy, ragged lackey, or perhaps two, with countenances exciting more pity than derision; and the carriage itself like the worst of the night-coaches in London. But this external wretchedness, as far as it concerns the equipages of the nobles, admits of some explanation. The fact is, that a dirty, tattered livery, a rotten harness, bad horses, and a shabby vehicle, constitute one part of the privation of the season. On Easter Monday the most gaudy but fantastic buffoonery of splendour fills every street in the city. The Emperor it is true, in his high consideration for the welfare and happiness of his subjects, deemed it expedient to adapt the appearance to the reality of their wretchedness; and, in restraining the excessive extravagance of the people of Moscow, evinced more wisdom than the world have given him credit for possessing.

"The second grand ceremony of this season takes place on Thursday before Easter, at noon, when the archbishop washes the feet of the apostles. This we also witnessed. The priests appeared in their most gorgeous apparel. Twelve monks, designed to represent the twelve apostles, were placed in a semicircle before the archbishop. The ceremony is performed in the cathedral, which is crowded with spectators. The archbishop, performing all and much more than is related of our Saviour in the thirteenth chapter of St. John, takes off his robes, girds up his loins with a towel, and proceeds to wash the feat of them all, until he comes to the representative of Peter, who rises; and the same interlocution takes place between him and the archbishop, which is said to have taken place between our Saviour and that apostle.

"The third, and most magnificent ceremony of all, is celebrated two hours after midnight, in the morning of Easter Sunday. It is called the Ceremony of the Resurrection, and certainly exceeded every thing of the kind celebrated at Rome, or anywhere else. I have not seen so splendid a sight in any Roman-Catholic country; not even that of the Benediction by the Pope, during the holy week.

"At midnight, the great bell of the cathedral tolled. Its vibrations seemed the rolling of distant thunder; and they were instantly accompanied by the noise of all the bells in Moscow. Every inhabitant was stirring, and the rattling of carriages in the streets was greater than at noon-day. The whole city was in a blaze; for lights were seen in all the windows, and innumerable torches in the streets. The

tower

tower of the cathedral was illuminated from its foundation to its cross. The same ceremony takes place in all the churches; and, what is truly surprizing, considering their number, it is said they are all equally crowded.

"We hastened to the cathedral, which was filled with a prodigious assembly of all ranks and sexes, bearing lighted wax tapers, to be afterwards heaped as vows on the different shrines. The walls, ceilings, and every part of this building, is covered by the pictures of Saints and Martyrs. In the moment of our arrival the doors were shut; and on the outside appeared Plato, the archbishop, preceded by banners and torches, and followed by all his train of priests, with crucifixes and censers, who were making three times, in procession, the tour of the cathedral; chaunting with loud voices, and glittering in sumptuous vestments, covered by gold, silver, and precious stones. The snow had not melted so rapidly in the Kremlin as in the streets of the city; and this magnificent procession was therefore constrained to move upon planks over the deep mud which surrounded the cathedral. After completing the third circuit, they all halted opposite the great doors, which were shut; and the archbishop, with a censer, scattered incense against the doors, and over the priests. Suddenly those doors were opened, and the effect was beyond description great. The immense throng of spectators within, bearing innumerable tapers, formed two lines, through which the archbishop entered, advancing with his train to a throne near the centre. The profusion of lights in all parts of the cathedral, and, among others, of the enormous chandelier which hung from the centre, the richness of the dresses, and the vastness of the assembly, filled us with astonishment. Having joined the suite of the archbishop, we accompanied the procession, and passed even to the throne, on which the police officers permitted us to stand, among the priests, near an embroidered stool of satin placed for the archbishop. The loud chorus, which burst forth at the entrance to the church, continued as the procession moved towards the throne, and after the archbishop had taken his seat; when my attention was for a moment called off, by seeing one of the Russians earnestly crossing himself with his right hand, while his left was employed in picking my companion's pocket of his handkerchief.

"Soon after, the archbishop descended, and went all round the cathedral; first offering incense to the priest, and then to the people as he passed along. When he had returned to his seat, the priests, two by two, performed the same ceremony, beginning with the archbishop, who rose and made obeisance with a lighted taper in his hand. From the moment the church doors were opened, the spectators had continued bowing their heads and crossing themselves; insomuch, that some of the people seemed really exhausted, by the constant motion of the head and hands.

"I had now leisure to examine the dresses and figures of the priests, which were certainly the most striking I ever saw. Their long dark hair, without powder, fell down in ringlets, or straight and thick, far over their rich robes and shoulders. Their dark thick beards, also, entirely covered their breasts. On the heads of the archbishop and bishops were high caps, covered with gems, and adorned by miniature paintings,

set

set in jewels, of the Crucifixion, the Virgin, and the Saints. Their robes of various coloured satin were of the most costly embroidery; and even on these were miniature pictures set with precious stones.

"Such, according to the consecrated legend of antient days, was the appearance of the high-priests of old, Aaron and his sons, holy men, standing by the tabernacle of the congregation in fine raiments, the workmanship of "Bezaleel, the "son of Uri, the son of Hur, of "the tribe of Judah." It is said there is a convent in Moscow where the women are entirely employed in working dresses for the priests.

"After two hours had been spent in various ceremonies, the archbishop advanced, holding forth a cross, which all the people crowded to embrace, squeezing each other nearly to suffocation. As soon, however, as their eagerness had been somewhat satisfied, he retired to the sacristy; where putting on a plain purple robe, he again advanced, exclaiming three times, in a very loud voice, CHRIST IS RISEN!

"The most remarkable part of the solemnity now followed. The archbishop, descending into the body of the church, concluded the whole ceremony by crawling round the pavement on his hands and knees, kissing the consecrated pictures, whether on the pillars, the walls, the altars, or the tombs; the priests and all the people imitating his example. Sepulchres were opened, and the mummied bodies of incorruptible saints exhibited, all of which underwent the same general kissing.

"Thus was Easter proclaimed: and riot and debauchery instantly broke loose. The inn in which we lodged became a Pandæmonium. Drinking, dancing, and singing, continued through the night and day. But, in the midst of all these excesses, quarrels hardly ever took place. The wild, rude riot of a Russian populace is full of humanity. Few disputes are heard; no blows are given; no lives endangered, but by drinking. No meetings take place of any kind, without repeating the expressions of peace and joy, CHRISTOS VOSCRESS! *Christ is risen!* to which the answer always is the same, VO ISTINEY VOSCRESS! *He is risen indeed!*

"On Easter Monday begins the presentation of the Paschal eggs: lovers to their mistresses, relatives to each other, servants to their masters, all bring ornamented eggs. Every offering at this season is called a Paschal egg. The meanest pauper in the street, presenting an egg, and repeating the words *Christos voscress*, may demand a salute even of the Empress. All business is laid aside; the upper ranks are engaged in visiting, balls, dinners, suppers, masquerades; while boors fill the air with their songs, or roll drunk about the streets. Servants appear in new and tawdry liveries; and carriages in the most sumptuous parade.

"In the midst of this uproar I made myself as much like a Russian as possible, and went in a *caftan* to one of the public balls of the citizens, given in our inn. It was held in a suite of several apartments; and a numerous band of music, composed of violins, wind instruments, and kettle-drums, had been provided. The master of the inn had also taken care to invite a company of gipsies, to entertain the company by their dancing. A single rouble was demanded as the price of admission. All fears of appearing like a foreigner vanished upon entering the

the principal ball-room; for I found an assembly as various in their appearance as characters in a masquerade. On the benches were squatted Turks, with their usual gravity and indifference, looking on with a solemn vacant stare, unmoved by shouts of joy or tumultuous songs, by the noise of the dancing, or the thundering of a pair of kettle-drums close to their ears. In another part were a party of Bucharians, with flat noses, high cheek-bones, and little eyes; their heads shaved, and a small conical embroidered cap on the crown of their sculls; in red morocco boots, long trowsers of blue cloth, with a girdle and a poignard. Besides these were Chinese merchants, Cossacks, and even Calmucs, all of whom appeared as spectators. In the middle of the room the Russian boors and tradesmen were dancing with prostitutes, while their own wives and daughters were walking about. A party of gipsies were performing the national dance, called *Barina*. It resembled our English hornpipe: but never was displayed more ferocious licentiousness by voice and gesture. The male dancer expressed his savage joy in squeaks, contortions, and sudden convulsive spasms, that seemed to agitate his whole frame; standing sometimes still; then howling, whining tenderly, or trembling in all his limbs to the music, which was very animating. This dance, though very common in Russia, they confess to have derived from the gipsies; and it may therefore seem probable that our hornpipe was introduced by the same people. Other gipsies were telling fortunes, according to their universal practice, or begging for presents of oranges and ice. This extraordinary people, found in all parts of Europe, were originally one of the *casts* of India, driven out of their own territory, and distinguished among Indian tribes by a name which signifies Thieves.* They have a similar appellation among the Fins, and with the same signification. They preserve every where the same features, manners, and customs, and, what is more remarkable, almost always the same mode of dress. The extraordinary resemblance of the female gipsies to the women of India, was remarked by our officers and men in Egypt, when General Baird arrived with his army to join Lord Hutchinson. The seapoys had many of their women with them, who were exactly like our gipsies. In their dress, they lavish all their finery upon their head. Their costume in Russia is very different from that of the natives: they wear enormous caps, covered with ribbons, and decorated in front with a prodigious quantity of silver coins, which form a matted mail-work over their foreheads. They also wear such coins as necklaces, and have the smallest to be met with in the empire for pendants to their ears. The Russians hold them in great contempt, never speaking of them without abuse; and feel themselves contaminated by their touch, unless it be to have their fortune told. They believe a gipsy not only has the wish, but the power, to cheat every one they see, and therefore generally avoid them. Formerly they were more scattered over Russia, and paid no tribute;

* See the Commentary of Professor Porthan, of Abo in Finland, upon the Chronicle of that University. His works are not sufficiently known. He has given the History and Origin of the Finland Tribes; and a very erudite Dissertation concerning the Gipsies.

but

but now they are collected, and all belong to one nobleman, to whom they pay a certain tribute, and rank among the number of his slaves. They accompany their dances by singing, and loud clapping of the hands; breaking forth, at intervals, with shrieks and short expressive cries, adapted to the sudden movements, gestures, and turns of the dance. The male dancers hold in one hand a handkerchief, which they wave about, and manage with grace as well as art. The dance, full of the grossest libidinous expression, and most indecent posture, is, in other respects graceful. Nothing can be more so than the manner in which they sometimes wave and extend their arms: it resembles the attitudes of Batchanalians represented on Greek vases. But the women do not often exhibit those attitudes. They generally maintain a stiff upright position, keeping their feet close, and beating a tattoo with their high heels.

"When the Russians dance the *Barina*, it is accompanied with the *Balalaika*. Formerly they were great admirers of that simple and pleasing instrument; but now, imitating the manners of France and England, it has been laid aside. Many of them are still able to play it; but as they deem such an accomplishment a sort of degradation in the eyes of foreigners, they are seldom prevailed upon to use it; like the ladies of Wales, who, scarce able to speak English, affect ignorance of their native tongue.

"Collected in other parts of rooms opened for this assembly, were vocal performers, in parties of ten or twelve each, singing voluntaries. They preserved the most perfect harmony, each taking a separate part, though without any seeming consciousness of the skill thus exerted. The female dancers and assistants in this ball were many of them prostitutes; but the wives and daughters of the peasants and lower tradesmen mingled with them, dressed out in their full national costume, and apparently not at all displeased with such society.

"The ball of the nobles admits a very different description. It took place every Tuesday; and, it may be truly said, Europe has not beheld its equal. I never was more struck by the appearance of an assembly convened for the purpose of dancing. The laws of the society exclude every person who is by birth a plebeian; and this exclusion has been extended to foreigners; therefore we felt grateful in being allowed admission. Prince Viazemskoi, who married an English lady, kindly procured tickets for us; although it was considered dangerous at that time to have the character of hospitality towards Englishmen.* If his highness be now living, he is requested to pardon this testimony of his generous condescension. I feel sensible that a congeniality of sentiment will render any apology superfluous for the sacrifice I have elsewhere made in the cause of truth.

"The *coup d' œil* upon entering the grand saloon is inconceivable. During ten years that I have been accustomed to spectacles of a similar nature in different parts of the continent, I have never seen any thing with which it might compare.

* I wish to lay particular stress upon this circumstance, as almost all travellers have celebrated Russian hospitality, and particularly that of the inhabitants of Moscow. "L'hospitalité des Russes," say the Authors of the Voyage de Deux Français, "paroîs ici dans tout son jour."

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The company consisted of near two thousand persons; nobles only being admitted. The dresses were the most sumptuous that can be imagined; and, what is more remarkable, they were conceived in the purest taste, and were in a high degree becoming. The favourite ornaments of the ladies were cameos, which they wore upon their arms, in girdles round their waists, or upon their bosoms; a mode of adorning the fair which has since found its way to our own country, and which was originally derived from Paris; but the women of France and England may go to Moscow, in order to see their own fashions set off to advantage. Their drapery was disposed chiefly after the Grecian costume, and they wore their hair bound up round the head. The modes of dress in London and Paris are generally blended together by the ladies of Moscow, who select from either what may become them best; and, in justice to their charms, it must be confessed, no country in the world can boast superior beauty. When, in addition to their personal attractions, it is considered, that the most excessive extravagance is used to procure whatever may contribute to their adornment; *, that a whole fortune is sometimes lavished on a single dress; that they are assembled in one of the finest rooms in the world, lighted and decorated with matchless elegance and splendour; it may be supposed the effect has never been surpassed.

"In such an assembly, we had every reason to suppose a couple of English travellers might pass without notice. We had, moreover, a particular reason for hoping this would be the case; as, in obedience to a decree of the Emperor Paul, we had collected our short hair into a cue, which appeared most ridiculously curtailed, sticking out, like any thing but that which it was intended to represent; and most remarkably contrasted with the long tails of the Russians. Unfortunately the case was otherwise; and a curiosity to see the two Englishmen becoming general; to our great dismay we found ourselves surrounded by a crowd of persons, some of whom thought proper to ask, "*Who cut "your hair?*" Such questions, it may be conceived, did not add to the evening's amusement: but our astonishment was completed the next day, in receiving the thanks and blessings of a poor ragged barber, who had powdered us at the inn, and whose fortune he assured us we had made; all the young nobles having sent for him, to cut and dress their hair in the same ridiculous manner. . . . . .

"I should not have mentioned such a trifling incident, if it had not ultimately taken a very serious turn; for the police officers interfering, the young men, who had thus docked themselves, were apprehended in the public walks, severely reprimanded, and compelled to wear false hair; and we were obliged to use the utmost circumspection, lest we should also be apprehended, and perhaps treated with more rigour.

"The dances were called Quadrilles, Polonese, and English. The Waltz, once their favourite, had been prohibited. But whatever name they

* It is related very generally, in the higher circles of the city, that a princess of Moscow, who had purchased a wig to imitate the colour of her own hair, confined her hair-dresser in a closet, fed him always herself, and allowed him only to come out during her toilette, in order that her false tresses might not be detected.

gave

gave them, they were all dull; consisting merely in a sort of promenade. Neither the men nor the women evinced the slightest degree of animation while dancing, but seemed to consider it an apology for not sitting still. Every person wore full dress; the men appearing either in uniform, or coats of very rich embroidery.

Country and Habits of the Cossacks and Circassians.

[From the same.]

"We now drew near to the Kuban, and had reached the last post-house before arriving at Ekaterinedara, when the view of the Caucasian mountains opened upon us, extending, in a craggy and mountainous ridge, from east to west. I endeavoured to recall a former impression made upon my mind in the approach to the Alps from Augsburg; and the recollection served to convince me, that the range of Mount Caucasus has neither the apparent altitude nor grandeur of the Alpine, whatever their relative heights may be. Marshal Biberstein, a celebrated Russian botanist and traveller, afterwards informed me, that he considered *Mount Chat* in Caucasus higher than *Mont Blanc*: it is certainly visible at the immense distance of two hundred miles. The snowy summits of the Alps are seen for a day's journey before reaching them, glittering above the line of clouds collected near their bases; especially by a traveller who approaches the Tirol, where they seem to rise up all at once like a wall from the plains of Suabia. To us, indeed, who had travelled so long in the flats of Russia, the Caucasian mountains were a new and very interesting sight. Our eyes were fatigued by the uniformity of perpetual plains; and even serene skies, to which we had been so long accustomed, were gladly exchanged for the refreshing winds of the hills, the frequent showers, and the rolling clouds, which always accompany them. Trees also began to appear, and the banks of the Kuban were covered with woods. The oak, so long a stranger, reared his venerable head; and the willow, the bramble, wild raspberries, blooming shrubs, and thick underwood, covered the ground, affording retreat to abundance of wild boars and deer. The last are often taken young, and kept as tame animals in the cottages of the country.

"Ekaterinedara, or *Catherine's Gift*, the capital of the Tchernomorski Cossacs, makes a very extraordinary appearance. It has no resemblance to a town; but is rather a grove or forest of oaks, in which a number of straggling cottages, widely separated, are concealed not only from all general observation, but even from the view of each other. The inhabitants have cut down and cleared as many as they could; but the streets, if they may be so called, and the spaces between the houses, are covered with dwarf oaks, and thick branches of scions yet rising from the roots which are left in the earth. The antiquity

antiquity of the tumuli which cover all this country may in some degree be proved even by the appearance of the oaks growing on them. We saw some trees, perhaps as old as any in the world, which were so situated. The inhabitants had dug into the tumuli, to form cellars for their ice and wine; and, in so doing, found several earthen vases, deposited with the skeletons which these sepulchres contained; but unfortunately they destroyed every thing they discovered. The air in this *metropolitan forest* is pestiferous, and the water of the place very unwholesome. Fevers, similar to those which prevail near the Pontine marches, at Pæstum, and on the coast of Baia in Italy, afflict those who reside here. In the environs, however, the air is better; and, perhaps, when the ground is cleared, so as to admit a free circulation, and thoroughly cultivated by the increase of gardens, the health of the inhabitants will be less injured; but from its damp situation, and the vicinity of extensive marshes on the Circassian side of the Kuban, Ekaterinedara is never likely to be a desirable place of residence. The very foundation of the city bore date only eight years previous to our arrival; so that it still had the appearance of a colony newly transported to the wildernesses of America, maintaining a struggle against all the obstacles opposed to it, from inhospitable natives, impenetrable woods, and an unwholesome climate. The houses of the inhabitants were neater than our best English cottages. Each owner possessed a large area before his door, to which an avenue of the finest oaks conducted; also an adjoining garden, in which we noticed the vine, the water-melon, and the cucumber. The sun-flower blooms spontaneously every where, without cultivation; and many plants found only in our greenhouses are the weeds of the plain. The climate, from a proximity to the mountains, is humid and cloudy, agitated by frequent and violent winds, with thunder, and sudden tempestuous rains.

"In their new settlement, the Tchernomorski still display the same manners and mode of life which they practised before they migrated from the Dnieper. By this means the Circassians, and even those of the Russians who live among them or near them, are instructed in many domestic arts of comfort and cleanliness to which they were before strangers. Celebrated as they justly are for their skill in horsemanship, they acknowledge themselves inferior in this respect to the Circassians, whose light bodies, lightly accoutred, on the fleetest horses in the world, outstrip them in the chace. Yet I know not a more interesting object than a Cossack of the Tchernomorski mounted and equipped for war. It is then only they may be said to exist, and in their native element; brandishing their long lances in the air, bending, turning, or halting suddenly when in full speed, with so much graceful attitude, and such natural dignity, that the horses and his rider seem as one animal.

"The reins of government are entirely in the hands of the Ataman and his officers. These wear the most theatrical and showy dresses which are known to any people in the whole world. Their breasts are covered with chains of gold and lace. Their sabre is Turkish, their boots of red or yellow-coloured leather, their cap of black velvet, ornamented with lace and silver chains, or fine black Tartarian wool, taken

taken from lambs in an embryo state; and the waist bound with silken sashes, which support pistols of the most costly workmanship. A small whip, with a short leathern thong, is attached to their little finger. The lower extremity of their lance is supported by the right foot; and from the powder flask, which hangs in front, are suspended silver coins and other trinkets.

"On the evening of our arrival, the Ataman waited upon us with a party of officers. One of the best houses in the place had been previously allotted to our use, which they desired us to consider as our own, and declared themselves ready to render us any service in their power. The Ataman then informed us, that the Pacha of Anapa, with several of the princes of Circassia, had crossed the Kuban, and pitched their tents on the northern side of the river, suing for peace with the Tchernomorski; that a considerable part of the Cossack army would march to give them a meeting in the morning, and adjust the preliminaries; and as the ceremony might amuse us, he very kindly offered to include us among the persons of his suite; to which proposal we readily assented.

"The history of the war in which they had been so recently engaged is as follows. The Circassians, in their nocturnal incursions, had for the last three years committed many depredations upon the territory of the Tchernomorski; not only stealing the cattle, but sometimes bearing off the inhabitants. The Tchernomorski applied to the Emperor for permission to punish these marauders, and for a reinforcement. General Drascovitz was accordingly sent, with a party of troops and some artillery, into the Kuban. At five o'clock on the morning of Friday, June the 20th, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred men, including two regiments of regulars, some pieces of artillery, and the chief part of the Cossack army stationed in and near Ekaterinedara, began to advance, by crossing the river. This undertaking was sufficiently arduous to have daunted better disciplined troops. The Kuban is broad and very rapid; and a few canoes, with one flat-bottomed barge, was all the aid which could be procured for this purpose. General Drascovitz himself assured me he had never seen any thing equal to the spirit and alacrity with which the Cossack cavalry, who led the way, received the order to march. They plunged on horseback into the torrent, and swam to the opposite shore. The passage was begun, as I have stated, at five in the morning; and by four o'clock in the afternoon the whole army had crossed, which, considering the want of proper boats and other conveniences, and the great rapidity of the current, is wonderful. By nine o'clock in the same evening the attack was commenced. A small party, consisting only of eight of the Circassian guard, were surprized in the very onset of the march, of which two were taken, and the others fled to give the alarm. The first effective blow was struck by the Circassians, who attacked the advanced guard of the Cossack cavalry, taking eleven of the Cossack horses and a few prisoners. General Drascovitz then detached a body of Cossacks to reconnoitre, who found the Circassians in possession of a strong hold and prepared for attack. These gave the Cossacks a very warm reception; but the General perceiving it, caused some pieces of artillery to bear upon his opponents. The noise of cannon had never be-

fore been heard in Circassia: the rocks of Caucasus repeated the dreadful uproar of the guns; and the natives, at the very sound, fled in all directions. The Russian army, rapidly advancing, burned and destroyed eight of the villages, took eight thousand head of cattle, besides a quantity of arms and other valuables. The number of the dead on the side of the Circassians amounted to thirty-seven in one village; and nearly an equal slaughter took place in all the others. The Russians lost only ten Cossacks, who were made prisoners, but had not a man killed, and very few wounded. The number of the Circassian prisoners was not great; for so desperate was their valour, that they preferred being cut to pieces, rather than surrender. The first overtures for peace were made by the arrival of some deputies from the Circassians, demanding the reason of the war. The answer given by the Cossacks is curious, as it serves to call to mind similar laconic expressions in antient times. "You "have played your gambols," said they, "in our territory these three "years: we therefore come for a "little sport in yours." This answer being carried to the princes of the country, they came in great numbers to sue the Cossacks for quarter and peace. To aid this request, a scarcity of bread soon prevailed among the combined forces of Russians and Cossacks; and the water of the country being bad, they retreated gradually towards the Kuban, where they were met by the Pacha of Anapa, who, with a great retinue and much ceremony, came, in the name of the Turkish government, to intercede for the Circassians; offering himself, at the same time, a pledge for the security of their future conduct. To strengthen these assurances, he accompanied the Cossacks and Russians across the Kuban, and entered Ekaterinedara, but was not permitted to remain there, on account of the quarantine. He was suffered, however, to pitch his tent on the Cossack side of the Kuban, close to the river. From thence he passed again into Circassia; and assembling the princes of the country, made them take a solemn oath of peace and friendship with the Tchernomorski: but the latter, not being satisfied with the report of these proceedings, insisted that the same oath should be publicly repeated on their side of the river. It was for this purpose that the Pacha of Anapa had again returned, bringing with him the most powerful of the Circassian princes, who now waited upon the northern bank of the Kuban, to go through the required ceremony.

"At nine o'clock on the following morning, the 8th of July, General Drascovitz sent his *droski*,* escorted by a party of armed Cossacks and an officer, to say the Ataman was waiting for us to join his suite in the procession to the Pacha of Anapa's tent by the Kuban; and that many of the princes of Circassia were there, ready to take the oath of peace. We drove to head-quarters, and arrived as the grand cavalcade, consisting of the Ataman with a numerous escort of Cossack officers, and delegates from all the troops of the Cossack army, were proceeding to the river side, distant only half a mile from the town. I never beheld so fine a sight. The dresses worn by the officers were more beautiful than the most magnificent theatres display, exhibiting every

* A carriage peculiar to Russia.

variety

variety of colour and ornament; while their high-bred horses, glittering in embroidered housings, and prancing with flowing manes and tails, seemed conscious of the warlike dignity of their riders. Several Cossacks darted by us, on the fleetest coursers we had ever seen, to join the cavalcade. In front rode the Ataman, bareheaded, in a dress of blue velvet, with sleeves and trowsers of scarlet cloth, very richly embroidered. From his shoulders loosely fell a rich tunic, lined with blue silk, and fastened back by gold buttons. His boots, like those of all the other officers, were of red leather; and by his side was suspended a broad and costly sabre, in a sheath of red velvet, richly embossed with gold, and studded with turquoises. On each side of him rode a party of his principal officers; and behind followed all the flower of the Cossack army, in most sumptuous dresses, curbing their foaming and neighing steeds. We were, by the Ataman's orders, placed in the van of the procession; and soon arriving on the high grounds which form the northern bank of the Kuban, beheld the encampment of the Turks and Circassians, on a small flat, close to the water's edge. The Pacha, surrounded by his attendants, was seated in his tent, smoking, with the awning drawn up on all sides. He was attended by a Turkish courier from the Porte, his own dragoman or interpreter, and several of the most powerful Circassian princes, dressed in the savage and extraordinary habits worn by the different tribes of Mount Caucasus, some of which will be hereafter more particularly noticed. Upon the opposite shore appeared a very considerable multitude of the Circassians, collected either by curiosity, or the hope of bartering with the Cossacks, when the terms of peace should be concluded. The greater part of these remained at a distance from the rest, with evident caution and mistrust, as if uncertain what termination the business of the day might have. As soon as the Cossack cavalry made its appearance, the Circassian deputies rose, and came to the entrance of the Pacha's tent, who was seen in front of the party, bearing in his hand a small tuft of camel's hair fastened to an ivory handle, with which he was occupied in keeping off the mosquitoes. The Cossack army halted upon the brow of the hill; and all the cavalry being dismounted, were drawn up in two lines parallel to the river; in front of which appeared the Cossack soldiers, standing by their lances. The Ataman and his principal officers rode down into the plain before the tent; where having alighted, their horses were taken back, and they all advanced bareheaded towards the Pacha. We accompanied them; and being stationed by the Ataman near his person, understood, by means of our interpreter, all that passed upon the occasion.

"The preliminaries began by an apology from the Ataman for having kept the Pacha so long waiting. "Your coming," replied the Pacha, "is for a good purpose, and there- "fore may have demanded con- "sideration? it is only bad things "which are rashly hurried over."

Ataman. "Have you explained "to the Circassian princes, that we "are not satisfied with oaths of "peace made by them in their ter- "ritory? We must bear testimony "to their attestations here, in our "own land."

Pacha. "I have made this "known throughout all the Cau- "casian Line; and several of the

"most powerful princes of the "country are now present, to an- "swer for the rest of their country- "men, and for themselves."

Ataman. "Have all those who "are not present, as well as these "their deputies, taken the oath of "peace on the other side of the "river?"

Pacha. "All of them. Unless "I had been present upon the oc- "casion myself, and had actually "witnessed it, I would not venture "to be responsible for their peace- "able behaviour; which I now "promise to be."

Ataman. "Your Excellency "speaks of a responsibility, which "is perhaps much greater than you "imagine. Hitherto, their princes "have paid no respect to the obli- "gation of an oath, which has been "violated as often as it was made. "How many have engaged to be "bound by the oath which is now "to be repeated?"

Pacha. "Fifty: and of these, "the most powerful are the princes "who have attended me upon this "occasion."

Ataman. "All our Cossack bre- "thren, whom the Circassians have "made prisoners, must be restored: "in failure of which the war will "certainly be renewed; and in "compliance with this demand all "our prisoners will be given up."

"Some other conversation past which I was not able to collect, from the rapidity with which it was delivered. As soon as the preliminaries were concluded, which involved very little discussion, for the Circassians seemed willing to accede to any proposition made on the part of the Cossacks, the Pacha took from his bosom a manuscript written upon linen, on which the Circassian princes severally laid their hands, repeating the necessary oath, which promised to the Cossacks the undisturbed possession of all the country on the northern side of the Kuban. What the nature of the manuscript was we could not learn, except that it contained certain passages of the Koran and other sacred writings. The whole ceremony ended by the Pacha's writing with a reed the names of the parties concerned in this transaction.

"The extraordinary appearance of the Circassian princes drew my attention entirely to them. Their clothes were as ragged as any English beggar's, and their necks and legs quite bare. A few only had slippers of red leather on their feet. Their heads were all shaved, and covered on the crown with small scull caps, laced with silver.* In their belts they had large pistols; and by each of their sides were suspended a sabre and a knife. Ball cartridges, sewed singly, were ranged in rows upon their breasts. The sleeves of their jackets being worn out at the elbows, plates of silver or of steel armour, inlaid, appeared through the holes, which they wore next the skin, covering their arms, and otherwise concealed by clothes. A coat of mail covered also the breast and the rest of the

* The most antient covering of the head worn in Greece was exactly of the same shape, resembling the scalps torn by the Americans from the prisoners they made in war. It is worn beneath the turban all over the East. The Circassians of rank wear it without any turban. It is still worn in the same manner by many inhabitants of modern Greece; and its use in that country, long prior to its conquest by the Turks, agrees very well with my grandfather's opinions concerning the origin of the Celtic, Gothic, and Grecian people. See Connection of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins, &c.

body.

body. Some of them wore a sort of iron shirt, made of twisted mail, or rings so closely interwoven, and so well adapted to the form, that every part of the body was covered and protected, except the face. Pallas, in his Travels through the South of Russia, has represented one of their princes on horseback, covered by this kind of armour.* A bow and quiver are fastened by straps round the hips. I brought away one of their arrows, which had actually passed through the body of a Cossack horse, and killed the animal on the spot. The Circassians use the bow with very great skill, never making any random shots, but sure of the aim before they let the arrow fly. The Russian army dreaded very much those destructive weapons; as they are used by very skilful marksmen, who, like riflemen, station themselves in trees, or among rocks, in the passes of the mountains, to pick out the officers.

"A circumstance not worth relating, if it did not illustrate the manners and character of the different people then assembled, afforded considerable amusement to us, who were merely spectators upon this occasion. When the Pacha received the Ataman with his attendants, he was evidently in a state of trepidation. Seeing the high banks of the river covered with armed men, and the lances of the Cossacks ranged like a forest along the northern side of the Kuban, he could not conceal his anxiety and uneasiness. His own manners were remarkably affable and polite; but he viewed the troops and officers of the Cossack army, by whom he was surrounded, as a set of lawless plunderers, for whose conduct there could be no long security. Doubtless he had heard as many tales of the barbarity of the Tchernomorski as we had done before, and wished himself again safe upon his own divan in Anapa. If we had been filled with such idle fancies by the Russians themselves, it is but reasonable to conclude that the Turks, who consider even the Russians as barbarians, must necessarily esteem the Cossacks as a set of ferocious banditti. The reader may then imagine what the astonishment of the Pacha was, when, upon being induced by curiosity to ask the Ataman from what country we were, he was informed we were English gentlemen, travelling for amusement among the very people whose appearance gave him so much uneasiness, and whom nothing but the most urgent necessity could have caused him to visit. He seemed to regain all his composure by this intelligence, speaking very highly of our countrymen, and saying, that the obligations England had conferred upon Turkey would never be forgotten. We took this opportunity to inquire respecting the state of the countries bordering the south coast of the Black Sea. He described them as full of difficulty and danger for travellers; that many districts were infested by merciless robbers; and that a journey to Constantinople by land, from Anapa, would at least require three months; whereas by water, from the same place, it might be accomplished in four or five days. Indeed the inhabitants of Taganrock have performed the voyage within that period, including the additional passage of the Sea of Azof and the Straits of Taman.

"As soon as the ceremony ended,

* See Pallas's Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. I. p. 101. Pl. 20.

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the Pacha embarked with his suite, in a canoe so narrow, that two persons could not sit abreast; and, with more adventure than might have been expected in a Turk, hampered as he was by his cumbrous dress, he squatted on some weeds in the bottom of the vessel, and was soon paddled into the middle of the rapid torrent. Their canoes are all made of one piece of wood, being merely the trunk of a large tree scooped for the purpose. From the numbers huddled with the Pacha, we expected every instant to see the canoe sink or upset, for its edge was level with the water. They were out of sight, however, in an instant, descending the current with amazing velocity, and disappearing by the turn of the river.

"We then went to examine more minutely the crowd of Circassians of a lower order, numbers of whom were passing the Kuban in their canoes, and collecting on the Russian side. They came to exchange wood, honey, and arms, for salt, according to their usual practice in times of peace. Here we saw some of the wildest mountaineers of Caucasus, all of whom were completely armed, and all robbers by profession. The representations made of the natives in the South Seas do not picture human nature in a more savage state than it appears among the Circassians. Instructed from their infancy to consider war and plunder not only as a necessary, but as an honourable occupation, they bear in their countenance a most striking expression of ferocious valour, of cunning, suspicion, and distrust. If, while a Circassian is standing behind you, a sudden retrospect betrays you his features, his brow lowers, and he seems to meditate some desperate act; but the instant he perceives that he is observed, his countenance relaxes into a deceitful smile, and he puts on the most obsequious and submissive attitude imaginable. Their bodies, especially their legs, feet, and arms, are for the most part naked. They wear no shirt, and only a pair of coarse ragged drawers, reaching a little below the knee. Over their shoulders they carry, even during the greatest heat of Summer, a thick and heavy cloak of felt, or the hide of a goat, with the hair on on the outside, which reaches below the waist. Under this covering appears the sabre, bow and quiver, musket, and other weapons. The peasants as well as their princes shave the head, and cover it with the scull-cap, as before mentioned. Difference of rank, indeed, seems to cause little distinction of dress among them, except that the peasant further covers the head and shoulders with a large cowl. The beauty of features and form, for which the Circassians have so long been celebrated, is certainly very prevalent among them. Their noses are aquiline, their eye-brows arched and regular, their mouths small, their teeth remarkably white, and their ears not so large nor so prominent as among the Tartars; though, from wearing the head shaven, they appear to disadvantage, according to European notions. They are well shaped, and very light limbed, being generally of the middle size, seldom exceeding five feet eight or nine inches. Their women are the most beautiful perhaps in the world, of enchanting perfection of countenance, and very delicate features. Those which we saw, and which were the accidental captives of war, carried off with their families, were remarkably handsome. Many of them, though

though suffering from ill health, fatigue, and grief, and under every possible circumstance of disadvantage, had yet a very interesting appearance. Their hair is generally dark or light brown, sometimes approaching to black. Their eyes have a singular animation, peculiar to the Circassian people, which in some of the men gives an expression of ferocity. The most chosen works of the best painters, representing a Hector or a Helen, do not display greater beauty than we beheld even in the prison at Ekaterinedara, where the wounded Circassians, male and female, charged with fetters, and huddled together, were pining in sickness and sorrow.

"Seeing that the Circassians were collected in much greater numbers on the Caucasian side of the Kuban, we applied to the Commander in chief, for permission to pass over into their territory. This was obtained with great difficulty; and the Ataman, accompanied by several armed Cossacks, was ordered to attend us. We crossed the river in canoes; and, arriving on the Circassian side, we beheld the natives, who had been collected from all parts of the country, gathered in parties along the shore. Several of them, having a most savage aspect, were formed into a group about two hundred yards from the place where we landed. Perceiving the Ataman avoided going towards them, we begged that he would allow us that privilege. "If it is your desire," said he, taking his sabre from its scabbard, "you shall not be disappointed on my account; but you little know what sort of people they are. They pay no respect to treaties, not even to their own princes, when they see an opportunity of plunder; and are likely to do some of us injury before we return." Our curiosity got the better of all fear, and we followed the Ataman's reluctant steps to the place where they were assembled. Seeing us advance, they hastily snatched up their arms, which they had placed against the trees and on the ground, and received us with an air of evident defiance. We endeavoured to convince them that our views were pacific; but matters soon grew more and more menacing, as they began talking loud and with great rapidity. No one of our party understood what they said; and the Ataman's uneasiness considerably increasing, we made signs for the canoes to draw near the shore, and effected our retreat. Thinking to shew them some mark of respect, and of our friendly intentions, we took off our hats, and bowed to them as we retired. The effect was very amusing: they all roared with loud and savage laughter, and, mocking our manner of making obeisance, seemed to invite us to a repetition of the ceremony; and as often as we renewed it, they set up fresh peals of laughter. The Cossack officers, who accompanied us upon this occasion, told us that the Circassians who lurk about in the immediate vicinity of the Kuban are a tribe as wild and lawless as any in the whole district of Caucasus; and that their principal object is to seize upon men, and carry them off, for the purpose of selling them as slaves in Persia. The cannon on the heights of Ekaterinedara at that time commanded the whole marshy territory on the Circassian side; yet it was impossible to venture even a few hundred yards, in search of plants, on account of the danger that might be apprehended from the numbers who remained in ambush among the woods near the river.

river. The hasty observation we had made disclosed to us a plain covered with wild raspberry trees, blackberry bushes, and a few large willows by the water's edge. Further, towards the South, appeared woods of considerable extent, full of the finest oaks. Beyond these woods were seen the chain of the Caucasian mountains, and the territories which had been the theatre of war. The mountains rose like the Alpine barrier. Some of them appeared to be very high; and their sides retained patches of snow toward the middle of July; but, upon the whole, they seemed inferior in altitude to the Swiss Alps. The passes through Caucasus must be difficult and intricate, as the mountains stand close to each other, and their summits are rugged and irregular. Those which were nearest to Ekaterinedara were not less than twenty-six English miles distant, and yet very visible to the naked eye.

"When we returned to the Russian side, the Circassians who had crossed the river were dancing and rejoicing on account of the peace. One of their vagrant musicians, exercising the profession so much esteemed by all nations in the infancy of society, and particularly among the tribes who inhabit Mount Caucasus, played on a silver flute called, *Camil*. It was about two feet in length, and had only three finger holes towards the lower extremity of the tube. The mode of blowing this instrument is as remarkable as the sound produced. A small stick is placed in the upper end of a flute, open at either extremity; which, being drawn out to the length of an inch, is pressed by the performer against the roof of his mouth. It is very difficult to conceive how any tones can be produced in this manner, as the performer's mouth is kept open the whole time, and he accompanies the notes with his own voice. By the violent straining of every muscle in his countenance, the performance seemed a work of great difficulty and labour, the sounds all the while resembling the droning noise of a bagpipe. I wished to purchase the instrument with a quantity of salt, the only money they receive in payment; but its owner, deriving his livelihood and consequence among his countrymen entirely from the use of it, would not consent to sell it. The Circassians know nothing of the value of coins, using them only to adorn their persons; and even for this purpose they did not seem desirous to possess the few silver pieces we offered to them. It is evident that their favourite musical instrument, the *Camil*, was not always of metal; for upon the silver tube which I have described, the natural joints seen upon canes and reeds in the rivers and marshes of the country had been imitated by the maker.

"Their dances do not resemble those of any other nation. Something perhaps nearly similar may have been described as the practice of the inhabitants of the South-Sea islands. Ten, fifteen, or twenty persons, all standing in a line, and holding by each other's arms, begin lolling from right to left, lifting up their feet as high as possible, to the measure of the tune, and interrupting the uniformity of their motion only by sudden squeaks and exclamations. Nothing could seem more uneasy than the situation of the performers in the middle of the row; but even these, squeezed as they were from one side to the other, testified their joy in the same manner. After some time there was a pause,

pause, when a single dancer, starting from the rest, pranced about in the most ludicrous manner, exhibiting only two steps that could be assimilated to the movements of a dance, both of which may be noticed not only in our English hornpipe, but in all the dances of the Northern nations. The first consisted in hopping on one foot, and touching the ground with the heel and toe alternately of the other. The second, in hopping on one foot, and thrusting the other before it, so as to imitate the bounding of a stag; from which animal the motion was originally borrowed, and whose name it bears among the wild Irish at this day. A due attention to national dances frequently enables us to ascertain the progress which has been made by any people towards refinement. The exercise itself is as antient as the human race: and however variously modified, the popular dances of ages the most remote, and of countries the most widely separated, may all be deduced from one common origin, which has reference to the intercourse of the sexes, and is therefore more or less equivocal, in proportion as the state of society is more or less affected by the progress of civilization.

"In different parts of the great chain of mountains which bears the general appellation of Caucasus, the languages are as various as the principalities. Few of the present inhabitants of Kuban Tartary are able to converse with any of the Circassian tribes. Those whom we saw near the river spoke a dialect so harsh and guttural, that it was by no means pleasing to the ear. Pallas says it is probable that the Circassian bears no affinity to any other language, and that, according to report, their princes and *Usdens* speak a peculiar dialect, which is kept secret from the common people, and used chiefly in their predatory excursions. Their mode of life is that of professional robbers. It might have been said of the Circassian, as of Ishmael, "He will be a wild man; his "hand will be against every "man, and every man's hand "against him." Those who inhabit the passes of the mountains, and are not occupied in any agricultural employment, depends solely on plunder for their subsistence. The petty princes are continually at war with each other; and every one plunders his neighbour. The inhabitants of the plains go completely armed, to carry on the labours of the field. The crops are also guarded by armed men. No Circassian poet can therefore celebrate the peaceful occupation of the plough, since with them it is a warlike pursuit. The sower scattering seed, or the reaper who gathers the sheaves, is constantly liable to an assault; and the implements of husbandry are not more essential to the harvest, than the carbine, the pistol, and the sabre.

"Of all the Circassian tribes, the Lesgi, inhabiting the mountains of Daghestan, which run nearly parallel to the Western coast of the Caspian, bears the worst reputation. Their very name excites terror among the neighbouring principalities, and it is used as a term of reproach by many of the natives of Caucasus. Different reports are naturally propagated concerning a people so little known as the Circassians in general; and perhaps half the stories concerning the Lesgi are without any foundation in truth. All the inhabitants of Caucasus are described by their enemies as notorious for duplicity, and for their frequent

frequent breach of faith; and it is through the medium of such representation alone that we derive any notion of their character. But, placing ourselves among them, and viewing, as they must do, the more polished nations around them, who seek only to enslave and to betray them, we cannot wonder at their conduct towards a people whom they consider both as tyrants and infidels. Examples of heroism may be observed among them which would have dignified the character of the Romans in the most virtuous periods of their history. Among the prisoners in the Cossack army, we saw some of the Circassians who had performed feats of valour, perhaps unparalleled. The commander in chief, General Drascovitz, maintained, that in all the campaigns he had served, whether against Turks or the more disciplined armies of Europe, he had never witnessed instances of greater bravery than he had seen among the Circassians. The troops of other nations, when surrounded by superior numbers, readily yield themselves prisoners of war; but the Circassian, while a spark of life remains, will continue to combat even with a multitude of enemies. We saw one in the prison at Ekaterinedara, about thirty-five years of age, who had received fifteen desperate wounds before he fell and was made prisoner, having fainted from loss of blood. This account was given to me by his bitterest enemies, and may therefore surely be relied on. He was first attacked by three of the Cossack cavalry. It was their object to take him alive, if possible, on account of his high rank, and the consideration in which he was held by his own countrymen. Every endeavour was therefore used to attack him in such a manner as not to endanger his life. This intention was soon perceived by the Circassian, who determined not to surrender. With his single sabre, he shivered their three lances at the first onset, and afterwards wounded two of the three assailants. At length surrounded by others who came to their assistance, he fell covered with wounds, in the midst of his enemies, fighting to the last moment. We visited him in his prison, where he lay stretched upon a plank, bearing the anguish of his terrible wounds without a groan. They had recently extracted the iron spike of a lance from his side. A young Circassian girl was employed in driving away the flies from his face with a green bough. All our expressions of concern and regard were lost upon him: we offered him money, but he refused to accept any, handing it to his fellow-prisoners, as if totally ignorant of its use.

"In the same place of confinement stood a Circassian female, about twenty years of age, with fine light brown hair, extremely beautiful, but pale, and hardly able to support herself, through grief and weakness. The Cossack officers stated, that when they captured her she was in excellent health, but ever since, on account of the separation from her husband, she had refused all offer of food; and, as she pined daily, they feared she would die. It may be supposed we spared no entreaty which might induce the Commander in chief to liberate these prisoners. Before the treaty of peace they had been offered to the highest bidder, the women selling generally from twenty-five to thirty roubles apiece; somewhat less than the price of a horse. But we were told it was now too late, as they were included

included in the list for exchange, and must therefore remain until the Cossacks, who were prisoners in Circassia, were delivered up. The poor woman in all probability did not live to see her husband or her country again.

"Another Circasian female, fourteen years of age, who was also in confinement, hearing of the intended exchange of prisoners, expressed her wishes to remain where she was. Conscious of her great beauty, she feared her parents would sell her, according to the custom of the country, and that she might fall to the lot of masters less humane than the Cossacks were. The Circassians frequently sell their children to strangers, particularly to the Persians and Turks; and their princes supply the Turkish seraglios with the most beautiful of the prisoners of both sexes which they take in war.

"In their commerce with the Tchernomorski Cossacks, the Circassians bring considerable quantities of wood, and the delicious honey of the mountains, sewed up in goats' hides, with the hair on the outside. These articles they exchange for salt, a commodity found in the neighbouring lakes, of a very excellent quality. Salt is more precious than any other kind of wealth to the Circassians; and it constitutes the most acceptable present which can be offered to them. They weave mats of very great beauty, which find a ready market both in Turkey and Russia. They are also ingenious in the art of working silver and other metals, and in the fabrication of guns, pistols, and sabres. Some, which they offered for sale, we suspected had been procured from Turkey, in exchange for slaves. Their bows and arrows are made with inimitable skill; and the arrows, being tipped with iron, and otherwise exquisitely wrought, are considered by the Cossacks and the Russians as inflicting incurable wounds.

"One of the most important accomplishments which the inhabitants of these countries can acquire, is that of horsemanship; and in this the Circassians are superior to the Cossacks, who are nevertheless justly esteemed the best riders known to European nations. A Cossack may be said to live but on his horse, and the loss of a favourite steed is the greatest *family* misfortune he can sustain. The poorer sort of Cossacks dwell under the same roof with their horses, lie down with them at night, and make them their constant companions. The horses of Circassia are of a nobler race than those of the Cossacks. They are of the Arab kind, exceedingly high bred, light and small. The Cossack generally acknowledges his inability to overtake a Circassian in pursuit.

"The brother of Mr. Kovalensky of Taganrock, by cultivating the friendship of one of the Circassian princes, passed over the mountainous ridge of Caucasus in perfect safety and protection. According to his account, a stranger, who has voluntarily confided in the honour of a Circassian, is considered a sacred trust, even by the very robbers who would cross the Kuban to carry him off and sell him as a slave, if they chanced to find him in their predatory excursions out of their own dominions. Since this account was written, one of our own countrymen, Mr. Mackenzie, passed the Caucasus, previous to a campaign which he served with the Russian army in Persia. His escort consisted of an hundred infantry and fifty Cossacks, with a piece of artillery.

bay. During thirteen days spent in the passage, the troops were under the necessity of maintaining a most vigilant watch, and their rear was frequently harassed by hovering hordes of Circassians. The result of his observations tends wholly to dispute the accuracy of those of Mr. Kovalensky. According to Mr. Mackenzie's opinion, no reliance whatever can be placed upon the supposed honour or promises of a people so treacherous and barbarous as those who inhabit this chain of mountains.

Borders of the Black Sea, with Anecdotes of Potemkin and Howard.

[From the same.]

"CHERSON, founded in 1778, was formerly a town of much more importance than it is now. Potemkin bestowed upon it many instances of patronage, and was partial to the place. Its fortress and arsenal were erected by him. We found its commerce so completely annihilated, that its merchants were either bankrupts, or were preparing to leave the town, and establish themselves elsewhere. They complained of being abandoned by the Emperor, who refused to grant them any support or privilege. Without the smallest inclination to write an apology for the Emperor Paul, I cannot possibly admit that Cherson, by any grant of the Crown, could become a great commercial establishment; and it is quite imcomprehensible how such a notion was ever adopted. The mouth of the Dnieper is extremely difficult to navigate; sometimes north-east winds leave it full of shallows, and, where there happens at any time to be a channel for vessels, it has not a greater depth of water than five feet; the entrance is at the same time excessively narrow. The sands are continually shifting, which renders the place so dangerous, that ships are rarely seen in the harbour. But the last blow to the commerce of Cherson, was given by the war of Russia with France. Before that event the exportation of corn, of hemp, and canvas, had placed the town upon a scale of some consideration. All the ports of Russia in the Black Sea were more or less affected by the same cause; and particularly Taganrock, which had received a serious check in consequence of the state of affairs with France.

"The architecture visible in the buildings of the fortress, showed a good taste; the stone used for their construction resembled that porous, though durable limestone, which the first Grecian colonies in Italy employed in erecting the temples of Pæstum; but the Russians had white-washed every thing, and by that means had given to their works the meanness of plaister. One of the first things we asked to see was the tomb of Potemkin. All Europe has heard that he was buried in Cherson, and a magnificent sepulchre might naturally be expected for a person so renowned. The Reader will imagine our surprize,

prize, when, in answer to our inquiries concerning his remains, we were told that no one knew what was become of them. Potemkin, the illustrious, the powerful, of all the princes that ever lived the most princely, of all Imperial favourites the most favoured, had not a spot which might be called his grave. He, who not only governed all Russia, but even made the haughty Catharine his suppliant, had not the distinction possessed by the lowest and the poorest of the human race. The particulars respecting the ultimate disposal of his body, as they were communicated to me upon the spot by the most credible testimony, merit a cursory detail.

"The corpse, soon after his death, was brought to Cherson, and placed beneath a dome of the small church belonging to the fortress, opposite to the altar. After the usual ceremony of interment, the vault was merely covered, by restoring to their former situation the planks of wood which constituted the floor of the building. Many of the inhabitants of Cherson, as well English officers in the Russian service, who lived in its neighbourhood, had seen the coffin, which was extremely ordinary; and the practice of showing it to strangers prevailed for some years after Potemkin's decease. The Empress Catharine either had, or pretended to have, an intention of erecting a superb monument to his memory; whether at Cherson or elsewhere, is unknown. Her sudden death is believed to have prevented the completion of this design. The most extraordinary part of the story remains now to be related; the coffin itself has disappeared. Instead of any answer to the various inquiries we made concerning it, we were cautioned to be silent. "*No one,*" said a countryman of ours living in the place, "*dares "mention the name of Potemkin!*" At last we received intelligence that the Verger could satisfy our curiosity, if we would venture to ask him. We soon found the means of encouraging a little communication on his part; and were then told, that the body, by the Emperor's command, had been taken up and thrown into the ditch of the fortress. The orders received were, to take up the body of Potemkin, and cast it into the first hole that might be found. These orders were implicitly obeyed. A hole was dug in the fosse, into which he was thrown with as little ceremony as a dead dog; but, as this procedure took place in the night, very few were informed of the fate of the body. An eye-witness assured me that the coffin no longer existed in the vault where it was originally placed; and the Verger was actually proceeding to point out the place where the body was abandoned, when the Bishop himself happening to arrive, took away my guide; and, with menaces which were but too likely to be fulfilled, prevented our being more fully informed concerning the obloquy which at present involves the remains of Potemkin. Let me now therefore direct the Reader's attention to a more interesting subject; to a narrative of the last days, the death, and burial of the benevolent Howard; who, with a character forcibly opposed to that of Potemkin, also terminated a glorious career at Cherson. Mysterious Providence, by events always remote from human foresight, had wonderfully destined, that these two men, celebrated in their lives by the most contrasted deeds, should be

be interred nearly upon the same spot. It is not within the reach of possibility to bring together, side by side, two individuals more remarkably characterised by every opposite qualification; as if the hand of Destiny had directed two persons, in whom were exemplified the extremes of Vice and Virtue, to one common spot, in order that the contrast might remain a lesson for mankind: Potemkin, bloated and pampered by every vice, after a path through life stained with blood and crimes, at last the victim of his own selfish excesses: Howard a voluntary exile, enduring the severest privations for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, and labouring, even to his latest breath, in the exercise of every social virtue.

"The particulars of Mr. Howard's death were communicated to me by his two friends, Admiral Mordvinof, then Chief Admiral of the Black Sea fleet, and Admiral Priestman, an English officer in the Russian service; both of whom were eye-witnesses of his last moments. He had been entreated to visit a lady about twenty-four miles from Cherson, who was dangerously ill. Mr. Howard objected, alleging that he acted only as physician to the poor; but, hearing of her imminent danger, he afterwards yielded to the persuasion of Admiral Mordvinof, and went to see her. After having prescribed that which he deemed proper to be administered, he returned; leaving directions with her family, to send for him again if she got better; but adding, that if, as he much feared, she should prove worse, it would be to no purpose. Some time after his return to Cherson, a letter arrived, stating that the lady was better, and begging that he would come without loss of time. When he examined the date, he perceived that the letter, by some unaccountable delay, had been eight days in getting to his hands. Upon this, he resolved to go with all possible expedition. The weather was extremely tempestuous and very cold, it being late in the year, and the rain fell in torrents. In his impatience to set out, a conveyance not being immediately ready, he mounted an old dray horse, used in Admiral Mordvinof's family to carry water, and thus proceeded to visit his patient. Upon his arrival, he found the lady dying; this, added to the fatigue of the journey, affected him so much, that it brought on a fever. His clothes, at the same time, had been wet through; but he attributed his fever entirely to another cause. Having administered something to his patient to excite perspiration; as soon as the symptoms of it appeared, he put his hand beneath the bed-clothes to feel her pulse, that she might not be chilled by removing them, and believed that her fever was thus communicated to him. After this painful journey, Mr. Howard returned to Cherson, and the lady died.

"It had been almost his daily custom, at a certain hour, to visit Admiral Priestman; when, with his usual attention to regularity, he would place his watch on the table, and pass exactly an hour with him in conversation. The Admiral, finding that he failed in his usual visits, went to see him, and found him weak and ill, sitting before a stove in his bed-room. Having inquired after his health, Mr. Howard replied, that his end was approaching very fast; that he had several things

things to say to his friend, and thanked him for having called. The Admiral, finding him in such a melancholy mood, endeavoured to turn the conversation, imagining the whole might be merely the result of low spirits; but Mr. Howard soon assured him it was otherwise; and added, "Priestman, you style "this a very dull conversation, and "endeavour to divert my mind "from dwelling upon death; but "I entertain very different senti-"ments. Death has no terrors "for me: it is an event I always "look to with cheerfulness, if not "with pleasure; and be assured, "the subject of it is to me more "grateful than any other. I am "well aware I have but a short "time to live; my mode of life "has rendered it impossible that "I should get rid of this fever. "If I had lived as you do, eating "heartily of animal food, and "drinking wine, I might, perhaps, "by diminishing my diet, be able "to subdue it. But how can such "a man as I am lower his diet, "who has been accustomed for "years to exist on vegetables and "water, a little bread and a little "tea? I have no method of lower-"ing my nourishment, and there-"fore I must die. It is such jolly "fellows as you, Priestman, who "get over these fevers." Then, turning the subject, he spoke of his funeral; and cheerfully gave directions concerning the manner in which he would be buried. "There is a spot," said he, "near "the village of Dauphigny, which "would suit me nicely: you know "it well, for I have often said I "should like to be buried there; "and let me beg of you, as you "value your old friend, not to "suffer any pomp to be used at "my funeral; nor any monument, "or monumental inscription what-"soever, to mark where I am laid; "but lay me quietly in the earth, "place a sun-dial over my grave, "and let me be forgotten." Having giving these directions, he was very earnest in soliciting that Admiral Priestman would lose no time in securing the object of his wishes; but go immediately and settle with the owner of the land for the place of his interment, and prepare every thing for his burial.

"The Admiral left him upon his melancholy errand, fearing at the same time, as he himself informed me, that the people would believe him crazy, to solicit a burying-ground for a man who was then living, and whom no person yet knew to be indisposed. However, he accomplished Mr. Howard's wishes, and returned to him with the intelligence: at this his countenance brightened, a gleam of evident satisfaction came over his face, and he prepared to go to bed. Soon after he made his will; leaving as his executor a trusty follower, who had lived with him more in the capacity of a friend than of a servant, and whom he charged with the commission of bearing his will to England. It was not until after he had finished his will, that any symptoms of delirium appeared. Admiral Priestman, who had left him for a short time, returned and found him sitting up in his bed, adding what he believed to be a codicil to his will; but this consisted of several unconnected words, the chief part of which were illegible, and all without any meaning. This strange composition he desired Admiral Priestman to witness and sign; and, in order to please him, the Admiral consented; but wrote his name, as he bluntly said, in Russian characters, lest any of his friends

friends in England, reading his signature to such a codicil, should think he was also delirious. After Mr. Howard had made what he conceived to be an addition to his will, he became more composed. A letter was brought to him from England, containing intelligence of the improved state of his son's health; stating the manner in which he passed his time in the country, and giving great reason to hope that he would recover from the disorder with which he was afflicted. His servant read this letter aloud; and, when he had concluded, Mr. Howard turned his head towards him, saying, "Is not "this comfort for a dying father?" He expressed great repugnance against being buried according to the rites of the Greek Church; and begging Admiral Priestman to prevent any interference with his interment on the part of the Russian Priests, made him also promise, that he would read the Service of the Church of England over his grave, and bury him in all respects according to the forms of his country. Soon after this last request, he ceased to speak. Admiral Mordvinof came in, and found him dying very fast. They had in vain besought him to allow a physician to be sent for; but Admiral Mordvinof renewing this solicitation with great earnestness, Mr. Howard assented by nodding his head. The physician came, but was too late to be of any service. A rattling in the throat had commenced; and the physician administered what is called the Musk draught, a medicine used only in Russia, in the last extremity. It was given to the patient by Admiral Mordvinof, who prevailed on him to swallow a little; but he endeavoured to avoid the rest, and gave evident signs of disapprobation. He was then entirely given over; and shortly after breathed his last.

"He had always refused to allow any portrait of himself to be made; but after his death Admiral Mordvinof caused a plaister mould to be formed upon his face, which was sent to Mr. Wilberforce. A cast from this mould was in the Admiral's possession when we were in Cherson, and presented a very striking resemblance of his features.

"He was buried near the village of Dauphigny, about five versts from Cherson, on the road to Nicholaef, in the spot he had himself chosen; and his friend, Admiral Priestman, read the English Burial Service, according to his desire. The rest of his wishes were not exactly fulfilled; for the concourse of spectators was immense, and the order of his funeral was more magnificent than would have met with his approbation. It was as follows:

1.
THE BODY,
on a Bier, drawn by Six Horses with Trappings.

2.
The PRINCE of MOLDAVIA,
in a sumptuous Carriage, drawn by Six Horses, covered with Scarlet Cloth.

3.
Admirals MORDVINOF and PRIESTMAN,
in a Carriage drawn by Six Horses.

4.
The GENERALS and STAFF-OFFICERS of the Garrison, in their respective Carriages.

5.
The MAGISTRATES and MERCHANTS of Cherson, in their respective Carriages.

6.
A large Party of CAVALRY.

7.
Other Persons on Horseback.

8.
An immense Concourse of Spectators and People on Foot, amounting to Two or Three Thousand.

A Monument was afterwards erected over him, which, instead of the sun-dial he had requested, consisted

sisted of a brick pyramid, or obelisk, surrounded by stone posts with chains. This of course will not long survive the general destruction of whatsoever is interesting in the country. The posts and chains began to disappear before our arrival; and, when Mr. Heber made the sketch from which the Vignette to this Chapter was engraved, not a vestige of them was to be seen; there remained only the obelisk, in the midst of a bleak and desolate plain, before which a couple of dogs were gnawing the bones of a dead horse, whose putrifying carcase added to the disgust and horror of the scene. A circumstance came to our knowledge before we left Russia, concerning Howard's remains, which it is painful to relate; namely, that Count Vincent Potocki, a Polish Nobleman of the highest taste and talents, whose magnificent library and museum would do honour to any country, through a mistaken design of testifying his respect for the memory of Howard, had signified his intention of taking up the body, that it might be conveyed to his country seat, where a sumptuous monument has been prepared for its reception, upon a small island in the midst of a lake. His Countess, being a romantic lady, wishes to have an annual *fete*, consecrated to Benevolence; at which the nymphs of the country are to attend, and strew the place with flowers. This design is so contrary to the earnest request of Mr. Howard, and at the same time so derogatory to the dignity due to his remains, that every friend to his memory will join in wishing it may never be fulfilled. Count Potocki was absent during the time we remained in that part of the world, or we should have ventured to remonstrate; we could only therefore entrust our petitions to a third person, who promised to convey them to him after our departure.

"The distance from Cherson to Nicholaef is only sixty two versts, or rather more than forty one miles. At the distance of five versts from the former place, the road passes close to the tomb of Howard. It may be supposed we did not halt with indifference to view the hallowed spot. "To abstract the "mind from all local emotion "would be impossible if it were "endeavoured, and it would be "foolish if it were possible. What-"ever withdraws us from the power "of our senses; whatever makes "the past, the distant, or the fu-"ture predominate over the pre-"sent, advances us in the dignity "of thinking beings. Far be from "me, and from my friends, that "frigid philosophy which might "conduct us indifferent or un-"moved over any ground that has "been dignified by wisdom, bra-"very, or virtue." So spake the Sage, in words never to be forgotten: unenvied be the man who has not felt their force; lamented he who does not know their Author!

"The town of Nicholaef, covering a great extent of territory, with numerous buildings, intersected by wide streets, makes a splendid and very considerable appearance. The whole of it is of recent date. The river Bog, by which it stands flows quite round the place in a broad and ample channel. Ships of the line cannot come close to the buildings on account of a sand-bank; but brigs and other small vessels are carried over by the floating machines called Camels, in use at Petersburg and many other parts of

Russia. The arsenals, store-houses, and other works are so extensive, that it is evident great efforts have been made to render this place an emporium of high importance for the Russian navy. The Admiral-in-Chief of the Black Sea, as well as the Vice-Admirals, reside here; and an office is established for regulating all marine affairs belonging to the three ports, Cherson, Odessa, and Nicholaef. The public buildings and palaces of the Admirals are very stately; and, considering the short time that has elapsed since Nicholaef was a miserable village, the progress made in the place is surprizing. There is no town to compare with it in all the south of Russia, nor any in the Empire, excepting Moscow and Petersburg. Its elevated situation; the magnificence of its river; the regularity that has been observed in laying out the streets, and their extraordinary breadth: the magnificence and number of the public works, with the flourishing state of its population; place it very high in the small catalogue of Russian towns. English officers, and English engineers, with other foreigners in the Russian service, residing here, have introduced habits of urbanity and cleanliness; and have served to correct, by the force of example, the barbarity of the native inhabitants."

Topography of the Feroe Islands.

[From the Translation of the Rev. G. Landt's Description of them.]

"THE Feroe Islands which are inhabited are in number seventeen, and form six parishes. Their names are,

1. Fugloe,*
2. Svinoe,
3. Videroe,
4. Bordoe,
5. Konoe,
6. Kalsoe,
7. Osteroe,
8. Stromoe,
9. Kolter,
10. Hestoe,
11. Nolsoe,
12. Vaagoe,
13. Myggenæs,
14. Sandoe,
15. Skuoe,
16. The greater Dimon.
17. Suderoe.

"1. Fuglor is the remotest island towards the north-east; it is more than two miles and a quarter† in length, and nearly the same in breadth.

"It is somewhat flat on the summit, but the coast is almost every where steep, and the rocks abound with sea fowl. It contains two villages; and has some spots of ground which produce corn.

"Aa Kirkiu is at the south end of the island, where the church also is situated. This is the usual landing-place for boats; and it is wonderful to see from what height, and by what winding ways, the inhabitants are obliged to drag down their boats when they intend to go to sea, and afterwards to draw them up, when they return.

"The other village, called Hattervig, lies on the same side of the island; but it consists of two divisions, *Uppi uy husi*, and *Nirri uy*

* The termination *oe* signifies an island; so that *Fugloe* may be translated Bird Island; *svinoe*, Swine Island, &c.

† The miles are given according to the English standard.

husi.

husi. It stands in a dale, on a small inlet of the same name.

" To the east of this island is a high rock called *Bispen,* where abundance of sea fowl are caught.

" 2. SVINOE, lying to the south-west of Fugloe, and separated from it by a channel about a mile and a quarter broad, is about four miles and a half in length, and three miles in breadth. It consists properly of two hills, and is almost intersected by two creeks proceeding east and west; the land between them being scarcely a mile in extent. Such indentations into the land are exceedingly convenient to the inhabitants, for they can have boats on both sides; and when prevented by the violence of the breakers on one side from putting to sea, in order to fish, they can launch their boats on the other side.

" The village of Svinoe, where the church stands, is situated between the before-mentioned hills. Some land is cultivated in the neighbourhood; and the quantity might be increased, were the sea-weed, which is cast on shore here in great abundance, employed as manure.

" 3. VIDEROE lies to the north-north-west of Svinoe, and is separated from it by a channel about half a mile in breadth. It extends north and south, and is nine miles long, and in the widest part about three miles broad. On the eastern side of this island is a cavity or perforation, through which a boat can be rowed from the one end to the other. It is arched at the top, and may be about three hundred feet in length. When I examined this natural tunnel, which I passed through in a boat, a friend who accompanied me had the courage to discharge his fowling piece in it; no bad consequence, indeed, ensued, but the noise of the report was tremendous.

" The coast is exceedingly steep and bold, especially towards the north and west, where there are excellent rocks for catching sea fowl. There are here also a great number of high hills, the highest of which is *Mealingsfiald.* This island contains two villages.

" Videroe lies on the west side, where the third church and the parsonage-house are situated. Landing here is difficult. Above the landing-place is a fissure which contains abundance of very fine clay; but it is so hard that it is not susceptible of being formed by the lathe, and therefore unfit for making earthen ware: in my opinion, however, it might be used with advantage for polishing.

" About four miles and a half south from the above village, and on the same side of the island, stands the other, called Quannasund, lying on a sound of the same name.

" 4. BORDOE, which has the narrow channel Quannasund between it and Videroe, is little more than twelve miles long, and, where widest, nearly nine miles broad.

" On the south side it is intersected by two large creeks or inlets; Bordoeviig to the west, and Arnefyord to the east. By means of these inlets, the island towards the south forms three branches or headlands, which are seen from the sea, and give it the appearance of three islands. If we except these inlets, the coast all round the island is bold and steep; and, as is the case in the northern islands in general, the tops of the hills are exceedingly sharp and bare. This is particularly observable on the west side of the island, at Haralsund. The highest hills here are Klak, Haddin, Halgafield, Haafield, and Muli. On the east side there is a range of eleven different hills, interspersed with openings and dales. This island contains seven villages or farms.

" The farm of Gierum, which formerly stood at a more elevated situation among the hills, was about forty or fifty years ago overwhelmed by a fall of snow; and, by this misfortune, eighteen persons were killed. Twenty years before, a similar accident is said to have taken place on the same day, namely March the 12th, when five persons were destroyed: and there is a tradition that it experienced a like fate on the very same day, about a hundred and twenty years before, at which time the whole of the inhabitants perished. The village was afterwards removed a considerable way farther, towards the bottom of the hill, where it is now secure from any catastrophe of the same kind.

" 5. KUNOE, or Konoe, separated from the preceding by Haralsund, is a long narrow island, extending north and south, about eight miles in length, and two miles in breadth.

" It consists merely of one steep hill, forming a bold shore every where around; but it is steepest on the north side, and towards the southern end assumes a pyramidal form. This island contains three villages: Haralsund on the narrow sound of the same name; and Skaroe, where there is a bad landing-place, lie on the east side. The other village called Kunoe, where the church stands, lies on the west side.

" 6. KALSOE is also a long narrow island, separated from Kunoe by a channel little more than a mile wide. It extends north and south, or rather south-south-east and north-north-west; and is nine miles long, but little more than a mile in breadth. Landing here is exceedingly difficult, except at a place called Husum. It contains four villages.

" 7. OSTEROE lies to the west of Kalsoe and Bordoe, and is separated from the former by a small channel about a mile in width. Its length from south to north, or south-south-east and north-north-west, is about twenty miles; but its breadth varies according to the nature of the headlands which project from it; where broadest it is about ten miles.

" This island, on the east side, is intersected by five inlets or arms of the sea; namely, Fundingsfiord, Andefiord, Fuglefiord, Gyoteviig, and Lambaviig. It has also one on the west side called Skaalefiord.

" The most remarkable hills in this island, which are among the highest in Feroe, are Halgatyaldstindur, Rodefyaldstindur, Sieltaratindur, and Sandsfield. Near Andefiord there is a neat pyramidal hill called Onfarafield.

" There are here two small fresh water lakes or ponds; one at Tofte, called Toftevatn, contains two small islands, where the eider ducks are fond of building their nests; the other two are at Eyde. On the north side the shore is steep, but on the east and south this is the case only at the headlands. This island has seven churches, and contains twenty villages or farms.

" To the north of the village of Zellatræ there is a basaltic hill, which extends more than a mile northwards: properly speaking, it forms the bottom of two hills, which lie behind it, namely, Halgafieldstinden and Rodefieldstinden, which are of considerable height, and about two miles distant from each other. The basaltic hill itself is about four hundred and twenty feet high, and consists of strata of pentagonal and octagonal basaltic columns, placed close to each other in a perpendicular direction, and in such a manner, that the tops only of the farther columns are seen, while those in front exhibit their whole form, but appear

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to be different in length. These columns, which rest on a foundation of trap, about three hundred feet in height, are the largest of the kind in the Feroe islands; for where the rock has been freed from mould, these colossal pillars may be seen with their lower ends standing on another species of stone, and rising to the height of above a hundred feet, all equal in size, being about six feet in diameter. Many of these huge columns, which have fallen down, are now lying at the bottom of the hill; one in particular, sixty feet in length, has been thrown across a deep gulley, with its ends resting on each side, so as to form a bridge over it.

"The village of Eyde in this island is one of the neatest in Feroe; the houses for the most part are roomy and well built; some of them are constructed of neat square stones, and the lanes are paved with flags, which gives the village a handsomer and cleaner appearance. In the wall which surrounds the church there are several stones so large, that, unless they have been placed there by nature, one is astonished to think how they could be conveyed thither by the hands of men. The inhabitants are very industrious, and employ themselves much in fishing.

"At the north-north-west extremity of this island there are two high rocks, projecting from the land, which are called *Risin* and *Kiedlingen*, that is, the giant and his wife; they are each about two hundred and forty feet in height. Through the bottom of the latter the sea has worn a hole or aperture, which gives this natural statue two legs. Both these rocks, indeed, at a certain distance, and particularly on the sea side, have a great resemblance to colossal statues formed by the hands of men.

"Near Andfiord, which lies on the east side of the island, on a small bay of the same name, is a remarkable stone or rock, called *Rinkesteen*. This stone, which is situated in the water a few feet from the land, is twenty-four feet in length, eighteen in breadth, and rises above the water, according as it is ebb or flood, from six to twelve feet. It may be called a perpetual motion; for even when the sea is perfectly calm, if touched only with the point of a fishing-rod, its motion may be distinctly perceived; and, when the breakers are strong, it vibrates backwards and forwards several inches, emitting at the same time a creaking noise, which is considered as a sign of bad weather. Near it is another stone of a very large size, which vibrates also, but its motion is not so perceptible. It is not improbable that these stones may have rested on a bed of clay, and the clay being washed away by the tide, they have remained suspended on the summits of two pointed rocks.

"8. STROMOE, the largest of the Feroe islands, lies to the west of Osteroe, extending south-east and north-west. It is twenty-seven miles in length, and about seven in breadth.

"Kollefiord, the first village towards the south on the east side, is the best place for corn in the island. Near it a rivulet precipitates itself from a steep eminence, and then divides into several small branches, which pursue a winding course, amidst large stones that have tumbled down from the hills; while some of them again unite, forming in many places small islands, and in others cascades; so that this spot presents an excellent situation for a water-mill; and, on account of its romantic beauties, would form an agreeable residence to any person

who might be inclined to erect a house on it.

" In this neighbourhood also is a church, which is one of the smallest and worst in the island. The clergyman's income is also very small, partly on account of the frequent reparations which are necessary, and which are often of little utility, as the church is built in a very bad situation, for it stands as it were in a morass, and at the same time so near the sea, that when the weather is tempestuous, the path which leads to it, and which is paved with small stones, is entirely washed away by the violence of the waves, so that the inhabitants cannot go to hear divine service, but by a long and circuitous way; nay, the billows every year sweep away the stones that support the walls, and moisten the timber work in such a manner, that it soon decays. When I left Feroe, this church was ready to tumble down.

" The village of Qualviig lies in a dale on a small inlet of the same name, which extends north-west to the distance of five or six miles. Formerly large shoals of whales were driven on shore here; and on this account the inlet may have acquired its name.* There is here a good new church, but it has one defect, which is, that the stone walls which surround it are too close to the timber work; it is also at too great a distance from the village, and stands in so wet a situation, that if one digs near it to the depth of only two feet, water immediately rushes in; and after a heavy fall of rain, it is almost surrounded with water, so that people must wade through it, when they go to church.

" Near the village of Stromnæs, which lies to the north of Qualviig, the Sound between Stromoe and Osteroe, commonly called the Sound, though in general, from about half a mile to a mile and a quarter in breadth, becomes so narrow, that its width scarcely exceeds half a cable-length. In this narrow sound there are so many sunken rocks, that great skill and caution are necessary to pass through it even with a large boat; and though no current is observed, either at the south or the north end of this channel, the sea flows with such rapidity for about the length of a cable, in the narrowest part, that no little exertion is necessary in the management of the helm, to prevent the boat from being overset; but in going against the current, eight or ten men are necessary to row the boat; and sometimes they are even obliged to get out, and to drag the boat after them; or when it is loaded, to take out the load, and draw the boat over land, till they get past this rapid stream.

" A little farther north from Qualviig, near the sea-coast, is a small eminence, almost always covered with verdure, called Olvahoi, which is said to have been the abode of hobgoblins, or subterranean spirits, at a period when a belief in such beings was much more prevalent than at present.

" A mile north from Qualviig is that beautiful double water-fall, called Fosaa.

" Tyorneviig,† the most northern village in Stromoe, is surrounded on

* *Qual*, in the Feroese language, signifies a whale.

† The way hither by land, and especially towards the north, is exceedingly dangerous, as it passes along the edge of a high rock that overhangs the sea; sometimes it is so slippery, that it is difficult to prevent the feet from gliding, and to fall would be attended with certain destruction.

all

all sides by high steep hills, except towards the sea, where there is a small open bay. When the wind blows in-shore, the waves here are exceedingly boisterous, and on this account landing is dangerous. To secure boats from the violence of the billows, it is necessary to draw them up a high perpendicular bank, which requires great labour and trouble.

"It is very remarkable, that every bull, whether bred here, or brought hither from any other place, becomes exceedingly ferocious and dangerous. The cause of this singularity, perhaps, may be explained by the situation of the place; for being inclosed by two high hills, which stand opposite to each other, and which produce a very loud echo, when a bull or a cow bellows, these animals may consider the reverberated sound as a challenge, or defiance, from some of their own species, and thence become irritated and furious.

"To the north of Tyorneviig is the most northerly extremity of Stromoe, which projects into the sea. A few feet above the surface of the water it is perforated by a hole, which, as far as I could judge without measurement, may be above two hundred feet in length; and which proceeds in a direction from south-east no north-west. Being in a boat at the south-east aperture of this hole, about ten o'clock one summer's evening, I saw through it the sun sink into the ocean, which afforded me a very curious and singular spectacle.

"Close to the extreme point, a little from the land, stands a high rock, called Stakken; the southern side of which resembles the opposite rock, whence it appears to have been torn by some convulsion; but on the northern side it seems to be an assemblage of immense trunks of trees joined together, with their semicircular sides turned outwards, and their branches interwoven in a singular and fantastic manner.

"About a mile to the west of this rock is a promontory looking towards the north, called Mylingen, which consists of perpendicular rocks, said by the people who reside in the neighbourhood to be two thousand four hundred feet in height; and if this be really the case, Mylingen is the highest rock in the Feroe Islands.

"The village of Saxen lies on the north-west side of Stromoe, on a small bay of the same name The neighbourhood affords good pasture for sheep, and the rocks abound with sea-fowl. This village belongs to the parish of Tyorneviig, the road to which is very long and difficult. The direct distance between these two places is little more than three miles; but the height of the hills, which it is necessary to pass over, and the crookedness of the road, which winds round the summits of these hills, render the distance double; nay, the road in some places is so narrow (and the case is the same in many other parts of the Feroe Islands), that two people can scarcely walk alongside each other. It may be, therefore, readily conceived how tiresome it must be to carry a corpse along this road to the place of interment. Very often the body must be made fast to a board, and conveyed in that manner upon men's shoulders. At Saxen formerly there was an excellent harbour, inclosed by high hills; the entrance of it is narrow, being not wider than from seventy to a hundred feet, with a hill on each side; but the entrance, as well as the harbour itself, is now so choked up with sand, that at low water one can cross it with dry

dry feet, and only those acquainted with the ground can enter it, or come out from it, even with a boat. On one side of it, however, there is a narrow part said to be fifteen fathoms in depth.

"Two miles south of Saxen lies the village of Westmanhavn, on the west side of the island, where there is a good winter harbour of the same name.

"There is good pasture here, and the sheep are said to be the largest and best in the island; but, during severe winters, many of them are lost in the snow. Sea-fowl are found here also in great abundance: the rocks principally frequented by them are situated towards the north, and exhibit in summer, at which time they swarm with them, a very singular appearance. The following short description will serve to convey a faint idea of it. Before the rock which forms the sea-coast stands a long rock, resembling a wall, which rises to the height of twelve hundred feet, so that it is almost equal in height to the coast itself. The bottom of this rocky wall, which throws out many projections, is almost entirely covered with fowl which, as they are seldom scared by the presence of men, and still seldomer hear the report of a gun, are exceedingly tame. All the shelves and cavities of this rock are also filled with them. It has an opening in it like a lofty gateway, through which you can proceed in a boat towards the coast, and when within it, you then perceive that this wall stands at a distance from the coast, so that a long channel is left between them; and this channel is so wide, as to admit a large boat to turn in it. As the long rock consists of several strata, and as the thinnest of these in general is hardened clay, which is softer than the other strata, these layers of clay are in many places washed out and destroyed by the force of the waves, and leave cavities which serve the fowl as places of resort, where they build their nests and rear their young. On the upper edge of the harder strata, the fowls, with their white breasts projecting, arrange themselves in rows one above the other, as regularly as if they were porcelain figures disposed on shelves; and if they have not been before frightened by firing at them, you may shoot several of them before they are aware of their danger, and without the rest being in the least disturbed. Those even which were placed close to the fowls that have been killed remain quiet in their places, and those which concealed themselves farther back in the cavity readily come forwards to occupy the places of those that have been shot; so that the row is again soon completed. To describe this spectacle properly is impossible; no pen can do justice to it: to form a proper conception of it, one must have actually seen it.

"The village of Skælling lies at the bottom of Skællingsfield, which is the highest hill in the Feroe islands. Between this village and the farm of Leinum, but somewhat to the south of the former, there are several fissures, which beginning at the sea-coast, proceed to a considerable height in the hills. Two of them, which I have often examined, as well as several more, are lined on each side with perpendicular walls, composed of small basaltic columns, lying in a horizontal position.

"On the south side of Skællingsfield, the basaltes assumes the columnar appearance; but at a considerable elevation in the hill: at a short distance these columns disappear, but they soon show themselves again; and the farther south one goes,

goes, the horizontal stratum of the basaltes is the more perceptible, for the extent of about two miles. But about three miles south of Skælling, the appearance of these basaltic pillars is more striking, as they stand here at a great height in the hill, close to each other, in several tiers, exhibiting themselves in greater or less projections; and where the pillars are of unlike size, sometimes in flat rows, sometimes in semicircular rows with the cavity turned inwards, and sometimes in semicircular rows with the cavity turned outwards. A little farther on, or to the north of Dalsnypen, is a small inlet under a steep rock, and in this rock are seen several strata almost perpendicular, of different kinds of rock stone; but in the middle of the inlet there is a columnar rock entirely detached from the land. Still nearer Dalsnypen is a rock called Steyren, which consists of a grey hard kind of stone. The columnar rock has in it several fissures, in which basaltes is seen lying in various directions.

"A branch of basaltic pillars, which in some places stand upright, proceeds from Dalsnypen towards the south; and where they pass over a gulley, their upward ends incline a little downwards, after which they again become perpendicular, till they approach the hill Nygvan. On this hill the basaltic columns proceed upwards in an oblique position to the very summit, which they cover like a cap. Nygvan itself is about fifteen hundred feet in height, and consists of many strata, perfectly horizontal, of various kinds of rock.*

"At Kirkeboe there is a very neat church built of stone; it is the only one of the kind in these islands, and contains several wooden images, the remains of popish superstition, which are now almost mouldered into dust.

"This was formerly the residence of the bishops of Feroe; and some ruins of a stone edifice still point out the place where his habitation was situated. But the most remarkable monument of antiquity is the shell of an edifice still standing, which was destined for a church. It consists of four walls, twenty-eight feet in height; the side walls are seventy-two feet in length, and the end walls twenty-two. The thickness of the walls is thirty-five inches. On the east side is a building joined to the side walls, which is called the Cloister; but whether it was destined for that purpose, I will not pretend to say. It is about twenty feet long in the inside, and twelve and a half broad. Four stones are built into the side walls of the church, on one of which is carved out a face; on the others there are faces also, but they seem never to have been finished. On the outside of the south wall there is a stone, on which is cut out a representation of Christ on the cross between the two thieves. The walls are built of large cut stones, cemented with lime; and the arches of the windows are constructed of thin stones, or slate. The lime has probably been made in the island of calcined muscle shells. This church, or rather these walls, are said to have been built by a bishop Hilarius, in the beginning of the twelfth century, some say in the year 1111; but as the bishop died the same year, the work remained unfinished. But, however this may be, it is certain that these walls have stood several centuries without any roof, exposed to the influence of the atmosphere and weather, and yet have sustained no injury, except

* See Horn's *Brevveksling i Naturk. Selsk. Skrifter*, Vol. IV. No. I. p. 31.

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what they may have suffered from the hand of man.

"At a short distance from Kirkeboe is Kirkeboenæs, which is dangerous to those who pass from the north-western villages to Thorshavn, as the sea here is often very tempestuous. On the eastern side of this tongue of land lies Arge, a hospital founded more than two centuries ago for the reception of persons afflicted with leprosy, a disease prevalent formerly in these islands.

"Thorshavn, the capital of Stromoe, is situated on a small tongue of land, on the south-east side of the island. It is the seat of government, as well as the staple of trade, and the residence of the principal civil officers, such as the commandant, chief justice, surgeon, &c. There is here a Latin school, and a neat wooden church covered with slate. The town is defended from privateers by a fort, constructed on a projecting point on the east side of the bay, which was strengthened and repaired in the time of the American war. The town contains about a hundred houses, all built of wood; but some of the streets are so narrow that, in consequence of the situation of the ground, or of upright masses of rock, which rise in them to a considerable height, no more than one person can pass through them at a time. There are here two smiths, two carpenters, one joiner, and three or four coopers. The whole inhabitants, including a garrison of thirty-six men, form about a hundred families, one-half of whom are fishermen, servants, and paupers. Frederiksvaag, on the west side of Thorshavn, was formerly a staple for Danish East and West Indian goods; and a considerable trade was carried on here with Scotland, particularly during the time of the American war, which was very profitable to the individuals engaged in it; but at present this pretty little town is entirely deserted.

"Nolsoe, or Naalsoe, lies to the east of Stromoe, and is separated from it by a channel about a mile and a half in width. This island, which extends north and south, is about five miles and a half in length, and about a mile in breadth. Towards the middle of the island stands a pretty high hill, and through the southern end of the hill is a perforation, which, when the island is viewed at some distance, gives it the appearpearance of an inverted needle with its eye; and it is not improbable that, from this circumstance, the island takes its name.* At the same end of the island is a rock, which, when one sails by it, bears a striking resemblance to a Dutch ship with its masts standing. On the western side, a little above the level of the sea, is a deep cavity in the rock, capable of containing several hundreds of people; and as the rock projects over the mouth of it, they would be completely concealed from the view of those sailing past it. From this cavity an aperture proceeds almost through the whole island; it is entirely dark, and in some places can be passed with difficulty; but people have penetrated so far into it, that they could hear distinctly the roaring of the waves at the other side of the island. In a hill on the east side is found a little native copper, which contains a small quantity of gold. The whole hill, to a certain extent, abounds with cupreous particles, and some tons of the ore was brought to Kongsberg to be examined; but it was found that it was not sufficiently rich to defray

* *Naalsoe* signifies Needle Island.

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the expence of working it. The inhabitants of this island are distinguished by their industry, the care which they take of their sheep, and the neat manner in which they prepare their turf for fuel.

" 10. Hestoe is a small island to the west of Stromoe, and separated from it by a narrow channel a mile and a half in width. It extends south-east and north-west, and is little more than three miles in length; in breadth it is less than a mile.

" 11. Kolter lies north-west from Hestoe, and west from Stromroe, at the distance of nearly a mile from the former, and a mile and a half from the latter. It extends south-east and north-west, in length about two miles, and in breadth little more than half a mile. In the northern part of the island is a green hard kind of clay, from which the inhabitants form with their hands alone, a clumsy sort of small pots, without glazing, which they burn in the fire, and use for holding their milk.

" 12. Vaagoe lies to the west of Stromoe, and is separated from it by a channel half a mile in width; it is nearly thirteen miles long, and about five broad.

" This island is intersected by two long inlets, Midvaag in the south-east part, and Sorvaag in the west. Its principal headland is Stakken, towards the south-east, where there is a high rock, and a hill with a sharp summit, called Troldkonefingeren, which in shape has a great resemblance to the claw of a lobster; its height is about twelve hundred feet. The other headlands are Præst-Tangen towards the south-south-east, Baren towards the north-north-west, and Slettenæes towards the north. Stakken is merely a rock detached from the land, but stands in a kind of cavity formed in the hill, so that one can row between this insulated rock and the cliff which forms the bottom of the hill. There are here also several large columnar rocks, through which one might pass in a boat, were there a sufficient depth of water. These pillars stand with their lower ends at some distance from the bottom of the hill, and their summits touching it, as if placed there to prevent the cliff from tumbling down into the sea. From Præst-Tangen to the small bay of Sorvaag, the shores of the island consist of steep rocks; and on this side there is another detached rock of considerable height, which stands in an aperture or cavity of the rock that forms the coast. One can row between it and the coast in a boat; and when you have once got into the intermediate space, you find yourself, as it were, inclosed in a deep pit, formed by perpendicular cliffs, rising to the height of from six hundred to nine hundred feet, and which has no light but what enters by a round aperture at the summit.

" In this island there are two large pieces of fresh water: one of them, Sorvaagsvâtn, between Midvaag and Sorvaag, is the largest lake or pond in Feroe; it is above three miles in length, about half a mile in breadth, and from sixteen to twenty-three fathoms in depth. It abounds with trout. At the southern end of it is a rivulet, which precipitates itself into the sea from the height of eighty or ninety feet, and forms a beautiful waterfall called Busdalefos. The other small lake lies on the north side of the island; it is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad. The trouts here are said to be so large, that they often break the fishing-lines.

" 13. Myggenæs, on the west side of Vaagoe, and separated from it by a channel about three miles wide,

wide, extends east and west nearly a mile in length; its breadth is inconsiderable. The coast is every where exceedingly steep, especially on the south side, where it consists of perpendicular rocks, twelve hundred and fifteen hundred fathoms in height, where the different strata of which the island is composed from top to bottom are seen. Landing here is exceedingly difficult, especially when the sea is in the least tempestuous.

"The village, where there is a small church, lies on the south side, towards the west end of the island. The church, in consequence of its distance from the rest of the parish, is visited by the clergyman only twice a year.

"On the south side of the island, almost close to the land, stands a detached rock, which is sixty feet in height, and has the appearance of sand-stone. The most remarkable circumstance in regard to this rock is, that it is surrounded by a spiral band of small basaltes, which winds almost twice round it. This rock is said some years ago to have stood higher up on the coast; and it is not improbable that its foundation being undermined may have occasioned its sinking down.

"About a gun-shot from the land, to the west of this rock, there are two cannons lying in the sea, at the depth of five fathoms, which, it is said, belonged to a Dutch East Indiaman, lost above a century ago near Qnivig, in the island of Stromoe, the wreck of which was driven hither by the wind and the currents.

"To the west of Myggenæs, at the distance of twenty fathoms, is a small island, which evidently appears to have been torn from the former by some violent convulsion of nature. It is almost a mile in length, sixteen hundred feet in breadth, and consists of small basaltic columns placed close to each other, which are best seen at the south corner. On the west or north-west side it is about ninety feet high, and is nearly surrounded by rocks, which project over the surface of the sea. This is the only place in the Feroe islands frequented by that large sea-fowl the gannet, or soland goose, *pelecanus bassanus*. On the north-west the island proceeds with an even declivity towards the south, so that it has a resemblance here to the roof of a house. As a proof of the luxuriance of the grass on this small basaltic island, it will be sufficient to mention, that it can maintain both winter and summer twenty oxen and forty sheep; and that the oxen fed here are the fattest, and give the best beef in all the islands. It has, indeed, been remarked in the Feroe islands, that the flesh of those sheep which feed on basaltic grass is fatter and better tasted than that of other places.

"14. SANDOE lies to the south of Stromoe and Hestoe, from both of which it is separated by a channel about three miles wide. It extends south-east and north-west, and is about thirteen miles long, and a mile and a half broad.

"The largest inlets here are Sands-Bugt in the west, and Ruseviig's-Bugt in the east. The principal headlands are Troldhoved in the north, Salthoved in the west, Dalsnypen in the south, and Skaalhoved in the east.

"The largest lake is Sandsvatn, near Sands-Bugt, which is about a mile long, half a mile broad, and two fathoms in depth. It abounds with trout, which the inhabitants, however, do not think it worth their trouble to catch.

"To the west of this piece of water

water there are two others, the larger of which is half a mile long, but not above six hundred feet in breadth. It contains trout also.

"In this island there are five villages. Near that of Sands, on the south-west side, the land is exceedingly fertile, and produces excellent potatoes. Not far from this place there is a tongue of land, where there is a deep hole, through which water spouts up with great violence, when the sea is tempestuous. In the northern part of the island, at a place called Skaapen, there is a small inlet, where a boat is kept for conveying passengers over to Kirkeboe, in Stromoe. Here also there is a hole, about ninety or a hundred feet higher than the level of the sea, through which water is thrown up during stormy weather.

"The headland called Troldhoved is properly a small island, detached from the land; so that one can row in a boat between them. It is steep on the north and west side, and can supply pasture for forty or fifty sheep.

"15. SKUOE, to the south-west of Sandoe, is separated from it by a channel about two miles in width. It extends south-east and north-west, and is about three miles long, and a mile broad. It contains the grave of the celebrated hero of the Feroe Islands, Sigismund Bristesen; and some remains of his tomb are still to be seen. If I remember right, they lie on the south-east coast of the island. This tomb, which I surveyed from a boat, consists, according to every appearance, of a very hard kind of stone; but it is full of holes, and much defaced by the hand of time. It is covered with figures in bas relief, which have a great resemblance to the bones, the vertebræ, and skull of an elephant.

"16. The GREATER DIMON lies about two miles south south-east from Skuoe, and three miles south-south-west from Sandoe. Its length from south-east to north-west is scarcely two miles and a half, and its breadth about half a mile. The coast is almost every where high and steep, and is accessible only in two places, where no more than one person can ascend at a time; so that no island can be better fortified by nature. It is, indeed, impregnable; for it is impossible to starve the inhabitants, as it abounds with good fish and sea-fowls, and no ship could remain near it on account of the force of the currents. The rocks here are well stocked with fowls; and it is a curious spectacle, particularly for strangers, to see the incredible number of the winged tribe, which in the summer time swarm between Great Dimon and Skuoe. It exceeds every thing that can be imagined. At certain periods they almost darken the air, and they stun the ears so much with their piercing cries, that two people in the same boat cannot hear each other. Its whole population consists of one family; and in summer, the only time the clergyman can visit the church, it is necessary to hoist him up into the island by means of a rope. On the summit, however, the island is pretty level; but, on account of the steepness of the coast, no boats can be kept here; so that the inhabitants live entirely secluded from other people, and can never quit their prison, except when some of the inhabitants of the other islands come to them with a boat.

"17. SUDEROE, the last and southernmost of all the Feroe Islands, lies south-west from the Greater and Less Dimon, at the distance of four miles and a half from the former, and about four miles from the latter. It extends from the south-east to the north-west seventeen miles in length;

length; and, where widest, is about five miles and a half broad. It contains ten villages and six churches. In some parts of it traces of coal have been found.

"The village of Frodeboe, where there is a church, lies on the east side of the island, at the mouth of an inlet called Trangyisvaagsfiord. To those fond of surveying the works of nature, the neighbourhood of this village is highly interesting. It consists almost entirely of basaltes; and there are some fields where, in walking, one treads on the summits of basaltic columns, all standing in an upright position; but to what depth they reach, cannot be determined, except close to the shore below the houses, where they stand in a perpendicular direction, with their upper ends all level, and stretch out into the sea, where they at length disappear. To the east of the houses these columns are seen in an oblique position. Here one can descend several fathoms from a steep bank to a place called Kulegyov; but at each step it is necessary to place the feet on the extremities of basaltic columns lying in a horizontal direction, which stick out in an irregular manner from the bank. At the bottom a very singular phenomenon presents itself to the eye of the spectator. It consists of an arch somewhat projecting, and from twenty-four to thirty feet in height; in which is suspended a large basaltic column, having the lower part broken off, so that one would suppose that a pedestal must have once stood below it, to enable it to support the dome. Long crooked basaltic columns bent into the form of an S, and about two feet in thickness, descend along the sides of the dome, which all closely unite and bend behind each other from the top to the bottom. Several crooked columns of the same kind descend above the first, but they stop before they reach half down to the ground; and above these there are others which are shorter. An upright column, which stands at the side, interrupts the view; but on going to the other side of this column, a cupola is seen nearly similar to the former, but the basaltes in it has the form of an inverted S *

"In the neighbourhood of Frodeboe are seen the best stone fences in Feroe, for they are composed of blocks of basaltes from three to four feet in height. The fields here are all composed of basaltes; but it is so fast in the earth, that it is impossible to move it; and on this account, a farmer named Jespersen is suspected by some of his countrymen to have procured these fine stones by witchcraft: but this industrious man, who has distinguished himself in various other respects, found means to procure these stones in a very easy and natural manner. At a considerable height in the hill there are a great many loose blocks of basaltes; but as it would be exceedingly difficult, and even impossible, for one person to remove

* Captain Born, in the Transactions of the Society of Natural History, vol. II. has given a drawing of Kulegyov; but he acknowledged to me, that when he made the drawing he had too little time to do it with that accuracy which he wished. He, indeed, says himself, that in this drawing "Nature is not improved:" and notwithstanding the respect I entertain for my friend, and for his other works, I must say, that "Nature in this place is much more beautiful than the copy."

The neighbourhood has a romantic appearance, and it is much to be wished that we had accurate drawings of it, as well as of many other remarkable places in Feroe, of which no proper idea can be conveyed by a description.

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them, he rolls them down into a rivulet which runs at the bottom, where they lie till the winter or spring, when the rivulet being swelled by the melting ice and snow, conveys them by the force of its stream to the place of their destination.

" North-east from this village lies a steep hill, called Frodboenypen, which seems to contain strata of coal, as large pieces of it are found among the stones, which fall down from the rocks; on the north side of it is a small inlet called Frodboe Botnur, and near it a hill with three small headlands. On the top of this hill are several large stones, which when seen from the sea have various appearances; such as that of a nun, and sometimes of a watchman; who, however, never moves from his post.

" In a hill called Hesten-Hove, and which one ascends from the inlet of Lobro, in travelling over land to Sundboe, the road passes along the brink of a steep cliff. To have a view from the top of this rock, I ventured out as far on the shelves as was prudent, without the assistance of a rope; but I was well rewarded for my trouble, as the rock here has a most wonderful and singular appearance, being filled with large pointed projections resembling the gavel of a house, spires, &c. which extend so far from the land, that one could row between them in a boat; and in some places large blocks lie across, from one side to the other, forming a kind of natural gates, through which the waves have a free passage.

" On a small eminence in this island, called Krosgearahamra, I found, on the 15th of June, that beautiful little plant, the *Schilla verna*, in bloom, and in such abundance, that it almost covered the whole of it.

" About three miles from the southernmost extremity of the island stands the Monk, a large mass of rock about seventy feet in height; round which there runs a current exceedingly dangerous, on account of the many rocks, both concealed and visible, that lie on each side of it. This rock, when seen from the sea, has the appearance of a ship under full sail; but on the land side it pretty much resembles the statue of a monk: the neck is formed of hard red clay, and the head and body of a blackish grey kind of stone, which is somewhat like irregular basaltes. On the top of this rock there are several loose stones, one of which is so large, that it may be seen from the land.

" The Lesser Dimon, which lies at the distance of four miles from the Greater Dimon, and about the same from Suderoe, is a small uninhabited island, nearly of a circular form, a little more than half a mile in diameter. The coast all round it is exceedingly steep, and is accessible only in three places. The whole island has the form of a haystack; and, when visible, might serve as a very certain mark to navigators. It abounds with sea-fowl, and contains a great number of wild sheep; but what Debes, and others after him, have asserted, that white sheep placed in this island change their colour, and become spotted with black, and afterwards entirely black, a change ascribed to the fog or sea-vapour, is entirely false; for there are here a great many white sheep, which retain their colour; but the black wild sheep of the island may be a peculiar species; they are of a small size, have short curled wool, and do not readily mix with the others introduced into the island; their flesh also has a peculiar dark appearance, and in taste approaches near to that of other wild animals. These wild sheep

sheep shelter themselves from the severity of the weather in some natural caverns found in the island; and when the inhabitants of Suderoe come hither for a few days to catch sea-fowl, they take up their abode in caverns of the same kind."

Customs and Manners of the English.

[From Mr. Stewart's Translation of the Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan.]

"I SHALL here endeavour to give some account of the mode in which the English pass their time. The middling class, in London, divide their time in the following manner: they rise from eight to nine o'clock in the morning: their dressing employs them an hour; after which they sit down to the breakfast table, where they spend another hour: from that time, till five in the evening, they employ themselves either in business, or in walking and riding: at six they sit down to dinner; and if there is company invited, the men seldom rise from table before nine o'clock: they then join the ladies, to drink tea and coffee; after which they play cards, or listen to music, till eleven, when the party breaks up, and they retire to their beds.

"Those who are unmarried frequently go, after dinner, to the play, or other places of public amusement, and remain there till a late hour: others go to the gambling-houses, where they often stay till near morning. The common people rise earlier, and go to bed sooner than those above mentioned; but the nobility and higher classes have seldom done breakfast before one or two o'clock, and are never in bed before the same hours after midnight.

"What I have said respecting the division of time, may be considered as a general rule; but the length of the days and nights in England is so very unequal, that considerable variations will often occur. Thus, in the middle of winter, the sun does not rise till past eight, and sets a little after three o'clock; which, allowing two hours for the morning and evening twilight, makes the day, at the utmost, nine hours long; there consequently remain fifteen hours of night. On the contrary, in the middle of summer, the sun rises at four, and sets at nine; which, with three hours of twilight, curtails the night to about four hours. But in the northern part of the island, I understand there is scarcely any night at midsummer, as, during the few hours the sun remains under the horizon, there is a twilight, by which a person may read: and in the winter, their nights are full eighteen hours long.

"The shortest day in England is on or about the 21st of December: from that time, till the 21st of March, it gradually increases; at which period the day and night are of an equal length. The length of the day continues to increase till the 21st of June; after which it decreases till the 21st of September, when the day and night are again equal; and continues to decrease till the return of the 21st of December.

"The English, in general, are not fond of high-seasoned cookery; and

and their dinners mostly consist of plain roast or boiled meats. But the rich, or higher classes, have a great variety on their tables, which is divided into three courses; the first consisting of soups and fish; the second, of roast and boiled meats, fricassees, &c.; and the third, of puddings, pies, and game; after which there is a great display of fruit of all kinds, called the *dessert*.

"The regular meals of the English are, breakfast, dinner, and supper: but in London they frequently stop at the pastry-cooks' shops, which are generally kept or attended by handsome women, and eat something between breakfast and dinner. They also eat bread and butter, or cake, with their tea or coffee in the evening; so that they may be said to eat five times a day; yet, as they eat but little at any one time, they cannot be called *gluttons*.

"The English legislators and philosophers have wisely determined, that the best mode of keeping women out of the way of temptation, and their minds from wandering after improper desires, is by giving them sufficient employment; therefore, whatever business can be effected without any great exertion of mental abilities or corporeal strength, is assigned to the women. Thus they have all the internal management and care of the house, and washing the clothes. They are also employed to take care of shops, and, by their beauty and eloquence, often attract customers. To the men is assigned the business of waiting at table, taking care of the horses and cattle, and management of the garden, farm, &c. This division of labour is attended with much convenience, and prevents confusion.

"Besides the above important regulation, the English lawgivers have placed the women under many salutary restraints, which prevent their making an improper use of the liberty they have, of mixing in company, and conversing with men. In the first place, strangers, or persons whose characters are not well known, are seldom introduced to them; secondly, the women never visit any bachelor, except he be a near relation; thirdly, no woman of respectability ever walks out (in London), unless attended by her husband, a relation, or a confidential servant. They are upon no account allowed to walk out after dark; and they never think of sleeping abroad, even at the house of their father or mother, unless the husband is with them. They therefore have seldom an opportunity of acting improperly. The father, mother, and whole family, also consider themselves disgraced by the bad conduct of a daughter or a sister. And as, by the laws of England, a man may beat his wife with a stick, which will not endanger the breaking of a limb, or may confine her in a room, the women dare not even give their tongues too much liberty.

"If, notwithstanding all these restraints, a woman should be so far lost to all sense of shame, as to commit a disgraceful action, she is for ever after shunned by all her relations, acquaintances, and every lady of respectability. Her husband is also authorized by law to take away all her property and ornaments, to debar her from the sight of her children, and even to turn her out of the house; and, if proof can be produced of her misconduct, he may obtain a divorce, by which she is entirely separated from him, and loses all her dower, and even her marriage portion. From what has been stated, it is evident that the English women, notwithstanding

their apparent liberty, and the politeness and flattery with which they are addressed, are, by the wisdom of their lawgivers, confined in strict bondage: and that, on the contrary, the Mohammedan women, who are prohibited from mixing in society, and are kept concealed behind curtains, but are allowed to walk out in veils, and to go to the baths (in Turkey), and to visit their fathers and mothers and even female acquaintances, and to sleep abroad for several nights together, are much more mistresses of their own conduct, and much more liable to fall into the paths of error.

DISTICH.

Let him who reads take warning!

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"Liberty may be considered as the idol, or tutelary deity of the English; and I think the common people here enjoy more freedom and equality than in any other well-regulated government in the world. No Englishman, unless guilty of a breach of the laws, can be seized, or punished, at the caprice or from the gust of passion of the magistrate: he may sometimes be confined on suspicion, but his life cannot be affected, except on positive proof.

"I was credibly informed, that the H.. r A... t of the throne, while one day walking, was jostled by an impudent fellow; that the P.... e struck him with his cane, and chastised him for his insolence. The man, however, sued his R.. l H:.. s in one of the courts of justice, and compelled the P... e to pay a considerable sum of money.

"Governor H.... gs came one day to visit me, immediately after the hall-door had been newly painted, and even while the man who had done it was collecting his pots and brushes on the steps. The Governor, not perceiving the circumstance, lifted the knocker of the door, and spoiled a new pair of gloves; on which he turned round angrily to the man, and asked him why he did not inform him the door had been just painted: the fellow, in a surly manner, replied, "Where were your eyes, that you could not see it?" From these anecdotes, some idea may be formed of the liberty and freedom of the common people in England: in many instances they carry it too great a length; and I have even felt the inconvenience of it. Their lawgivers are however of opinion, that this freedom tends to make them brave.

"In England, no gentleman can punish his servant for any crime (except by turning him away), but must make his complaint before a magistrate. The servants in England receive very high wages, are as well fed, sleep as comfortably in raised beds (not on the floor, as in India), and are as well clothed, as their masters, who, in general, prefer plain clothes for themselves, while their servants are covered with lace.

"In their newspapers and daily publications, the common people often take the liberty of abusing their superiors: also, in all public meetings, and even at the play-houses, they frequently hiss and reproach any nobleman or gentleman they dislike. Another mode they have of expressing their displeasure is by *caricatures:* in these, they frequently pourtr.. the ministers, or any other public characters, in ridiculous situations, either talk to each other, or conversing with *John Bull*, who, by his blunt but shrewd observations, is always made to have the best of the argument, and to tell his opponent some disagreeable truths.

"After all, this equality is more in

in appearance than in reality; for the difference between the comforts of the rich and of the poor is, in England, much greater than in India. The servants are not at liberty to quit their masters, without giving proper warning; and, in general, they are as respectful in their behaviour as the slaves of Hindoostan.

"The rich, or higher classes, also, enjoy some privileges from this equality. They can walk out at all times, and go wherever they please, without being watched by a retinue of spies, under the denomination of servants, as in the East: and if *they* are abused by the common people, they can also indulge their spleen, by abusing the Ministers, Princes, and even Royalty itself.

"I can scarcely describe the pleasure I felt, upon my first arrival in Europe, in being able to walk out unattended, to make my own bargains in the shops, and to talk to whom I pleased; so different from our customs. It is not to be inferred, however, from what I have said, that every man is at liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations. There are certain rules established in society, and a degree of decorum to be observed, the transgression or omission of which would be attended with bad consequences. Thus, were a gentleman seen to enter a public-house, and to drink with low companions, or to walk about the streets with a common prostitute, he would be shunned by all his acquaintances; and were he, in any point, to offend against the laws, he would immediately be seized, and sent to prison; or, were he to be guilty of sedition, treason, sacrilege, or blasphemy, he would be severely punished. Even the Ministers of the empire, when they find any ancient law or custom inapplicable to the present times, or even contrary to common sense, dare not boldly and openly propose its being cancelled in Parliament; but they endeavour by degrees to effect a change in the system, by proposing special modifications, uncertain whether the law may not have been framed for some good reasons, not understood by them, but which may be discovered by their opponents.

"Amongst the custom which are, I believe, peculiar to the British, may be reckoned their duels, and boxing-matches. The first are confined to the higher classes, and are effected by the use of pistols or swords: they are now always fought in the presence of seconds, or witnesses, who take care that no treachery or foul play is practised. The other mode is used by the common people, either to obtain satisfaction for an injury, or as a trial of skill. In these combats, it is not fair to lay hold of, or grapple with the adversary, in which strength might get the better; but the whole contest must be decided, as fencing is in India, by skill and dexterity. If either of the combatants fall, the other must not strike him, while down; but if it be discovered that one of them falls purposely, he is hooted and abused by the spectators. These combats are carried on with such violence, as frequently to occasion the death of one of the parties. The loss of an eye, breaking of the nose or jaw, or having the cheek laid open, is a common consequence. The lower classes are so fond of, or are so convinced of the utility of this science, that there are few of them who do not learn pugilism; and even many of the nobility and gentlemen encourage these matches, and argue, that it serves to preserve their courage, and inures them to hardship. During my residence in England, I was present,

at least, at one hundred of these battles.

"The mode of education prescribed for boys in England is admirably adapted to render them honourable, courageous, and capable of enduring hardships. They are, at an early age, sent from their parents' house to a public school, where they are frequently obliged to contend with boys of a more advanced age than themselves, not only in a competition for prizes in learning, but often in defending themselves against superior strength. In this situation they remain for five or six years; during which period they must preserve a character, untainted by dishonour, and unblemished by cowardice.

"The education of girls tends to render them accomplished, rather than to endue them with philosophy: they are instructed to sing, to dance, to play on musical instruments, and to be witty and agreeable in company. The children of both sexes are taught to reverence their parents, and to esteem their brothers, sisters, and other near relations. Perhaps nothing conduces more to the success in this respect, than the *single marriages* of the Christians, where, the progeny being all of the same stock, no room is left for the contentions and litigations which too often disturb the felicity of a Mohammedan family, perhaps the offspring of a dozen mothers. The parents also endeavour, by an impartiality of conduct, to preserve harmony amongst the children; and if they have a preference for any one of them, they strive to conceal it as much as possible. If the children are guilty of a fault, they do not severely beat or abuse them, but either send them to bed, or confine them to their rooms; they also frequently reason with them, and excite them to good behaviour, more by hope than by fear. Owing to this mode of treatment, I have often seen an English child of five years old possess more wisdom than an Asiatic of fifteen. Even the play-things of children in Europe are made to convey lessons of instruction; and the alphabet is learned by infants, who suppose they are only playing with cards.

"As far as I was able to judge, there are not so many dissensions or quarrels among relations in England, as with us; the cause of which is probably owing to a certain degree of distance and respect that is always observed between the nearest connections; so that if the head of a family has it in his power to confer any favour on the other branches of it, they receive it with gratitude. Not so in Hindoostan, where the whole family depend upon their chief, and consider it *his duty* to provide for them, or to share his fortune with them; and if he does not, they are discontented and abusive."

Description of the Island of Bombay.

[From the same]

"THE Island of Bombay is situated between the eighteenth and nineteenth degrees of northern latitude, and is remarkable for the purity of its air, and the excellence of its water. Its neighbourhood produces all the fruits and grains of the other parts of India; but there

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are some groves of mango-trees on the island which bear fruit of a very superior quality.

"The city in which all the English reside is situated within the fort, the houses of which are three or four stories high, and built of brick and mortar, with painted doors and windows; but they have all sloped roofs, covered with tiles, in the European fashion; and there is not a house in the town to be compared with the worst of those at Chouringhy (part of Calcutta). The inhabitants are chiefly English, Parsees, Indian Portuguese, and Hindoos.

"The Parsees are descended from the ancient Guebres, or worshippers of fire. About eleven hundred years ago, many of them fled from Persia, on account of the excessive zeal and oppressions of the Mussulmans, and settled at Surat, Bombay, and other places on this coast. They are now so much increased in numbers, that most of the artificers and servants at Bombay are of that sect. Several of these are respectable merchants; and a few are possessed of very great wealth. They all understand, besides their own language, English, and Hindoostany; but few of them can converse in the Persian of the present day.

"As they never intermarry or cohabit with any other tribe or people, they are all very similar in features and colour, and are supposed not to have altered, in the smallest degree, since their ancestors first emigrated.

"Many of the English philosophers contend, that distance from, or proximity to the sun, does not at all affect the human colour; and quote, in support of this argument, the two instances, of the Parsees at Bombay, and the Armenians at Julfa (suburbs of Ispahan), who, in the course of many centuries, have not in any degree changed their colour: but if this axiom is true, I cannot comprehend why Europeans should be fair, Ethiopians black, and Indians of swarthy complexions.

"The Parsees affirm, that they possess altars, and some of their sacred fire, both of which were brought from Persia eight hundred years ago. They worship two Deities; one, the principle of all good, whom they call *Yezdan*; the other, the principle of evil, named *Aherman*: but as the human mind is always governed more by fear than by gratitude, the Parsees are much more assiduous in their devotions to the latter, than to the former Deity.

"They are exceedingly jealous of the reputation of their women; and if they even suspect a female of impropriety, they secretly make away with her. They are not however possessed of a spark of liberality or gentility: none of them ever came to visit me during my residence at Bombay, much less to invite me to their houses. This possibly may have proceeded from an idea, that my rank was so superior to theirs, I would have refused their invitations.

"The only Parsee I was ever acquainted with, who possessed a liberal education, was Moola Firoz, whom I met at the house of a friend. He was a sensible and well-informed man, who had travelled into Persia, and had there studied mathematics, astronomy, and the sciences of Zoroaster. He spoke Persian very fluently, but I did not think much of his poetry in that language.

"Two miles to the north of the fort there is another town, entirely inhabited by the natives of India, in

in which is an excellent bazar, from which the market of the fort is supplied. In the vicinity are a number of gardens and orchards, belonging to various persons of opulence in the island; also several groves of cocoa trees, which are planted so very thick, that there is scarcely any circulation of air between them.

"The lower classes of people at Bombay are the worst looking of any I have seen in India: they are of a small stature, very black, and nothing but skin and bone. Some of the Parsee women are, indeed, large, fat, and fair; but they have very coarse features, and bold disgusting manners. I had often heard that the inhabitants of Surat, which is only a few days' journey north of Bombay, were remarkably handsome, but I cannot believe it: the idea has, I suppose, originated from the fair complexions of the Parsees; but, in my opinion, the women of Bengal have much more life and vivacity about them, and are in every respect preferable.

"Between the town and the fort there is an extensive plain, which is always covered with a fine verdure, and is kept for exercising the troops, and for the inhabitants to enjoy the fresh air. From the western side of this plain is an extensive prospect of the sea; and on the eastern side there is a very delightful view of the woods and mountains of the Concan.

"The fort of Bombay is stronger and larger than that of Calcutta: it is defended on one side by the sea, and encompassed on the three others by a deep and wide ditch, which is filled from the sea. The ramparts and bastions are all constructed like those of Calcutta; but all round the interior of the rampart there is a brick wall, to prevent the earth from being washed away by the rains. There are several gates, the entrances to which are defended by draw-bridges and portcullisses. This fort was originally constructed by the European Portuguese, when they possessed very extensive power in India; and was given to one of the Kings of England, as the marriage portion of a Princess of Portugal: since that period it has been in the possession of the English, who have much strengthened and improved it.

"The most respectable and worthy of the Mahommedans who resided at Bombay, during my visit to that place, were, first, Abd al Lutief Khan, a gentleman descended from a very ancient Persian family, and distinguished amongst the learned as the author of the *Tohfat al Aalum* (the Rarity of the World). From him I received the most solid proofs of friendship and kindness, and was his guest during a great part of the time.

"Secondly, Aga Hussen, the nephew of Hajy Kheleel, the unfortunate Persian Ambassador (who was killed during the affray between the Persians of his suite, and the Sepoys of his guard of honour). He was a sensible and genteel young man, and had not quite recovered from the effects of five or six wounds which he received in the contest; but was waiting at Bombay, in expectation of being appointed Ambassador in the room of his deceased uncle, and, in consequence, received a liberal pecuniary allowance from the Company. He lived in a handsome style, and frequently invited me to his parties. He asked me a number of questions respecting Europe, and was particularly anxious to learn the history of the Freemasons. A short time before I quitted Bombay, he received intelligence that Aga Abd al Nubby,

al Nubby, the Bussora merchant, was appointed to fill the station of his uncle, which very much mortified him, and he was obliged to return to Persia.

"Thirdly, Mirza Mehdy Khan: he was by birth a Persian, and came to seek his fortune in India. He first visited the court of the Nizam at Hyderabad: he then came to Lucknow, where, by the interest of Mr. R. J.... n, he obtained an appointment; but being of an expensive turn of mind, he got into difficulties, out of some of which I extricated him. He afterwards went to Benaras, where he was noticed by Mr. D.... n; and when that gentleman was appointed Governor of Bombay, he followed him to that place. As Mr. D.... n had a very high opinion of his abilities, he sent him, as the East-India Company's Agent, to Abu Sheher in Persia. But this appointment not meeting with the concurrence of the Governor-General, he was recalled, and rewarded with a pension of eight hundred rupees per month.—There were, besides these, several respectable and opulent Mohammedan merchants, but none of them persons of consequence."

Present State of the Kingdom of Mexico.

[From Mr. Black's Translation of M. de Humboldt's Political Essay.]

"AMONGST the inhabitants of pure origin, the whites would occupy the second place, considering them only in the relation of number. They are divided into whites born in Europe, and descendants of Europeans born in the Spanish colonies of America, or in the Asiatic islands. The former bear the name of *Chapetones* or *Gachupines*, and the second that of *Criollos*. The natives of the Canary islands, who go under the general denomination of *Isleños* (islanders), and who are the *gerans* of the plantations, are considered as Europeans. The Spanish laws allow the same rights to all whites; but those who have the execution of the laws endeavour to destroy an equality which shocks the European pride. The government, suspicious of the Creoles, bestows the great places exclusively on the natives of Old Spain. For some years back they have disposed at Madrid even of the most trifling employments in the administration of the customs and the tobacco revenue. At an epoch when every thing tended to an uniform relaxation in the springs of the state, the system of venality made an alarming progress. For the most part it was by no means a suspicious and distrustful policy, it was pecuniary interest alone, which bestowed all employments on Europeans. The result has been a jealousy and perpetual hatred between the Chapetons and the Creoles. The most miserable European, without education, and without intellectual cultivation, thinks himself superior to the whites born in the new continent. He knows that, protected by his countrymen, and favoured by chances common enough in a country where fortunes are as rapidly acquired as they are lost, he may one day reach places, to which the

the access is almost interdicted to the natives, even to those of them distinguished for their talents, knowledge, and moral qualities. The natives prefer the denomination of *Americans* to that of Creoles. Since the peace of Versailles, and, in particular, since the year 1789, we frequently hear proudly declared, "I am not a *Spaniard*, I am an *American!*" words which betray the workings of a long resentment. In the eye of law, every white Creole is a Spaniard; but the abuse of the laws, the false measures of the colonial government, the example of the United States of America, and the influence of the opinions of the age, have relaxed the ties which formerly united more closely the Spanish Creoles to the European Spaniards. A wise administration may re-establish harmony, calm their passions and resentments, and yet preserve for a long time the union among the members of one and the same great family scattered over Europe and America, from the the Patagonian coast to the north of California.

"The number of individuals of whom the white race is composed (*Casta de los blancos o de los Españoles*) amounts probably, in all New Spain, to 1,200,000, of whom nearly the fourth part inhabited the *provincias internas*. In New Biscay, or in the intendancy of Durango, there is hardly an individual subject to the *tributo*. Almost all the inhabitants of these northern regions pretend to be of pure European extraction.

"In the year 1793 they reckoned

In the intendancy of Guanaxuato, on a total population of	Sou's. 398,000	Spaniards. 103,000
Valladolid	290,000	80,000
Puebla	638,000	63,000
Oaxaca	411,000	26,000

"Consequently, in the four intendancies adjoining the capital, we find 272,000 whites, either Europeans or descendants of Europeans, in a total population of 1,737,000 souls. For every hundred inhabitants, there were,

In the intendancy of	
Valladolid	27 whites.
Guanaxuato	25
Puebla	9
Oaxaca	6

"These considerable differences show the degree of civilization to which the ancient Mexicans had attained south from the capital. These southern regions were always the best inhabited. In the north, the Indian population was more thinly sown. Agriculture has only begun to make any progress there since the period of the conquest.

"It is curious to compare together the number of whites in the West Indies and in Mexico. The French part of St. Domingo contained in its happiest æra, 1788, on a surface of 1700 square leagues (25 to the degree) a smaller population than that of the intendancy of la Puebla. Page* estimates the population of St. Domingo at 520,000 inhabitants, among whom there were 40,000 whites, 28,000 people of colour,

* In 1802 there were in the whole island of St. Domingo only 375,000 inhabitants, whereof 290,000 were labourers, 47,000 domestics, artisans, and sailors, and 37,000 soldiers.

lour, and 452,000 slaves. Hence, in St. Domingo, in every 100 souls, eight were white, six free people of colour, and eighty-six African slaves. Jamaica was computed in 1787 to have in every 100 inhabitants, ten whites, four people of colour, and eighty-six slaves; and yet this English colony possesses a smaller population by one third than the intendancy of Oaxaca. Hence, the disproportion between the Europeans or their descendants, and the casts of Indian or African blood, is still greater in the southern part of New Spain, than in the French and English sugar islands. The island of Cuba, on the contrary, exhibits even at this day, in the distribution of the races, a very great and a very consolatory difference. From the most careful statistical researches which I was enabled to make, during my stay at the Havannah, in 1800 and 1804, I found that at the last of these epochs, the total population of the island of Cuba amounted to 432,000 souls, among whom there were

A. Freemen.....		324,000
Whites.....	234,000	
People of colour	90,000	
B. Slaves.....		108,000
Total		432,000

or in every 100 inhabitants, fifty-four Creole and European whites, twenty-one men of colour, and twenty-five slaves. The proportion of freemen to slaves is there as three to one, while at Jamaica they are as one to six.

" The following table exhibits the proportion of the other casts to the whites in the different parts of the new continent. Out of every 100 inhabitants, we reckon

In the United States of North America.....	83 whites.
Island of Cuba.....	54
Kingdom of New Spain (without including the *provincias internas*).....	16
Kingdom of Peru.....	12
Island of Jamaica.....	10

" In the capital of Mexico, according to the enumeration of the Count de Revillagigedo, in every 100 inhabitants, forty-nine are Spanish Creoles, two Spaniards born in Europe, twenty-four Aztec and Otomite Indians, and twenty-five people of mixed blood. The exact knowledge of these proportions is of the utmost importance to those who have the superintendance of the colonies.

" It would be difficult to estimate exactly how many Europeans there are among the 1,200,000 whites who inhabit New Spain. As in the capital of Mexico itself, where the government brings together the greatest number of Spaniards, in a population of more than 135,000 souls, not more than 2500 individuals are born in Europe, it is more than probable that the whole kingdom does not contain more than 70 or 80,000. They constitute, therefore, only the 70th part of the whole population, and the proportion of Europeans to white Creoles is as one to fourteen.

" The Spanish laws prohibit all

soldiers. To what a degree must the population have diminished within the last six years! In the island of Barbadoes, the number of whites is greater than in any of the other islands; it amounts to 16,000 on a total population of 80,000.

entry

entry into the American possessions to every European not born in the peninsula. The words European and Spaniard are become synonimous in Mexico and Peru. The inhabitants of the remote provinces have therefore a difficulty in conceiving that there can be Europeans who do not speak their language; and they consider this ignorance as a mark of low extraction; because, every where around them, all, except the very lowest class of the people, speak Spanish. Better acquainted with the history of the sixteenth century than with that of our own times, they imagine that Spain continues to possess a decided preponderance over the rest of Europe. To them the peninsula appears the very centre of European civilization. It is otherwise with the Americans of the capital. Those of them who are acquainted with the French or English literature fall easily into a contrary extreme; and have still a more unfavourable opinion of the mother country than the French had at a time when communication was less frequent between Spain and the rest of Europe. They prefer strangers from other countries to the Spaniards; and they flatter themselves with the idea that intellectual cultivation has made more rapid progress in the colonies than in the peninsula."

"This progress is indeed very remarkable at the Havanah, Lima, Santa Fe, Quito, Popayan, and Caraccas. Of all these great cities the Havanah bears the greatest resemblance to those of Europe in customs, refinements of luxury, and the tone of society. At Havanah the state of politics and their influence on commerce is best understood. However, notwithstanding the efforts of the *patriotic society of the island of Cuba*, which encourages the sciences with the most generous zeal, they prosper very slowly in a country where cultivation and the price of colonial produce engross the whole attention of the inhabitants. The study of the mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany, is more general at Mexico, Santa Fe, and Lima. We every where observe a great intellectual activity, and among the youth a wonderful facility of seizing the principles of science. It is said that this facility is still more remarkable among the inhabitants of Quito and Lima than at Mexico and Santa Fe. The former appear to posses more versatility of mind and a more lively imagination; while the Mexicans and the natives of Santa Fe have the reputation of greater perseverance in the studies to which they have once addicted themselves."

"No city of the new continent, without even excepting those of the United States, can display such great and solid scientific establishments as the capital of Mexico. I shall content myself here with naming the School of Mines, directed by the learned Elhuyar. This academy bears the title of *Academia de los Nobles Artes de Mexico*. It owes its existence to the patriotism of several Mexican individuals, and to the protection of the minister of Galvez. The government assigned it a spacious building, in which there is a much finer and more complete collection of casts than is to be found in any part of Germany. We are astonished on seeing that the Apollo of Belvidere, the group of Laocoon, and still more colossal statues, have been conveyed through mountainous roads at least as narrow as those of St. Gothard; and

we

we are surprised at finding these masterpieces of antiquity collected together under the torrid zone, in a table land higher than the convent of the great St. Bernard. The collection of casts brought to Mexico cost the king 200,000 francs*. The remains of the Mexican sculpture, those colossal statues of basaltes and porphyry, which are covered with Aztec hieroglyphics, and bear some relation to the Egyptian and Hindoo style, ought to be collected together in the edifice of the academy, or rather in one of the courts which belong to it. It would be curious to see these monuments of the first cultivation of our species, the works of a semibarbarous people inhabiting the Mexican Andes, placed beside the beautiful forms produced under the sky of Greece and Italy."

"The revenues of the Academy of Fine Arts at Mexico amount to 125,000 francs †, of which the government gives 60,000, the body of Mexican miners nearly 25,000, the *consulado*, or association of merchants of the capital, more than 1500. It is impossible not to perceive the influence of this establishment on the taste of the nation. This influence is particularly visible in the symmetry of the buildings, in the perfection with which the hewing of stone is conducted, and in the ornaments of the capitals and stucco relievos. What a number of beautiful edifices are to be seen at Mexico! nay, even in provincial towns like Guanaxato and Queretaro! These monuments, which frequently cost a million and a half of francs ‡, would appear to advantage in the finest streets of Paris, Berlin, and Petersburg. M. Tolsa, professor of sculpture at Mexico, was even able to cast an equestrian statue of King Charles the Fourth; a work which, with the exception of the Marcus Aurelius at Rome, surpasses in beauty and purity of stile every thing which remains in this way in Europe. Instruction is communicated *gratis* at the Academy of Fine Arts. It is not confined alone to the drawing of landscapes and figures; they have had the good sense to employ other means for exciting the national industry. The academy labours successfully to introduce among the artisans a taste for elegance and beautiful forms. Large rooms, well lighted by Argand's lamps, contain every evening some hundreds of young people, of whom some draw from relievo or living models, while others copy drawings of furniture, chandeliers, or other ornaments in bronze. In this assemblage (and this is very remarkable in the midst of a country where the prejudices of the nobility against the casts are so inveterate) rank, colour, and race is confounded: we see the Indian and the Mestizo sitting beside the white, and the son of a poor artisan in emulation with the children of the great lords of the country. It is a consolation to observe, that under every zone the cultivation of science and art establishes a certain equality among men, and obliterates for a time, at least, all those petty passions of which the effects are so prejudicial to social happiness.

"Since the close of the reign of Charles the Third, and under that

* 8334*l.* sterling. † 5208*l.* sterling. *Trans.*

‡ 41,670*l.* and 62,505*l.* *Trans.*

of

of Charles the Fourth, the study of the physical sciences has made great progress, not only in Mexico, but in general in all the Spanish colonies. No European government has sacrificed greater sums to advance the knowledge of the vegetable kingdom than the Spanish government. Three *botanical expeditions*, in Peru, New Grenada, and New Spain, under the direction of MM. Ruiz and Pavon, Don Jose Celestino Mutis, and MM. Sesse and Mociño, have cost the state nearly two millions of francs *. Moreover, botanical gardens have been established at Manilla and the Canary islands. The commission destined to draw plans of the canal of *los Guines* was also appointed to examine the vegetable productions of the island of Cuba. All these researches, conducted during twenty years in the most fertile regions of the new continent, have not only enriched science with more than four thousand new species of plants, but have also contributed much to diffuse a taste for natural history among the inhabitants of the country. The city of Mexico exhibits a very interesting botanical garden within the very precincts of the viceroy's palace. Professor Cervantes gives annual courses there, which are very well attended. This *savant* possesses, besides his herbals, a rich collection of Mexican minerals. M. Mociño, whom we just now mentioned as one of the coadjutors of M. Sesse, and who has pushed his laborious excursions from the kingdom of Guatimala to the north-west coast or island of Vancouver and Quadra; and M. Echeveria, a painter of plants and animals, whose works will bear a comparison with the most perfect productions of the kind in Europe, are both of them natives of New Spain. They had both attained a distinguished rank among *savans* and artists before quitting their country†.

The principles of the new chemistry, which is known in the Spanish colonies by the equivocal appellation of new philosophy *(nueva filosofia)*, are more diffused in Mexico than in many parts of the peninsula. A European traveller cannot undoubtedly but be surprised to meet in the interior of the country, on the very borders of California, with young Mexicans who reason on the decomposition of water in the process of amalgamation with free air. The School of Mines possesses a chemical laboratory; a geological collection, arranged according to the system of Werner; a physical cabinet, in which we not only find the valuable instruments of Ramsden, Adams, Le Noir, and Louis Berthoud, but also models executed in the capital even, with the greatest precision, and from the finest wood in the country. The best mineralogical work in the Spanish language was printed at Mexico, I mean the Manual of Oryctognosy, composed by M. del Rio, according to the principles of the school of Freyberg, in which the author was formed.

* 83,340l. sterling. *Trans.*

† The public is only yet put in possession of the discoveries of the botanical expedition of Peru and Chili. The great herbals of M. Sesse, and the immense collection of drawings of Mexican plants executed under his eye, arrived at Madrid in 1803. The publication of both the Flora of New Spain and the Flora of Santa Fe de Bogota is expected with impatience. The latter is the fruit of 40 years researches and observations by the celebrated Mutis, one of the greatest botanists of the age.

The

The first Spanish translation of Lavater's Elements of Chemistry was also published at Mexico. I cite these insulated facts because they give us the measure of the ardour with which the exact sciences are begun to be studied in the capital of New Spain. This ardour is much greater than that with which they addict themselves to the study of languages and ancient literature.*

"Instruction in mathematics is less carefully attended to in the university of Mexico than in the School of Mines. The pupils of this last establishment go farther into analysis; they are instructed in the antegral and differential calculi. On the return of peace and free intercourse with Europe, when astronomical instruments (chronometers, sextants, and the repeating circles of Borda) shall become more common, young men will be found in the most remote parts of the kingdom capable of making observations, and calculating them after the most recent methods. I have already indicated in the analysis of my maps the advantage which might be drawn by the government from this extraordinary aptitude in constructing a map of the country. The taste for astronomy is very old in Mexico. Three distinguished men, Velasquez, Gama, and Alzate, did honour to their country towards the end of the last century. All the three made a great number of astronomical observations, especially of eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter. Alzate, the worst informed of them, was the correspondent of the Academy of Sciences at Paris. Inaccurate as an observer, and of an activity frequently impetuous, he gave himself up to too many objects at a time. He is entitled to the real merit, however, of having excited his countrymen to the study of the physical sciences. The *Gazetta* de Litteratura, which he published for a long time at Mexico, contributed singularly to give encouragement and impulsion to the Mexican youth.

"The most remarkable geometrician produced by New Spain since the time of Siguenza was Don Joaquin Velasquez Cardinas y Leon. All the astronomical and geodesical labours of this indefatigable *savant* bear the stamp of the greatest precision. He was born on the 21st July, 1732, in the interior of the country, at the farm of Santiago

* This is as much as to say that taste is rather at a low ebb among them, and that imagination is in a somewhat similar state; for wherever taste and imagination flourish, an admiration for the ancients is seen to prevail. The observation of Humboldt may perhaps receive a much more extensive application; and it may peculiarly be applied to the whole of America. I have seen it asserted that there are whole states in the union where a classical seminary of any kind is not to be found. It would be rash to say that the faculties of men transplanted to America gradually assimilate to those of the aborigines, who are stated by M. Humboldt to be destitute of taste, but excellently adapted for science. Should we not rather say that every age has its favourite study, which it cultivates almost to the neglect of every other? At one time it is all commenting and comparing manuscripts:—

"And A's deposed and B with pomp restored:"

at another, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle divide the world between them; from that a transition is made to poetry, and no man can be great without producing an epic poem or a handsome volume of sonnets; and in the present age almost every thing but the refuse of talent carefully preserved in the cells of some fat old university, seems employed, more or less, in physical science. *Trans.*

Acebedoola, near the Indian village of Tizicapan; and he had the merit, we may say, of forming himself. At the age of four he communicated the small-pox to his father, who died of them. An uncle, parish priest of Xaltocan, took care of his education, and placed him under the instruction of an Indian of the name of Manuel Asentzio; a man of great natural strength of mind, and well versed in the knowledge of the Mexican history and mythology. Velasquez learned at Xaltocan several Indian languages, and the use of the hieroglyphical writings of the Aztecs. It is to be regretted that he published nothing on this very interesting branch of antiquity. Placed at Mexico in the Tridentine college, he found neither professor nor books nor instruments*. With the small assistance which he could obtain, he fortified himself in the study of the mathematics and the ancient languages. A lucky accident threw into his hands the works of Newton and Bacon. He drew from the one a taste for astronomy, and from the other an acquaintance with the true methods of philosophising. While poor and unable to find any instrument even in Mexico, he set himself, with his friend M. Guadalaxara (now professor of mathematics in the Academy of Painting), to construct telescopes and quadrants. He followed at the same time the profession of advocate, an occupation which at Mexico, as well as elsewhere, is much more lucrative than that of looking at the stars. What he gained by his professional labours was laid out in purchasing instruments in England. After being named professor in the university, he accompanied the *visitador* Don Jose de Galvez† in his journey to Sonora. Sent on a commission to California, he profited by the serenity of the sky in that peninsula to make a great number of astronomical observations. He first observed there that in all the maps, for centuries, through an enormous error of longitude, this part of the new continent had always been marked several degrees farther west than it really was. When the Abbe Chappe, more celebrated for his courage and his zeal for the sciences than for the accuracy of his labours, arrived in California, he found the Mexican astronomer already established there. Velasquez had constructed for himself in Mimosa planks an observatory at St. Anne. Having already determined the position of this Indian village, he informed the Abbe Chappe that the moon's eclipse on the 18th June, 1769, would be visible in California. The French astronomer doubted the truth of this assertion, till the eclipse actually took place. Velasquez by himself made a very good observation of the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun on the 3d June,

* From this we may discover that the professors of this university are not behind those of some others in the praise-worthy custom of considering their chairs as sinecures. *Trans.*

† The Count de Galvez, before obtaining the ministry of the Indies, travelled through the northern part of New Spain with the title of *visitador*. This name is given to persons employed by the court to procure information as to the state of the colonies. Their journey (*visita*) has generally no other effect than that of counterbalancing for some time the power of the viceroys and the *audiencias*, of receiving an infinity of memoirs, petitions, and projects, and of signalizing their stay by the introduction of some new impost. The people expect the arrival of the *visitadores* with the same impatience which they afterwards display for their departure.

1769. He communicated the result, the very morning of the transit, to the Abbe Chappe, and to the Spanish astronomers Don Vicente Doz, and Don Salvador de Medina. The French traveller was surprised at the harmony between the observation of Velasquez and his own. He was no doubt astonished to meet in California with a Mexican, who, without belonging to any academy, and without having ever left New Spain, was able to observe as well as the academicians. In 1773 Velasquez executed the great geodesical undertaking, and to which we shall again return in speaking of the drain of the lakes of the valley of Mexico. The most essential service which this indefatigable man rendered to his country was the establishment of the *Tribunal* and the School of Mines, the plans for which he presented to the court. He finished his laborious career on the 6th March, 1786, while first director-general of the *Tribunal de Mineria*, and enjoying the title of *Alcalde del Corte honorario*.

"After mentioning the labours of Alzate and Velasquez, it would be unjust to pass over the name of Gama, the friend and fellow labourer of the latter. Without fortune, and compelled to support a numerous family by a troublesome and almost mechanical labour, unknown and neglected during his life by his fellow citizens*, who loaded him with eulogies after his death, Gama became by his own unassisted efforts an able and well informed astronomer. He published several memoirs on eclipses of the moon, on the satellites of Jupiter, on the almanac and chronology of the ancient Mexicans, and on the climate of New Spain; all of which announce a great precision of ideas and accuracy of observation. If I have allowed myself to enter into these details on the literary merit of three Mexican *savans*, it is merely for the sake of proving from their example, that the ignorance which European pride has thought proper to attach to the Creoles is neither the effect of the climate nor of a want of moral energy; but that this ignorance, where it is still observable, is solely the effect of the insulation, and the defects in the social institutions of the colonies."

"If, in the present state of things, the cast of whites is the only one in which we find almost exclusively any thing like intellectual cultivation, it is also the only one which possesses great wealth. This wealth is unfortunately still more unequally distributed in Mexico than in the *capitania general* of Caraccas, the Havanah, and especially Peru. At Caraccas, the heads of the richest families possess a revenue of 200,000 livres†. In the island of Cuba we find revenues of more than 6 or 700,000 francs ‡. In these two industrious colonies agriculture has founded more considerable fortunes than has been accumulated by the working of the mines in Peru. At Lima an annual revenue of 80,000

* The celebrated navigator Alexander Malaspina, during his stay at Mexico, observed along with Gama. He recommended him with much warmth to the court, as is proved by the official letters of Malaspina, preserved in the archives of the viceroy.

† 8231. sterling. *Trans.* ‡ 25,002l. or 29,169l. sterling. *Trans.*

francs

francs is very uncommon.[a] I know in reality of no Peruvian family in the possession of a fixed and sure revenue of 130,000 francs.[b] But in New Spain there are individuals who possess no mines, whose revenue amounts to a million of [c] francs. The family of the Count *de la Valenciana*, for example, possesses alone, on the ridge of the Cordillera, a property worth more than 25 millions of francs,[d] without including the mine of Valenciana near Guanaxuato, which, *communibus annis*, yields a nett revenue of a million and a half of livres.[e] This family, of which the present head, the young Count de Valenciana, is distinguished for a generous character and a noble desire of instruction, is only divided into three branches; and they possess altogether, even in years when the mine is not very lucrative, more than 2,200,000 francs of revenue.[f] The Count de *Regla*, whose youngest son, the Marquis de San Christobal,[g] distinguished himself at Paris for his physical and physiological knowledge, constructed at the Havanah, at his own expence, in acajou and cedar (*cedrella*) wood, two vessels of the line of the largest size, which he made a present of to his sovereign. It was the seam of la Biscaina, near Pachuca, which laid the foundation of the fortune of the house of Regla. The family of *Fagoaga*, well known for its beneficence, intelligence, and zeal for the public good, exhibits the example of the greatest wealth which was ever derived from a mine. A single seam which the family of the Marquis of Fagoaga possesses in the district of Sombrerete left in five or six months, all charges deducted, a nett profit of 20 millions of francs.[h]

"From these data one would suppose capitals in the Mexican families infinitely greater than what are really observed. The deceased Count de la Valenciana, the first of the title, sometimes drew from his mine alone, in one year, a nett revenue of no less than six millions of livres.[i] This annual revenue, during the last twenty-five years of his life, was never below from two to three millions of livres;[k] and yet this extraordinary man, who came without any fortune to America, and who continued to live with great simplicity, left only behind him at his death, besides his mine, which is the richest in the world, ten millions in property and capital.[l] This fact, which may be relied on, will not surprise those who are acquainted with the interior management of the great Mexican houses. Money rapidly gained is as rapidly spent. The working of mines becomes a game in which they embark with unbounded passion. The rich proprietors of mines lavish immense sums on quacks, who engage them in new undertakings in the most remote provinces. In a country where the works are conducted on such an extravagant scale, that the pit of a mine frequently requires two millions of francs to pierce, the bad

[a] 3333l. sterling. *Trans.*
[b] 5417l. sterling. *Trans.*
[c] 41,670l. sterling. *Trans.*
[d] 1,041,750l. sterling. *Trans.*
[e] 62,505l. sterling. *Trans.*
[f] 91,674l. sterling. *Trans.*
[g] M. Terreros (this is the name by which this modest savant is known in France) preferred for a long time the instruction which his abode at Paris enabled him to procure, to the great fortune which he could only enjoy living in Mexico.
[h] 833,400l. sterling. *Trans.*
[i] 250,020l. sterling. *Trans.*
[k] From 83,340l. to 125,010l. *Trans.*
[l] 416,700l. sterling. *Trans.*

success

success of a rash project may absorb in a few years all that was gained in working the richest seams. We must add, that from the internal disorder which prevails in the greatest part of the great houses of both Old and New spain, the head of a family is not unfrequently straitened with a revenue of half a million,[m] though he display no other luxury than that of numerous yokes of mules.

"The mines have undoubtedly been the principal sources of the great fortunes of Mexico. Many miners have laid out their wealth in purchasing land, and have addicted themselves with great zeal to agriculture. But there is also a considerable number of very powerful families who have never had the working of any very lucrative mines. Such are the rich descendants of Cortez, or the *Marquis del Valle*. The Duke of Monteleon, a Neapolitan lord, who is now the head of the house of Cortez, possesses superb estates in the province of Oaxaca, near Toluca, and at Cuernavaca. The nett produce of his rents is actually no more than 550,000 francs,[n] the king having deprived the duke of the collection of the alcavalas and the duties on tobacco. The ordinary expenses of management amount to more than 125,000 francs.[o] However, several governors of the marquesado have become singularly wealthy. If the descendants of the great *conquistador* would only live in Mexico, their revenue would immediately rise to more than a million and a half.[p]

"To complete the view of the immense wealth centered in the hands of a few individuals in New Spain, which may compete with any thing in Great Britain, or the European possessions in Hindostan, I shall add several exact statements both of the revenues of the Mexican clergy, and the pecuniary sacrifices annually made by the body of miners (*cuerpo de mineria*) for the improvement of mining. This last body, formed by a union of the proprietors of mines, and represented by deputies who sit in the *Tribunal de Mineria*, advanced in three years, between 1784 and 1787, a sum of four millions of francs[q] to individuals who were in want of the necessary funds to carry on great works. It is believed in the country that this money has not been very usefully employed (*para habilitar*); but its distribution proves the generosity and opulence of those who are able to make such considerable largesses. A European reader will be still more astonished when I inform him of the extraordinary fact, that the respectable family of Fagoagas lent, a few years ago, without interest, a sum of more than three millions and a half of franks[r] to a friend, whose fortune they were in the belief would be made by it in a solid manner; and this sum was irrevocably lost in an unsuccessful new mining undertaking. The architectural works which are carried on in the capital of Mexico for the embellishment of the city are so expensive, that notwithstanding the low rate of wages, the superb edifice constructed by order of the *Tribunal de Mineria* for the School of Mines will cost at least three millions of francs,[s] of which two millions were in readiness be-

[m] 20,833l. sterling. *Trans.*
[n] 22,916l. sterling. *Trans.*
[o] 5208l. sterling. *Trans.*
[p] 62,505l. sterling. *Trans.*
[q] 166,680l. sterling. *Trans.*
[r] 145,845l.
[s] 125,010l. sterling. *Trans.*

fore the foundation was laid. To hasten the construction, and particularly to furnish the students immediately with a proper laboratory for metallic experiments on the amalgamation of great masses of minerals *(beneficio de patio)*, the body of Mexican miners contributed monthly, in the year 1803 alone, the sum of 50,000 livres.[t] Such is the facility with which vast projects are executed in a country where wealth is divided among a small number of individuals.

"This inequality of fortune is still more conspicuous among the clergy, of whom a number suffer extreme poverty, while others possess revenues which surpass those of many of the sovereign princes of Germany. The Mexican clergy, less numerous than is believed in Europe, is only composed of ten thousand individuals, the half of whom are regulars who wear the cowl. If we include lay brothers and sisters, or servants *(legos, donados y criados de los conventos)*, all those who are not in orders, we may estimate the clergy at 13 or 14,000 individuals.[u] Now the annual revenue of the eight Mexican bishops in the following list amounts to a sum total of 2,695,000 francs:[x]

	Double Piastres.
Revenues of the Archbishop of Mexico	130,000
Bishop of la Puebla	110,000
Valladolid	100,000
Guadalaxara	90,000
Durango	35,000
Monterey	80,000
Yucatan	20,000
Oaxaca	18,000
Sonora	6,000
	539,000[y]

"The

[t] 2083l. sterling.

[u] The number of monks of St. Francis in Spain amounts to 15,600, more than all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom of Mexico. The clergy in the peninsula exceed 228,000 individuals. For every thousand inhabitants there are 20 ecclesiastics, while in New Spain there are not above two to the thousand. The following is a specification of the clergy in several of the intendancies, according to the enumeration in 1793:

In the intendancy of la Puebla,	667	secular ecclesiastics or *clerigos*, and	891 regulars.
Valladolid	293	. . .	298
Guanaxuato	225	. . .	107
Oaxaca	306	. . .	342
In the city of Mexico	550	. . .	1646

Including in the enumeration the *Donados*, or lay brothers, the convents of the capital contain more than 2,500 individuals.—*Author.*

The clergy of the peninsula, according to M. de La Borde, from whom M. de Humboldt elsewhere professes to take his information regarding Spain, amounts to 147,657 individuals; and, according to M. Townsend, who cites the returns made to the Spanish government, they amount to 118,625. M. de La Borde estimates the population of Spain at 11,000,000, and he states the proportion of the clergy to the population as

$$1 : 69; \text{ though } \frac{11{,}000{,}000}{147{,}657} = 74{,}497, \text{ say } 74\tfrac{1}{2}, \text{ and not } 69.$$

But the estimate of 228,000 clergy, and a corresponding proportion of 20 in the thousand, or 1 in 50 to the population, is in every way much beyond the truth. M. de Humboldt having found from M. de la Borde that the proportion between the clergy and population in Madrid was 20 : 1,000, has been led to extend the same proportion over all

[x] 112,300l. sterling. *Trans.*

[y] This, at the rate of conversion which the author lays down in a note in the following page, namely five francs five sous per double piastre, does not amount to the sum of 2,695,000, but 2,820,750 francs = 117,531l.—*Trans.*

"The bishop of Sonora, the poorest of them all, does not draw tithes. He is paid, like the bishop of Panama, immediately by the king *(de Caxas reales)*. His income amounts only to the 20th part of that of the bishops of Valladolid and Mechoacan; and, what is truly distressing in the diocese of an archbishop whose revenue amounts to the sum of 650,000 francs,[z] there are clergymen of Indian villages whose yearly income does not exceed five or six hundred francs.[a] The bishop and chapter of Valladolid sent, at different times, to the king as a voluntary contribution, particularly during the last war against France, the sum of 810,000 francs.[b] The lands of the Mexican clergy *(bienes raices)* do not exceed the value of 12 or 15 millions of francs;[c] but the clergy possess immense capitals hypothecated on the property of individuals. The whole of these capitals *(capitales de Capellanias y obras pias, fondos lotales de Communidades religiosas)*, of which we shall give a detail in the sequel, amounts to the sum of 44 millions and a half of double piastres,[d] or 233,625,000 francs.[e] Cortez, from the very commencement of the conquest, dreaded the great opulence of the clergy in a country where ecclesiastical discipline is difficult to maintain. He says very frankly in a letter to Charles the Fifth, "that he beseeches his majesty to "send out to the Indies *religieux* "and not *canons*, because the lat-"ter display an extravagant luxury, "leave great wealth to their natu-"ral children, and give great scan-"dal to the newly converted In-"dians." This advice, dictated by the frankness of an old soldier, was not followed at Madrid. We have transcribed this curious passage from a work published several years ago, by a cardinal.[f] It is not for us to accuse the conqueror of New Spain of predilection for the regular clergy, or antipathy towards the canons.

"The rumour spread up and down Europe of the immensity of the Mexican wealth has given rise to very exaggerated ideas relative to the abundance of gold and silver employed in New Spain in plate, furniture, kitchen utensils, and harness. A traveller, whose imagination has been heated by stories of keys, locks, and hinges of massy silver, will be very much surprised

all Spain. Yet he afterwards, in the Statistical Analysis, states it as a peculiar merit in M. de La Borde, that he had first proved that the proportion of Spanish clergy to the population was less than that of the French clergy to the population before the revolution, which was 460,078 : 25,000,000 = 1 : 54,444, say 54⅛ (and not 1 : 52, as La Borde calculates:) but a clergy of 228,000 in a population of 11 millions would be more numerous in proportion than that of France before the revolution.—*Trans.*

[z] 27,085l. sterling. *Trans.*

[a] From 20l. to 25l. sterling. *Trans.*

[b] 33,752l. sterling. *Trans.*

[c] From 500,040l. to 625,050 sterling. *Trans.*

[d] 18,485,453l. sterling. *Trans.*

[e] I have followed the data contained in the *Representacion de los vecinos de Valladolid al Excellentissimo Senor Virey* (dated 24th October, 1805), a manuscript memoir of great value. I compute in the course of this work the double piastre at 5 livres 5 sous. Its intrinsic value is 5 livres 8½ sous. We must not confound the *pezo*, which is sometimes called *pezo sencillo*, or *commercial piastre*, which is a fictitious money, with the *double piastre* of America, or *te duro*, or *te pezo duro*. The double piastre contains 20 reals of vellon, or 170 *quartos*, or 680 *maravedis*, while the *pezo sencillo*, which is equal to 3 livres 15 sous, contains only 15 reals of vellon, or 510 maravedis.

[f] Archbishop Lorenzana.

on his arrival at Mexico at seeing no more of the precious metals employed for domestic uses there than in Spain, Portugal, and the rest of the south of Europe; and he will be as much astonished at seeing in Mexico, Peru, or at Santa Fe, people of the lowest order barefooted with enormous silver spurs on, or at finding silver cups and plates a little more common there than in France and England. The surprise of the traveller will cease when he reflects that porcelain is very rare in these newly civilized regions, that the nature of the roads in the mountains renders the carriage of it extremely difficult; and that in a country of little commercial activity, it is equally indifferent whether a few hundred piastres be possessed in specie or in plate. Notwithstanding, however, the enormous difference of wealth between Peru and Mexico, considering merely the fortunes of the great proprietors, I am inclined to believe that there is more true comfort at Lima than at Mexico. The inequality of fortunes is much less in the former; and if it is very rare, as we have already observed, to find individuals there who possess a revenue of 50 or 60,000 francs,[g] we meet, however, with a great number of mulatto artisans and free negros, who, by their industry alone, procure much more than the necessaries of life. Capitals of 10 and 15000 [h] piastres are very common among this class, while the streets of Mexico swarm with from twenty to thirty thousand wretches (*Zaragates, Guachinangos*), of whom the greatest number pass the night *sub dio*, and stretch themselves out to the sun during the day with nothing but a flannel covering. These dregs of the people bear much analogy to the Lazaroni of Naples. Lazy, careless, and sober like them, the Guachinangos have nothing, however, ferocious in their character, and they never ask alms; for if they work one or two days in the week, they earn as much as will purchase their pulque, or some of the ducks with which the Mexican lakes are covered, which are roasted in their own fat. The fortune of the Zaragates seldom exceeds two or three reals, while the lower people of Lima, more addicted to luxury and pleasure, and perhaps also more industrious, frequently spend two or three piastres in one day. One would say that the mixture of the European and the negro every where produces a race of men more active and more assiduously industrious than the mixture of the whites with the Mexican Indian.

"The kingdom of New Spain is, of all the European colonies under the torrid zone, that in which there are the fewest negros. We may almost say that there are no slaves. We may go through the whole city of Mexico without seeing a black countenance. The service of no house is carried on with slaves. In this point of view especially, Mexico presents a singular contrast to the Havanah, Lima, and Caraccas. From exact information procured by those employed in the enumeration of 1793, it appears that in all New Spain there are not six thousand negros, and not more than nine or ten thousand slaves, of whom the greatest number belong to the ports of Acapulco and Vera Cruz, or the warm regions of the coasts (*tierras calientes*). The slaves

[g] 2,essl. or 2,5odl. sterling. *Trans.*

[h] If sing'e or commercial piastres = 1s6d. and 2s6d. sterling. *Trans.*

are

are four times more numerous in the *capitania general* of Caraccas, which does not contain the sixth part of the population of Mexico. The negros of Jamaica are to those of New Spain in the proportion of 250 to 1! In the West India islands, Peru, and even Caraccas, the progress of agriculture and industry in general depends on the augmentation of negros. In the island of Cuba, for example, where the annual exportation of sugar has risen in twelve years from 400,000 to 1,000,000 quintals between 1792 and 1803 nearly 55,000[j] slaves have been introduced. But in Mexico the increase of colonial prosperity is nowise occasioned by a more active slave trade. It is not above twenty years since Mexican sugar was known in Europe; Vera Cruz, at present, exports more than 120,000 quintals: and yet the progress of sugar cultivation which has taken place in New Spain since the revolution of St. Domingo has not perceptibly increased the number of slaves. Of the 74,000 negros annually furnished by Africa to the equinoxial regions of America and Asia, and which are worth in the colonies the sum of 111,000,000 francs,[k] not above 100 land on the coast of Mexico."

Customs and Manners of Tongataboo.

[From An Authentic Narrative of Four Years Residence there.]

"HAPPENING to meet some of the Missionaries, and finding that they had some work to perform at their habitation, I offered my assistance, and went to Ardeo; where I helped to plaister their house with a composition of lime, made of burnt coral, mixed up with the fibres of the cocoa-nut, instead of hair. It looked very neat, when finished. Its situation also was very pleasant. It was inclosed with a beautiful garden, which in some parts was planted with rows of pines, that now flourished luxuriantly; in others with cotton seeds, from which young trees had shot up, and promised to be very productive: some already began to bear: I saw one quite laden with cotton. The three missionaries residing here had made a great progress in the language. Bowel, whose abilities were superior to those of Harper or Gaulton, was arranging it in the form of a grammar, and composing a journal, with the intention of sending them to Europe; but this, the sudden war, and their untimely end, prevented.

"They appeared very happy and united, settled in safety, under the protection of Vahargee, a chief who lived near them.

"They faithfully remonstrated with me respecting my conduct; but whatever impression I felt at the

[j] According to the custom-house reports of the Havanah, of which I possess a copy, the introduction of negros, from 1790 to 1803, was 84,500, of whom 7 per cent. die annually.

[k] 4,625,370l. sterling. *Trans.*

time

time, passed off when I left them. By this time I had arrived at considerable power and dignity in the island; and with the assistance of my workmen, built a small canoe, which would carry eight or ten men.

"My acquaintance with the chiefs much increased; and as I had received every kind of attention from them, I prepared to return their kindnesses; and laid in provisions to entertain them. I bought a stock of pigs, and took great care to increase them; that there might always be in readiness a sufficient number to kill for the use of my friends, as occasion might require. I grew also some kava-root.

"I wished to have my little abbee as complete as possible, and therefore gave my workmen all the encouragement in my power; joined them in their labours, and fared the same as they did.

"In the course of nine or ten months we began to gather the fruits of our labours. We had plentiful crops of plantains and tarros. The tarro is a root resembling a carrot, which puts forth many shoots, that strike downwards for six or eight inches, by which the root is distended like the turnip, till it measures twelve inches in circumference: the top of it, like that of the pine, will grow again, when set. The roots soon spread over a large space, and when scraped and baked, are very pleasant and nutritious. Having a good supply of vegetable food, I was desirous of varying and improving it with fish; and therefore set upon contriving some expeditious mode of catching them, and at length improved upon the method of fishing at Tonga, by pursuing it upon a larger scale.

"For this purpose, with the assistance of a number of men, I stripped off the inner bark of trees, and, splitting it into fibres, twisted them into a large *moya*, or rope, which, when drawn out, extended a full mile. Procuring then a large quantity of the branches of the cocoa-nut tree, and stripping off the peel, together with the leaves, we wrapped it round the rope, in such a manner, that the leaves formed a fringe round it: this they called *ooloa*, or a fishing rope.

"We then put parts of the ooloa into several canoes, and rowing together to a considerable distance from shore, two divisions of canoes were formed, and each division took opposite ends of a piece of rope, and separating, rowed off in different directions, lengthening the ooloa as we receded from each other, with other parts of the rope in the canoes, till we came to the full extent of it; when both divisions turned round, and rowed towards the shore, in an inclining direction, till they met, when the ooloa encircled a large space of water. Upon approaching the reef, a number of men got out of the canoes, and pulled the rope together towards the shore, and gradually drew it up, in order to lessen the circle. The fish did not offer to jump over or dive under, but swam round the circle, as to avoid the rope, which, tufted with leaves, as before mentioned, swept the water with a rustling noise. As they approached the shore, and the circle became more contracted, the men ran the nets round the ooloa, or rope, and at length, the circle was so diminished, that the fish were forced into the bags of the surrounding nets, where they were secured, till the tide went down. The fibres of the cocoa-nut are so strong, as to be capable of sustaining an immense weight: the nets, therefore, were unbroken when the tide went down, although

although they had inclosed a number of large fishes, sufficiently great to fill, by this one draft, a canoe that would contain eighty men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, where a person has much, for numbers to flock to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, and eating, and a stranger passed, he would come and sit himself down by me, without ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and it would have been a transgression of the laws of hospitality to have refused them, as long as they lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our fish, therefore, in a short time; yet I had sufficient left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to take an ample quantity home.

" I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; but the weather, after a time, rotted them; and as my abbee now produced me an abundant variety of good and pleasant food, I never made another ooloa.

" My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

" The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

" I was much entertained in the tour, and joined the natives in all their amusements. The chief, whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person, whom he wished I would do him the honour to marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the Jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

" The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time in a grand marriage between Dugonagaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai. To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c. all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

" The bride, a fine woman of twenty-three years of age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred women, who followed her in procession. Her dress was modest and elegant: a thin vest, neatly crimped, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, enriched with flowery ornaments of matting.

" She walked at the distance of two or three paces before them; her carriage

carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest; her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain.

"As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company, and taking her respectfully by the hand, conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her, rose up after him, conducted the bride in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her till the canoe was rowing off: they had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity, as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call *taihene*: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction, which is here properly considered the virgin's glory, is then laid aside, because her honour then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz *Oanna*, as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one, without including the other.

"As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so: for unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga, that though the husband might severely punish an offender, if discovered, yet they are frequently guilty of it in secret: the principal chiefs, therefore, have their wives guarded by elderly women; and O, that the influence of bad example may never make a Briton regret the want of such a precaution in his own land.

"Before I leave this subject, I will venture an anachronism, by relating the process of a courtship at Tonga, as I witnessed it upon my return, till it closed in the marriage of the parties.

"A chief had conceived an affection for the daughter of a neighbouring chief, in Tongataboo. His intention was made known to the parents by a present of provisions, which was brought while I was with them, by a messenger, who at the same time communicated his master's wishes to marry their daughter. The parents received the proposal with indifference, as though not desirous of an alliance with them. The agent urged his suit, but could not prevail upon them to accept of the present.

present. This was an indication of not consenting to the match; and the man returned with his present. The next day he came with an address still more urgent, and a present of provision more abundant: this was also rejected. On the third application, however, the parents yielded to the solicitations of this petty envoy, and accepted of his present; which was the sign of their consent. They then communicated the affair to the daughter, who consented to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter is unknown at Tongataboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there, where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

"Preparations were then made for the nuptials. The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion, to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

"These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with an uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy; which terminated only with the dawn.

"After amusing ourselves for many days on this island, and receiving the most friendly attentions from the chiefs, Malkaamair's son fixed a period for our return; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us.

"At day-break we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

"I was charmed on my return with the flourishing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, cocoa and plantain trees, had already shot forth branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms for years near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clusters amongst the branches, some as large as a boy's head, full grown, and exuding a gum; others turned yellow, through ripeness, and the gum dried up. These fruits, when cut into four parts, and baked

like

like potatoes in the fire, in a kind of oven, formed a good substitute for bread, while the ripe cocoa-nuts supplied me with both meat and drink of a delicious flavour, and the plantains furnished me with a refreshing dessert after dinner. The oven which they use is a hole dug in the ground, the sides obliquely sloped: in this they kindle a fire, on which they place some stones; as soon as these are read hot, they draw the burnt sticks from under them, and, spreading the stones, place their provisions on them: they then lay some sticks prepared for the purpose across the hole to keep it hollow, and cover them with plantain and other broad and long leaves; on which they heap grass and sods, to confine the heat. In this manner their provisions are cooked in the course of half an hour. I have seen a pig of the weight of fourteen or sixteen stone sufficiently baked in one of these ovens in the space of four hours.

"The rows of sugar canes which I had planted on each side the path leading to the high road, had shot up to the height of eight or ten feet; and now they embowered and entwined themselves, so as to form a shady walk. I had improved upon the method of planting them, usual with the natives. They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pieces, and planted them nearly upright in the ground; these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but decayed at the top. I planted them lengthways, in furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers from every knot.

"By this expedient my plantation of canes so increased after a time, that I had abundance for my own use, and for presents to my friends. My little farm was a garden throughout. Many came to offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free from the *fadongyeer*, or tax on labour, and my labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly received them, as I took much pleasure in agriculture; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to my own; and, ere long, I purchased some fields bordering upon my abbee, so that at last it comprised fifty acres; and my own household sometimes contained no less than thirty persons. So great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feasting my own family with daily plenty, the fruits were left to drop off the trees. I mention this circumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, and their regard for strangers. Though they thought it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime, to rob European articles, because so rare and valuable, yet they would not plunder the plantation of another, especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives around who were pressed with want, came to beg the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed however but once, and that was by one man of the lowest order. He was detected by some other natives, who with great dexterity, discovered that he was the person who had stolen some pines and plantains from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees, from which they had been robbed, and fitting them to the branches where they had been broken off. So great is their severity against a plunderer of the plantations, that they would have put him to death, had not I interposed: but they would not be satisfied without tying him up and flogging him.

"The

"The umbrageous walk, which my thick-set hedge of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrubbery, and keep it clean and neat: and its delicious fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields, I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and, stripping down the cane, suck the pith, which was saturated with the sweet juice.

"The cane, when grown to perfection, was as thick as four fingers; but the chiefs were so fond of it, that they would not refrain from eating it till it arrived at maturity. It was a common amusement with them, to chew it for hours together.

"I much enjoyed my embowering walk of canes. I wish I could say, that while I sat under its shadow with great delight, and its "fruit "was sweet to my taste," I had meditated with a grateful heart on Him, of whom these words imply, that his favour refreshes the wearied soul, and his "word is sweeter than "the precious cane."

"While I enjoyed, under the shade of my fruitful trees, a pleasant tranquillity, in the simplicity of nature, had I endeavoured to direct the minds of the natives, who visited me, or my own household, to the glorious Parent of good, and to his blessed Son, the restorer of Eden's lost bliss, my present reflections would fill me with delight instead of shame. But, alas, I now needed instruction and reproof myself! I had so much imbibed the spirit of the natives, and joined their practices, that I never attempted to teach and improve them; or else, in a household of twenty, and sometimes of thirty people, who lived in my habitation, as my attendants and workmen, I might have done much good. But I thought of nothing but employing them for my service, in the labours of the day, or for my amusement in the diversions of the evening.

"Yet there were times, when ideas were thrown out, by the natives, respecting the immortality of the soul, which much surprised and abashed me. One day, I recollect, they were conversing about a person that was lately dead: they said to each other, "he goes to the island "through the sky," an expression by which they denoted a place very far off, as beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to touch the earth. Wishing to know their sentiments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and disbelief. "How can he "be," said I, "in that place, when "he is dead, and his body is here? "Did you not bury him some *moons* "ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one endeavouring to make me understand what he meant, took hold of my hand, and squeezing it, said, "Goomaogee hen, mooe hekai ma-"ogge."—"This will die, but the "life that is within you will never "die," with his other hand pointing to my heart.

"This sentiment expressed on such an occasion so unexpectedly, with such animation, and by a young man with whom I was particularly intimate, deeply impressed me. No circumstance more affected my mind during the whole of my continuance in the South-Sea Islands. Such a conviction of the immortality of the soul, expressed by a simple untutored heathen, defies, thought I, all the arguments of presumptuous philosophers, and infidel libertines.

"I was

"I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

"And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

"Afterwards, however, in conversation with some of the chiefs, I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls, immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo, who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injure them. Into this region, however, they believed none were admitted but the chiefs: the toos, or lower class, therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, "and darkness."

"All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, by offerings to Duatonga, the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate god, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain, or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake? They cried out to Mowe, a giant, who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An instance of this occurred not many months after we had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down about ten o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we inquired into the cause of the uproar, and they told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that the island had been shaken, because the giant Mowe, who supported it upon his shoulders, was become weary of his burden, and was beginning to fall asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

"At

"At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition; but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure Mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

"They supposed also that every man had an odooa or particular spirit attending him; and when any thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye "awa koo odooa fogee!" — "O "dear, he has a spirit!" The odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions the death of the person. It is to render him propitious that the relations so often wound themselves, and sometimes put some of the sick person's wives or domestics to death.

"By this time, having become very fluent in the language, I extended my acquaintance, and was the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

"I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair. When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which I would cut twenty branches and send them as a present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the manner of doing it rendered the present doubly valuable, and no present could be more acceptable and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plantains more than all other fruits.

"Though he was pleased with the presents sent him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go "and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and send it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it would say, "they had brought a "pig, but it was very small, and "intended for the servants, if I "would permit them, for Mulkaa-

"mair's

"mair's sake, to accept it." The servants then rose, and thanked the bearer, whilst I had only to beckon assent, without any expression of obligation or thanks. When they had departed, the servants would set it before me, and I ordered it to be dressed for the household. When it was ready, perhaps several persons in the neighbourhood would come in to partake of it, as was generally the custom at Tonga.

"But amid all these interchanges of ease and indulgence, employment, and amusement, I could not prevent the intrusion of uneasy reflections. I enjoyed no true peace and happiness, my dereliction of all religion often so pained my conscience as to render me a burden to myself. So true is the declaration of the inspired oracles, "There is no peace "to the wicked."

"Whilst proceeding in this career, however, I daily advanced in wealth and dignity. Ere long I purchased more land contiguous to Omotaanee, till my little abbee became a considerable estate. I engaged more labourers to cultivate my fields, and was very industrious in planting, dressing and cleaning them. I increased in favour with the chiefs, who esteemed me as a man of diligence and skill; and in time, I should, it is probable, have become as wealthy as many of the chiefs; as my land was very productive, and freed from the fadangyeer, or tax on labour, described above, which was a great burden to every other estate."

Preparations of the French Court for the Invasion of Great Britain.

[From Mr. Goldsmith's Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte.]

"I WILL now take a view of the so much talked of invasion of the British Isles.

"Immediately after the departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris, every possible insult and indignity was offered to the English, who were either so improvident or unfortunate as to remain in France.

"Our countrymen, nay, even women and children, were treated more like criminals and savages than natives of a civilized country, whom chance had placed within his power.

"He had conceived the most inveterate hatred to England and every thing English. He was determined, or at least wished to have it appear that he was determined to conquer this country.

"He, therefore, collected an immense flotilla at Boulogne for the purpose of making a descent.

"I have observed in a former part of this work, that one of Bonaparte's great advantages is, that there are a great number of unfortunate men in France, who, having been obliged to quit their country on account of their political opinions, are harnessed to the car of that universal usurper. It is from a person of this description, a native of this country, that I am enabled to give the following statement of what passed in the camp at Boulogne, just before its object was changed from

from England to Germany; from this statement it will appear that the object of Bonaparte, after he began to be convinced of the impracticability of an immediate invasion of England, was to induce the Continental powers to commence offensive operations, that he might have an ostensible excuse for abandoning his so much boasted enterprize.

"That before he heard of the triple alliance, he would have attempted a descent on this country, *has never been doubted.* What might have been his conduct with respect to this projected invasion, if a negociation had actually taken place between him and the allied powers, I will not attempt to discuss. I shall confine myself to what I have heard from the gentleman to whom I have above alluded. I will give the statement as nearly as I can in his own words:—

"There can be no doubt but "that Bonaparte never intended the "invasion of England, without hav- "ing a large fleet of men of war "to cover his flotilla. This fleet "was daily expected about May or "June, 1805. It was that com- "manded by Villeneuve, and which "was sent on purpose to the West "Indies, with no other object in "view, than to induce our fleets to "go after them.

"That fleet was to return to "Brest, where there were twenty- "five sail of the line: it has been "well ascertained, that the com- "bined squadrons of France and "Spain, under the Admirals Ville- "neuve and Gravina, would have "amounted to forty-six sail of the "line, exclusively of the Brest fleet, "thus making together seventy "sail of the line, besides a Dutch "fleet at the Texel, of eight sail "of the line, and two fifty gun "ships.

"At this period already *Negoci- "ations had commenced with Den- "mark,* for the surrender of her "fleet to France, which was to "have gone to Cuxhaven, from "whence Bernadotte's army, then "in Hanover, would have been em- "barked in it.

"However, the combined fleets "of France and Spain did not ar- "rive in Europe, until a month "after Bonaparte had received the "intelligence from Russia, respect- "ing the triple alliance; and his "squadron was defeated by Ad- "miral Calder.

"I am persuaded, that from that "moment, which was in July 1805, "he had not the remotest idea of "making the boasted descent.

"The news of Admiral Calder "having met with, and defeated "the combined squadrons, reached "him when he was still at Paris; "and *before* he went to Boulogne, "*pour faire la descente!* His rage "against Villeneuve may be con- "ceived; but it is difficult to be "expressed. The orders given to "the Admiral had been, that he "should return to Europe in May: "had this taken place, and had "Bonaparte been able to collect "his fleet in the Straits of Dover, "he certainly would have attempted "the invasion; for, at that period, "he had not received the news "from Petersburgh.

"I am not sufficiently acquainted "with either military or naval tac- "tics, to judge how far he might "have succeeded, admitting even "that his fleets would have escaped "the vigilance of ours, and have "all joined to lie off Boulogne. "The naval officers at Boulogne "always declared it to be almost "impossible

" impossible to reach the English " shores; for it would have re- " quired four days for all the ves- " sels there to work out of the " harbour, and to form a line; " which would have been fifty " miles; extending from Etaples " to Calais.

" During that time, our diffe- " rent squadrons would have joined; " the army on the English shore " would have been prepared; and " there can be no doubt, but that " if the fleet and flotilla had sailed " from the different points, more " than half would have been de- " stroyed on that element, which " has always proved favourable to " the arms of Britain.

" The army and flotilla were, " nevertheless, very formidable; the " former was upwards of 200,000 " strong, and was to be disposed of " as follows: There were to em- " bark at Boulogne 100,000 men; " at Calais 10,000; at Etaples " 20,000; at Ambleteuse 20,000; " about 50,000 men were to be left " in and about Boulogne, as a " *Corps de Réserve*; but a stronger " *Corps de Réserve*, of more than " 150,000 men, was posted *en* " *Echelons*, all the way back to " Metz, which no doubt was in- " tended more as an advanced guard " against Austria.

" The flotilla consisted of about " 3000 vessels, of three different " descriptions. The first were the " *Praames*; of these there were " only about 40; they had each " three masts, and lay very low on " the water; they carried six thirty- " six pounders on each side, besides " one in the bow and stern; about " 100 men could go in each of " these *Praames*.

" Of the second description were " the *Canoniers*, likewise of three " masts with decks; but not of the " same formidable size as the " *Praames*; they carried six six- " pounders each side; they could " carry about eighty men each; of " this description of boats the " amount was 1500.

" The remainder were the *Ba-* " *teaux Plats*, which could contain " about 50 men each; they had of " course no deck, and only four " small swivels on each side.

" There were, besides, a great " many Dutch hoys, smacks, and " skuits, to convey cavalry, forage, " and stores. The general opinion " at Boulogne was, that the *cata-* " *marans* would have done a great " deal of mischief, if ever the mad " tyrant had sent his cockle-shells " out to sea.

" There were also 30,000 men " in the Texel, under the command " of General Marmont; and the " Irish Legion, consisting of about " 4000 renegadoes, thieves, and va- " gabonds, from all nations, were " to be embarked at Brest, with " 10,000 French troops, under the " command of General Augereau. " The Irish officers felt hurt at " being placed in such a disagree- " able situation, as to be obliged to " conduct into their own country " such a motley band.

" There was also attached to the " army at Boulogne, a corps of " guides, to act as military inter- " preters. The commandant of " that corps was a Mr. Cuvelier, " an half-pay Colonel; but who had " of late become director of ballets " and pantomimes at one of the " minor theatres in Paris: he is " also a prolific author of *melo-* " *drames*. As the whole was a " *jeu de pantomime*, nothing could " have been so *à-propos* as the ap- " pointment of Mr. Cuvelier to a " command

" command in an army destined " for the conquest of Britain.

" Farcical and ridiculous as this " was to an attentive observer, Bo- " naparte did not wish it to be " considered a farce; he had cer- " tainly laid his plans for the inva- " sion of this country; he was fur- " nished with the names of all our " officers in the army and militia, " which he obtained from a Scotch- " man, whom he sent to this coun- " try in 1804; and who was then, " and is now, a general of division " in the French army.

" It may be depended upon, that " Bonaparte is as well acquainted " with our coast, and with every " creek and rivulet, as if he had " been a Kent smuggler all his life.

" Men of every description, con- " versant in English affairs, or who " could speak English, were ordered " to Boulogne, to assist him in his " farce. It was on that occasion " that General Clarke, now his mi- " nister of war, an Englishman by " birth, succeeded General Duroc, " as *Secretary of his Imperial Ma-* " *jesty's Cabinet.*

" The company of comedians, " belonging to the *Théatre de Vaude-* " *ville* of Paris, were likewise or- " dered to Boulogne; and Mr. Barré, " the dramatic author, was appointed " director of it: his patent was made " out as *Director of the Vaudeville* " *Company in London!!*

" New pieces were written for " the occasion; in particular, a piece " called " *Dugay Trouin,*" was a " great favourite. This great *Dugay* " *Trouin*, however, was nothing " more than the commander of a pri- " vateer, in the time of Louis XIV. " and who, when he was prisoner " in England, broke his parole.

" A great number of *sçavans,* " men of letters, &c. were also or- " dered to proceed to Bolougne.

" An English printing press, with " the stamps was also attached to " this expedition.

" Those who were not in Bona- " parte's secret, were so confident of " success, that several persons went " down to Boulogne, for the pur- " pose of passing with the army, " to establish banking and commer- " cial houses in London; and the " French government encouraged " them in these ideas.

" *That an active correspondence* " *was kept up from the camp at* " *Boulogne with persons in England* " *cannot be denied. Boats, with* " *letters and parcels, were constantly* " *arriving there from the English* " *coast.*

" *It was known, that a Special* " *Bureau was about that time esta-* " *blished, at the French Office for* " *Foreign Affairs, to keep up a* " *direct correspondence with certain* " *persons in England. The chief* " *of that establishment is an old* " *member of the Constitutional So-* " *ciety; and a great friend of our* " *leading English reformers. He* " *was one of those indicted for at-* " *tempting to rescue his friend, Ar-* " *thur O'Connor, at Maidstone.*

" Every appearance of immediate " embarkation was kept up. The " biscuit was on board; the troops " were constantly ordered in and " out of the boats, as also the " horses. Bonaparte, who had his " head-quarters at *Ponte Brique,* " two leagues from Boulogne, now " removed his head-quarters to the " town, in order to *superintend the* " *embarkation of his armies.*

" One day, he ordered about an " hundred of his cockle-shells to " go out of the harbour, to fight " the *tyrants of the seas,* who were " lying to, about three miles off. " The English force consisted only " of three frigates, and a line of

" battle ship. The French boats " took care to keep at a respectful " distance from the English ships; " but they kept up an incessant " firing, from nine in the morning " till six in the afternoon. The " English ships did not *fire a gun!* " but were only waiting for the " French going out to them; which " they took care not to do, although " the *Grand Empereur*, and his Em- " press, and his imperial and royal " sisters and brothers, were present, " to witness this grand undertaking, " which was to end in the destruc- " tion of modern Carthage.

" A few days after this *stage* " *fight*, the Moniteur gave an ac- " count of a regular engagement, " which had taken place off Bou- " logne, between the English squa- " dron and a division of the French " flotilla; the result of which was, " that the former were obliged to " sheer off!!

" However, Bonaparte took good " care that this article should not " appear at Boulogne: he, there- " fore, sent orders to omit that " article in the Moniteurs which " were to be sent off to the coast.

" Having heard that the Austrians " were in full march towards the " Rhine, he broke up his camp in " an hour, and began his march; " but the army at Boulogne was " only the rear guard, and the *corps* " *de réserve*, which was in the en- " virons of Metz, was already near " Strasburgh before the camp at " Boulogne broke up."

" Thus far the narrative, as given to me; by which it appears evident, that nothing was seriously intended against England, after the news received from Petersburgh, of the triple alliance, and when Bonaparte's schemes were thwarted of bringing his fleets together. He did, therefore, every thing in his power, to irritate the Austrians and Russians, that *they* might appear to be the aggressors, by commencing hostilities.

" Accordingly, after the failure of Mr. Novosiltzzoff's mission, the following article appeared in the Hague official Gazette, of the 30th July, 1805:—" Napoleon will no " longer delay the execution of his " grand plan: he will send out the " expedition against England, and " compel that kingdom to make " a separate peace, before the pow- " ers of the continent can join the " same. Napoleon has foreseen the " possibility of a great and sudden " change in the dispositions of the " powers of the continent, and he " has determined, at the same time, " to be before-hand with them, by " a sudden and unexpected blow."

" From the chain of facts which I have detailed, it is perfectly clear, that Bonaparte meant to attack the allies unprepared, and yet, at the same time, to make it appear that *they* were the aggressors.

" Count *Philip* Cobentzel, as I have already observed, was more the minister of Bonaparte than of Francis. His treasons were even known to his own uncle, Count *Louis* Cobentzel. Nevertheless, he was allowed to remain in that situation. Had Count *Philip* been an honest man, he would not have pressed his government to attack France before the arrival of the Russians. He should also have known, and made his government acquainted, that Bonaparte, being kept at Boulogne, with an army, in such an unsettled state, their impatience producing continual symptoms of mutiny, must have been much embarrassed how to act.

" The officers and men had, in fact, begun to turn him into ridicule, and consider him as a *Charlatan*,

latan, who pretended to things beyond his reach, in attempting the conquest of England.

"All this could not have been unknown to Count *Philip:* he must have been aware, that Bonaparte "*étoit poussé à bout!*" and found himself unable to recede without losing credit; that he must either have embarked, or be killed in his own army.

"The *well affected* Philip, however, did not wish to see his idol crushed; he informed his court, that, "before they could receive "his dispatches, Bonaparte would be "embarked, and that now was the "time to march." By this falsehood he was the saviour of Bonaparte.

"The camp at Boulogne was broken up, and Bonaparte was at Ulm, before the Austrian army had made any disposition to meet him, though they had had time enough for that purpose.

"Count Philip had given them to understand, that they had nothing to apprehend in Germany; that the troops at Boulogne were engaged in the invasion of England; that there were no French troops in Germany, and that the whole of the Austrian troops might be safely employed in Italy: that they *ought*, indeed, to be so employed, as there were then in *that* country 30,000 French troops, beside nearly 20,000 in the kingdom of Naples.

"In consequence of this honest advice, the Archduke Charles was sent, with the flower of the Austrian army, to Italy; and Germany left to be defended, if it should be unexpectedly attacked, by the very refuse of the Austrian forces.

"Well might General Mack, when informed of the approach of Bonaparte's army to Ulm, exclaim, "The Austrian Cabinet is sold to "Bonaparte!—We are all be-"trayed!"

"The dispatch, from which the above is an abstract, was absolutely dictated by Bonaparte at Boulogne, and sent to Talleyrand in Paris, to be given to Cobentzel, by him to be forwarded to Vienna.

"But that Bonaparte might be assured of the devotion of Cobentzel to his interest, *gens d'armes*, in disguise, were sent after the bearer of the dispatch, who happened to be a secretary of the Austrian legation. His papers were opened and examined, and he was allowed to proceed, the robbers contenting themselves with his purse and his watch.

"Thus did Bonaparte procure an easy entrance into the Austrian States, and an excuse for his abandoning, for the present, the boasted invasion and conquest of England, which, if he had attempted, he foresaw would end in his disgrace and ruin."

Diplomacy of the French Court.

[From the Same.]

IT is a received maxim, that "an open enemy is less dan-"gerous than a pretended friend;" it is of ancient date—it must have existed long before the days of Xenophon; but he has put it in such

such prominent terms, that I cannot forbear quoting the words of that celebrated author and general.

"Treachery is more formidable "than open war, in proportion as it "is more difficult to guard against "clandestine plots than against an "open attack. It is also more "odious, because men engaged in "open hostilities may again treat "together, and come to a sincere "reconciliation; whereas, no per-"son can venture to treat with a "man who has been detected of "treachery, nor repose any confi-"dence in the professions he may "make for the time to come."

"On this principle I think it much wiser, in nations possessed of the probable means of resistance, to be in a state of war with Bonaparte, than to make peace with him.

"I am now come to that part of my task, which requires that I should follow this imperial free-booter through Germany, Poland, and Hungary.

"Every thing that treachery, cunning, art, perjury, robbery, and assassination, could devise, was practised in the cabinet, and followed in the field. This man, now, for the first time, at the head of his ruffian bands, entered Germany, in the assumed character of an Emperor, in order to display to the world what he had meant by his "federative "system," and to give mankind an example of the villanies, and atrocities of which one individual, vested with unrestrained power, is capable.

"From the nature of this work, it is not to be expected that I should follow this usurper through all his military operations. I have already shewn, and I hope to the satisfaction of the reader, *what* advantages he has over his enemies: my principal object is not to give a detailed history of his campaigns, but to relate facts attending them, which are not generally known.

"No sooner did Bonaparte enter the neutral territory of the Elector of Baden, than he violated it, by forcibly entering the hotels of the Swedish and Russian ministers, and seizing all the papers found there belonging to the legations. Fortunately for the persons of the ambassadors, they had made their escape the preceding night; their furniture and valuables, however, were made the subject of plunder.

"On his arrival at Stutgard, then also a neutral country, still greater violence was offered to the Austrian, Russian, and Swedish ambassadors resident in that capital. Not only were their hotels broke into and given up to plunder, but their persons were arrested.

"But Bonaparte's disregard to the sacredness of neutral territory did not rest here. Marshal Ney, who commanded a French *corps*, which was to have passed by agreement on the side of Stutgard, entered it by force, went to the elector's stables and palace, and carried off every horse in the one, and every thing valuable in the other.

"The electoral prime minister, Mr. Wintzingerode, presented a note on this occasion to the French minister at Stutgard, Mr. Didelot; but the nations of the Continent had yet to learn new notions on the laws of nations.

"Not a week after, a French army, contrary to the opinions entertained by the *great political* heads who govern the Continent of Europe, violated the neutrality of the Prussian territory, in marching from Hanover across *Bayreuth*, to the theatre of war.

"Every man who wished for the destruction of the arch fiend, rejoiced

joiced at this event, because they were in hopes that it would rouse the indignation of Prussia, especially as Mr. Baron Hardenberg was then Prussian minister for foreign affairs, as well as the *intendant* of the province of Bayreuth.

"Napoleon, however, knew that he was playing a sure game with Prussia; he *promised* the king a renewal of subsidies, and additional *douceurs* were sent to Mr. Lombard.

"In order to be fully apprized of what was going on at Ratisbon between Prussia and the foreign ministers in that city, he placed Colonel Beauvoisin in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of stopping every courier and every post-boy, and carrying off the mail: such attacks were made about this time all over Germany, and carts full of saddle-bags, which had been stolen from various mails, were received at the police office in Paris, and four extra clerks were appointed for the purpose of translating their contents.

"This Colonel Beauvoisin was ordered, by General Savary, with whom he was in correspondence for this purpose, to stop a Prussian colonel, who was expected to pass near Nuremberg, on his way to Berlin, from Ratisbon; and if he made any resistance, to kill him. This was done, to the very spirit and letter of the instructions.

"When Beauvoisin had killed the colonel, he placed him in his carriage, and posted off to Savary, who was then at *Braunau*. The latter asked him if he had the dispatches? "*Je le crois bien*," said Beauvoisin, "*et mon homme aussi*;" accordingly the murdered colonel was exhibited to Savary by way of trophy. Four aids de camps of Savary's happened to be in the room when the corpse was brought in; such a bloody transaction therefore could not remain a secret: besides, Beauvoisin, who was a very talkative man, related the affair himself.

"It appeared by these dispatches, that Saxony was treating with Austria, and that the Saxon minister at Paris, *Le Comte du Bünau*, had received some dispatches from his court on that subject. Some difficulty was started as to the means of procuring possession of the Count's papers. It became necessary to form a plan for that purpose.

"The police discovered that it was not very easy to attain the object proposed; after deliberation, it was determined that the shortest way *was to have him murdered*. The chief clerk of the secret police sent for the Count's cook, and promised him a very large sum *if he would poison his master*. This poor fellow said that he had lived twenty years with the Count, that he was a kind and indulgent master, and that he would rather lose his life, than hurt a hair of his master's head. The police agent addressed him thus: "You shall have 50,000 francs, "(2000*l.* sterling) *pour votre ouv-* "*rage*." If you decline that office, you will not be suffered to remain at *liberty*, and your master will nevertheless *die*. Perhaps the man understood, from this expression, that he himself might be no longer permitted to *live*.

"This observation may possibly convey to the reader the reason of the man's becoming afterwards his own assassin. He meant to prevent the murder of his master, by sacrificing his own life. The man promised to obey.

"The next day he went into his master's room, visibly agitated, and said to him, "My good master, take "care of your person. I have writ- "ten the whole affair to Mr. ***; "as

"as to me, *I* am a great rascal." He then took out a pistol, and blew out his *own* brains in the presence of his affrighted master. The clergyman, who had in fact received a letter from the cook, giving an account of the whole affair, immediately went to the count, and communicated to him the narrative of the cook.

"The next day, the Paris newspapers gave the following account of this affair:—

"Count Bünau, the Saxon mi-"nister, having had a violent quar-"rel with his cook, the SCOUNDREL "entered his master's cabinet with "two pistols, one of which *he fired* "*at the Count*, which fortunately "flashed in the pan, the other he "fired at himself, and he fell dead "on the spot."

"If Count Bünau had not received a full and true account of what had passed between the police director and his cook, this very article in the newspaper must have convinced him that the French government was at the bottom of the transaction.

"Notwithstanding the wrong direction this affair had taken, the police *could* not retract; the Count *must* be destroyed, and for this reason.

"The papers which they wanted were not in themselves perhaps of great consequence, but it seems that a dispatch had been sent off by the police, apparently in the hand-writing of the Count, to the court of Dresden, urging that court to join the coalition. The object no doubt was, that they might come to a knowledge of the intentions of the Saxon cabinet. The answer was received by the police *after* the Count's death, by which it appeared that the court of Saxony wished to remain neuter. It was necessary that *Bünau* should be murdered, that this affair might not transpire.

"It was not known that the man had communicated to the clergyman an account of the transaction between him and the director of police, and therefore it was supposed that the murder of the Count would prevent its coming to the knowledge of the public.

"He *was* murdered! How that was accomplished, or by whom, I cannot say; but his death was announced in the following manner, in the Moniteur of the 23d of January, 1806:

"Count Bünau, the Saxon mi-"nister at the court of France, "died yesterday: that gentleman "never recovered the fright occa-"sioned by the conduct of his cook "towards him a short time since."

"They were conscious of being guilty of assassination; they now found it necessary to cloak that under an abominable lie. They attempted to make the public suppose that that was owing to a fright, which they had themselves perpetrated by treachery and violence."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On the Poetry of Froissart.

(From Mr. Johnes's Memoirs of his Life.)

"HISTORIANS have a great advantage over other writers; for as the principal merit of their works depends on their veracity, they are not liable to the revolutions or caprices to which other productions are subjected, from the arbitrary taste of different nations and ages, and for this reason are transmitted with more certainty to posterity.

"Froissart, whose name is deservedly celebrated on account of the history he has left us, would scarcely be known from his poetry, if Pasquier had not noticed the title of a copy of his poems which he had seen in the king's library at Fontainebleau: he may, however, have occupied a no less honourable place among the poets of his age than among the historians; and this is a point which M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye has undertaken to examine before he conclude the researches he has made concerning him and his productions. To confine himself strictly within the limits he has prescribed to himself, he does not promise to enter into a minute detail of all his poetry, which comprehends about thirty thousand verses.

"Among the poems of considerable length, to which Froissart has given the names of *Traittez*, M. de la Curne has chosen the *Paradis d'Amour*, and *l'Horloge Amoreuse*. Among those called *Ditiez*, he has selected that of the *Marguerite*; and in the miscellaneous pieces, as rondeaus, ballads, pastorals, *Lais*, *Virelais* and *Chants Royaux*, he has taken particular pains to make us acquainted with the pastorals and rondeaus.

The Paradise of Love.

"The poet, tormented by the most violent love, falls asleep, and dreams, and the subject of this dream forms the plan of his poem. He finds himself seated in a beautiful wood, on the banks of a rivulet besprinkled with flowers, and surrounded by birds, among whom the nightingales form the most charming concerts. Recollecting, at this moment, the events of his youth, and the various success he had met with in his amours, he utters a violent complaint against the god of love.

love for all the misfortunes he had made him suffer. Plunged in a melancholy not to be alleviated by the songs of the birds, he hears a confused noise of voices, which made him retire behind a bush: two ladies appear as brilliant in charms as in dress, and, having approached, want to beat him, in revenge for the insult he had just offered to the god of love, their master: their names were Pleasure and Hope. Being somewhat appeased, they tell him he should impute his misfortunes to himself alone, for that he had failed in submission and perseverance, which had been strongly recommended to him on his engaging under the standard of love; and, besides, assure him, that by these means more might have been obtained by him from the lady of his heart in one hour than he could have imagined, or even wished. Pleasure, after this useful advice, satisfies his curiosity to know what were her functions with the god of love. The principal, she said, consisted in supporting his power, by the reciprocal charms which she conferred on two persons in love with each other, whence comes the proverbial saying, 'No 'ugly lover nor ill-favoured mis-'tress.' He then conjures her, by all the credit she may be supposed to have in the court of Love, to exert herself that the lady to whom he had paid his homage should become less cruel.

"Hope, into whose hands Pleasure transfers him, demands if he be not jealous, which she calls the curse of lovers, and promises to cure him of this disorder, provided he would never lose sight of her. At length, the two ladies conduct him by the hand to the park where Love resided, and on the road ask him for some ballads and virelays of his composition, which they sing with him.

"They meet near a hill *doux penser, gentil damoiseau*, holding two greyhounds in a leash, who points out to them the place where they would find the god they are in search of. Several hunters, such as *Beau-semblant, Beau-regard, Franc-vouloir, Desir, Souvenir, Bien-besognant*, and others, scattered over different parts with greyhounds, pursuing the chace of love, afford opportunities to the new pilgrim to inquire if the god had many such hunters, and learns that he had thirty times as many, as well counts and dukes as kings and others.

"When they had advanced farther, they meet a large company of beautiful ladies and damsels, with handsome youths, all clothed in green, and preparing to dance; and on his asking who they were, Pleasure names many heroes and heroines of romance, all subjects of the divinity, who dance near the paradise of his residence. At last they come to his pavilion, which is extended under a grove of trees, and the poet being presented, recites a lay so much to the satisfaction of the god that he promises him his assistance, and desires the ladies who had brought him to take every care of him, and shew him his gardens.

"As they were walking, singing, and gathering flowers, they met, in a handsome mead surrounded with rose-trees, *Bel-accueil*, who was making a chaplet of flowers, which two young maidens were collecting for him. The lover instantly runs to cast himself at the feet of his mistress: speaks to her of his passion with transports, intermixed with trembling: tells her of the prayer he had made to Love, and entreats her to soften a little of her rigour

rigour, if she be desirous that he should live. She asks, with a sweet smile, what he wishes from her, and, as she had recommended him not to exceed the bounds of discretion, he conjures her, that now being alone, she would allow him to hear some soft expressions from her mouth, and to condescend to retain him as her humble servant.

"Having obtained these favours, he goes away with her, and sings a ballad, which gains the applause of Pleasure as well as of his mistress: the last also rewards him with her permission to kiss a chaplet of daisies which she had just gathered, and which she herself kisses as she places it on his head. He is on the point of obtaining his utmost wishes, when she proposes going to another part of the garden to amuse themselves; but the joy he feels at this instant (for it seemed as if Pleasure were touching him) making him start, he awakens, and then returns thanks to the gods who had given him a dream so full of charms that he had been transported into the Paradise of Love.

"If the poem which follows, under the title of *l'Horloge Amoureuse*, be not so full of fictions, it is not the less curious for the information it affords us relating to the history of the arts.

"While all things concur towards perfection, and a learned society, under the eyes of different enlightened ministers of state, unite to the efforts of the most able artists the fruits of the deepest speculation, it would become those who pursue historical researches to be animated with a similar zeal, and at times to turn their views to the same objects, —and, for the utility of the arts, to point out by what steps and by what means they have risen to the height at which we now see them,—and, for the honour of those who cultivate them, to shew how very far the moderns have gone beyond their predecessors in this line.

"Monuments like to the *Horloge Amoureuse* of Froissart would form an essential part of such a plan; for it not only contains a most circumstantial comparison of each part of a clock and its movement, with the state of a heart in love, and its various agitations, but, among other particulars of this comparison, it informs us of the ancient state of clock-making. We see, in the first place, that with regard to the movement, and the striking part, each had but two wheels instead of four, which they have at present. These two wheels were sufficient,—but the clocks went only six or eight hours,—and they were wound up three or four times a day.

"Secondly, That the clock marked twenty-four hours, beginning with one to twelve, and then repeating the same a second time.

"Thirdly, That the dial went round, and the hour was marked by a fixed point, which served for a hand.

"Fourthly, That instead of a pendulum or balance wheel, which were not then invented, the clocks had a piece called *foliot*, which bore two small weights called *regules*, whose use was to retard or advance the clock, as they were brought more or less near to the center of the foliot.

"Beside the differences in the construction of clocks, we remark in this poem several terms of clock-making which were then used, and are now no longer current.

"The flower called Daisy, which incessantly turns to the sun, is celebrated in a poem under the title of 'Le Dit de la Margurite.' This flower was formed, according to the

the poet, from the tears the young Heres shed over the tomb of Cepheus her lover. Mercury was accidentally led to the spot of this metamorphosis, as he was driving his flock to pasture; surprised to see so beautiful a flower in the month of January, when all the others were lifeless, and delighted with its brilliancy, he made a chaplet of it, and sent it by his messenger Liris to the fair Heres. So rare a present caused another change more happy than the first: the nymph, hitherto cruel, became affectionate. The god, full of love and gratitude for a flower to which he owed the happiness of his life, determined to wear it ever after, as an ornament to his head.

"This fiction is written with much delicacy and ingenuity: the purity with which the author protests to love eternally this flower, the subject of his poem, is expressed with too much tenderness not to conceal a real passion, perhaps for a lady of a similar name.

"The greater number of Froissart's pastorals are on the prizes offered in different parts of Flanders and Picardy, to the fairest shepherdess of the district, or to the swain who should the best celebrate his love in song.

"M. de la Curne designedly suppresses many details concerning the dress of that age, the various musical instruments used in the country, and other particulars of the same sort. He likewise passes over several pastorals, apparently more important from their connexion with historical events,—such as a coining of money, the arrival of king John of France in England, the return of the duke of Brabant to his country after his captivity, the victory gained by Charles VI. of France at Cassel, the marriage of the duke of Berry, the public entry of queen Isabella into Paris, &c.

"Froissart has succeeded better in his pastorals than in any other species of poetry: that simple and ingenuous gaiety, which is the general character of his mind, he has transfused wholly into the sentiments and deportment of his shepherds and shepherdesses. The subjects they discuss, their manner of treating them, and their language, are always conformable to their state and sentiments; a lively joy animates their games and their pastimes; but to render it more striking, M. de la Curne thus relates a part of the fourth pastoral.

"A rich shepherd balances between the fear of losing the affection of his mistress, who threatens to leave him if he do not marry her, and the great wealth his relations promise him to prevent the match: he, therefore, confidentially seeks advice in this embarrassment from a shepherd who is his friend, and whose counsels end always with,

> 'Si tu peux avoir ta bergére,
> 'Oserois-tu demander mieux?'
>
> Were that lovely maid your bride,
> What could you demand beside?

At this moment the shepherdess appears; they advance to meet her; and the friend who has been consulted says,

> 'S'elle veut estre t'amiette,
> 'Oserois-tu demander mieux.'
>
> What compar'd is earthly gain,
> Could you her consent obtain!

The shepherdess has two chaplets of flowers: she gives one to her lover, who is transported with joy: the two shepherds then take her by the hand.

'E:

' Et puis prirent à caroler *
' Et le bergerette à chanter
' Une chançon moult nouvelette;
' Et disoit en chançonette,
' Di moi, ausel, si t'ayt diex,
' Si je voeil estre t'amiette,
' Oserois-tu demander mieux !'

Sweetly sung the gentle swains;
Sweetly she return'd their strains
In notes they never hop'd to hear,
While those soft accents charm'd the ear,
Tell me, should the gods provide
Such a blessing in a bride,
What could you wish on earth beside?

" The subjects of rondeaus are almost aways uniform. The most part of Froissart's speak the natural sentiments of a lover sometimes well treated, at other times the reverse; at times gay and happy, at others melancholy and in despair. The expressions are ever lively, tender and simple, and perfectly paint the passion with which his breast is agitated. Underneath are two examples. The first rondeau begins,

' Amours, amours, que voulés de moi faire!
' En vous ne puis veoir riens de seur.
' Je ne cognois ne vous ne votre afaire,
' Amours, amours, &c.
' Lequel vaut mieux parler, prier ou taire!
' Dites le moi, vous qui ayez bon eur,
' Amours, amours,' &c.

Ye gods of soft passion, what do you intend?
Your're so fickle and frolic, and fond of disguise:
I know not is Cupid my foe or my friend.
Ye gods of soft passion, what do you intend?
Whether silence or speech my condition wi'l mend,
O tell me some counsellor cunning and wise!
Ye gods of soft passion, what do you intend?

The second rondeau:

' De quoi que soit, se doit renouveller
' Uns jolis coers, le premier jour de May,
' Voire s'il aime, ou s'il pense à aimer,
' De quoi que soit, &c.
' Pour ce vous veux, madame, émayoler †
' En lieu de May, d'un loyal coer que j'ay,
' De quoi que soit,' &c.

SHE.

Whatever betides, I will summon my swain
On the first day of May his homage to pay;
And to know if he's bound, or has broken my chain.
Whatever betides, I will summon my swain.

HE.

Though I know your delight is to sport with my pain,
And ring the loud summons the first day of May,
Be it known I'm your slave, and your slave will remain;
And you need not inquire if I still wear your chain.

" We may generally say of Froissart as a poet, that he was as much wanting in invention for his subject as in imagination for his ornaments. His style, less copious than loose, too frequently offers a tiresome repetition of the same phrases and turns of expression to introduce common thoughts: but the simplicity and freedom of his versification are not always void of grace; we meet now and then with poetical images, and many lines of verse of a very happy flow.

" Such was the state of poetry in that age, and painting was nearly the same. These two arts, which have almost always been united, seem to have made an uniform progress. Painters, on their emerging from barbarism, seizing at first in detail all the small objects nature presented to them, painted insects, flowers and birds, with such brilliant colours, and drew them with such exactness, that we at this day admire them among the ornaments of ancient manuscripts. When they attempted to represent the human figure, they studied more to render the outline and the detail of hair as minute as possible than to give expression to the countenance or motion to the body. These figures, of which vulgar nature furnished them with the models, were thrown together, as by accident, without selection, or taste in the composition.

* Danser.

† Donner le May.

lection,

"Poets, as barren as painters, contented themselves with descriptions suited to their talents, and never left off until the subject was worn out. They could scarcely sing any thing but the beauty of spring, the verdure of the country, the enamelled meads, the chaunt of the birds, the clearness of a beautiful fountain, or a rivulet that murmured. Sometimes, however, they told with simplicity the childish amusements of lovers,—their smiles, their pastimes, their palpitations in the joy of an agitated heart: their imagination did not extend further, and they were besides incapable of forming any link or connexion between their ideas.

"William de Lorris, who began the 'Roman de la Rose,' feigns, that having fallen asleep in an orchard, he had seen in a dream allegorical personages of every virtue and every vice; that by walking through different groves he had heard their conversation, and had even conversed with them himself. It is not known whether he be the first inventor of this fiction; but however that may be, all the poets, for more than two centuries, enchanted with so rare an invention, thought they could not do better than copy it,—and whenever they enriched it with any additional circumstance, it was the utmost effort of their mind.

"It was, therefore, a long time after this period, that poets and painters, who had insensibly and separately brought their works to perfection, learnt to make choice of the grandest and most beautiful objects nature presented to them,—to unite them with some sort of propriety, and, having gained greater strength, to view with one glance the whole extent of their subject, and to form a general plan of it. It was then, that bringing the whole to one point of view, they learnt to reduce it to that unity without which all the works of genius or of art must ever remain below perfection."

Animadversions upon Chaucer, sett downe by Francis Thynne.—1598.

[From Mr. Todd's Illustrations.]

"*To Master Thomas Speighte.* —— *Ffrancis Thynne sendeth greetinge.*

"THE industrye and love (master Speighte) whiche you haue vsed, and beare, vppon and to oure famous poete Geffrye Chaucer, deseruethe bothe commendatone and furtheraunce: the one to recompense your trauayle, the other to accomplyshe the dutye whiche we all beare (or at the leaste, yf we reuerence lernynge or regarde the honor of oure Countrye, sholde beare) to suche a singuler ornamente of oure tonge, as the Workes of Chaucer are. Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected by anye one, wherein some imperfectone may not bee founde, (for as the prouerbe is *Barnardus*, or as others haue, *Alanus non videt omnia,*) you must be contented to gyve me leave in dyscharge of the duetye and love which I beare to Chaucer, (whome I suppose I have as great intereste to adorne withe my small skyll as any other hath,

hath, in regarde that the laborious care of my father made hym most acceptable to the worlde in correctinge and augmentinge his Workes,) to enter into the examinatõne of this new editõne; and that the rather, because you, with Horace his verse *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti*, have willed all others to further the same, and to accepte your labors in good parte; whiche as I most willingly doo, so meaninge but well to the worke, I ame to lett you vnderstande my conceyte thereof, whiche before this, yf you wolde have vouchsafed my howse or have thoughte me worthy to have byn acqueynted with these matters, (which you might well have donne without anye whatsoeuer dysparagement to yourselfe,) you shoulde have vnderstoode before the impressione, althoughe this whiche I here write ys not nowe vppon selfe-will or fond conceyte to wrangle for an asses shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rushe; but in frendlye sorte to bringe truthe to lighte; a thinge, whiche I wolde desire others to vse towardes mee in whatsoeuer shall fall oute of my penne. Wherefore I will here shewe suche thinges as, in my opynione, may serue to be touched; not medlinge withe the seconde editione to an inferior personne than my fathers editione was.

"Ffirste, IN YOUR FORESPECHE TO THE READER, you saye secondly the texte by written copies corrected. By whiche worde *corrected* I maye seme to gather, that you imagine greate imperfectione in my fathers editione, whiche peraduenture maye move others to saye (as some vnadvisedly have sayed) that my father had wronged Chaucer. Wherefore, to stoppe that gappe, I will answer, that Chaucers Works haue byn sithens printed twyce, yf not thrice; and therefore by oure carelesse (and for the most parte vnlearned) printers of Englande, not so well performed as yt ought to bee: so that of necessytye bothe in matter, meter, and meaninge, yt must needes gather corruptõne, passinge through so manye handes; as the water dothe, the further yt runneth from the pure founteyne. To induce me and all others to iudge his editione (whiche I thinke you neuer sawe wholye together, beinge fyrst printed but in one columne in a page, whereof I will speake hereafter,) was the perfectest, ys the earnest desire and love my father hadde to have Chaucer's Workes rightlye to be publyshed. For the performance whereof, my father not onlye vsed the help of that lerned and eloquent knight and antiquarye Sr Briane Tuke, but had also made greate search for copies to perfecte his Workes, as appereth *in the ende of the Squier's Tale*, in his editione printed in the yere 1542; but further had commissione to serche all the libraries of England for Chaucers Works, so that oute of all the Abbies of this Realme (whiche reserved any monuments thereof) he was fully furnished with multitude of Bookes: emongst whiche, one coppye of some part of his Works came to his handes subscribed in diuers places withe *examinatur Chaucer*. By this Booke, and conferringe manye of the other written copies together, he delivered his editione, fullye corrected, as the amendements vnder his hande, in the fyrst printed booke that euer was of his Works, (being stamped by the fyrste impressione that was in Englande,) will well declare; at what time he added manye thinges, which were not before printed, as you nowe haue donne some, of which I ame perswaded (and that not withoute reasone) the originall came from mee.

mee. In whiche his editione, beinge printed but with one columne in a syde, there was *the Pilgrymes Tale*, a thinge moore odious to the Clergye then the speche of *the Plowmanne*; that *Pilgrymes Tale*, begynnynge in this sorte:

In Lincolnshyre, fast by a feanne,
Standes a relligious howse who dothe yt kenne, &c.

In this Tale did Chaucer most bitterlye enveye against the pride, state, couetousnes, and extorcione of the byshoppes, their officialls, archdeacons, vicars generalls, commissaryes, and other officers of the spirituall courte. The inventione and order whereof (as I haue herde yt related by some nowe of good worshippe bothe in courte and countrye, but then my fathers clerkes,) was, that one comyinge into this relligious howse walked vpp and downe the churche, beholdinge goodlye pictures of byshoppes in the windowes; at lengthe the manne contynuynge in that contemplatione, not knowinge what byshoppes they were; a grave olde manne with a long white hede and berde, in a large blacke garment girded vnto hym, came forthe and asked hym what he iudged of those pictures in the windowes; who sayed, he knewe not what to make of them, but that they looked lyke unto our mitred, bishoppes; to whome the olde father replied, yt is true, they are lyke, but not the same, for oure byshoppes are farr degenerate from them; and, with that, made a large discourse of the bishoppes and of their courtes. This Tale when kinge Henry the eighte had redde, he called my father vnto hym, sayinge, 'William Thynne, 'I doubt this will not be allowed; 'for I suspecte the byshoppes will 'call thee in question for yt.' To whome my father, beinge in great fauore with his prince, (as manye yet lyvinge canne testyfye,) sayed, 'yf your grace be not offended, I 'hope to be protected by you.' Whereuppon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye and feare not. All whiche notwithstandinge, my father was called in questione by the byshoppes and heaved at by cardinall Wolseye, his olde enymye, for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his Collin Cloute againste the Cardinall, the most parte of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erithe in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls perswadinge auctorytye was so greate with the kinge, that thoughe by the kinges fauor my father escaped bodelye daunger, yet the Cardinall caused the kinge so muche to myslyke of that Tale, that Chaucer must be nowe printed and that discourse of *the Pilgrymes Tale* leste oute; and so, beinge printed agayne, some thinges were forsed to be omitted; and *the Plowmans Tale* (supposed, but vntrulye, to be made by olde sir Thomas Wyat, father to hym whiche was executed in the firste yere of Quene Marye, and not by Chaucer,) with much ado permitted to passe with the reste, in suche sorte, that in one open parliamente (as I haue herde Sr Iohne Thynne reporte, being then a member of the howse,) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden, Chaucer had there for euer byn condempned, had yt not byn that his Workes had byn counted but fables. Whereunto yf you will replye, that their coulde not be any suche *Pilgrymes Tale*, because Chaucer in his Prologues makethe not mentione of anye suche personne, which he wold hauedonne, yf yt had byn so; for after that he had recyted the Knighte, the Squyer, the squiers Yeomane, the Prioresse, her

her Nonne, and her thre Priests, the Monke, the Fryer, the Marchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, Seriante at the lawe, Franckleyne, Haberdasher, Goldsmythe, Webbe, Dyer, and Tapyster, Cooke, Shypmane, Doctor of physicke, Wyfe of Bathe, Personne, and Plowmane, he sayeth, at the ende of the Plowmans Prologe,

There was also a Reve, and a Milliere,
A Sumpnoure, and a Pardoner also,
A Manciple, and my selfe, there was no mo.

All which make xxx persons with Chaucer. Wherefore yf there had byn any more, he wolde also haue recyted them in those verses. Whereunto I answere, that in the Prologes he lefte oute some of those whiche told their Tales; as the Chanons Yeomane, because he came after that they were passed oute of theyre inne, and did ouertake them, as in lyke sorte this Pilgrime did or myght doo, and so afterwardes be one of their companye, as was that Chanons Yeomane, although Chaucer talke no more of this Pilgrime in his Prologe then he dooth of the Chanons Yeomane; whiche I doubt not wolde fullye appere, yf *the Pilgrimes Prologe and Tale* mighte be restored to his former light, they beinge nowe loste, as manye other of Chaucers Tales were before that, as I ame induced to thinke by manye reasons. But to leave this, I must saye, that in those many written Bookes of Chaucer, which came to my fathers hands, there were manye false copyes, which Chaucer shewethe in writinge of Adam Scriuener, (as you haue noted,) of whiche written copies there came to me after my fathers death some fyve and twentye; whereof some had more and some fewer Tales, and some but two and some three. Whiche Bookes being by me (as one nothing dobting of this whiche ys nowe donne for Chaucer) partly dispersed about xxvj yeres agoo, and partlye stoolen oute of my howse at Popler, I gave diuers of them to Stephen Batemanne, person of Newington, and to diuers other; whiche beinge copies vnperfecte, and some of them corrected by my fathers hande, yt maye happen some of them to come to some of youre frendes handes, whiche I knowe, yf I see agayne. And yf by anye suche written copies you haue corrected Chaucer, you maye as well offende as seme to do good. But I iudge the beste; for in doubtes I will not resolue with a settled iudgmente, althoughe you may iudge this tedious discourse of my father a needlesse thinge in setting forthe his diligence in breaking the yce, and gyvinge lighte to others, who may more easily perfecte than begyne any thinge: for *facilius est addere quàm invenire.* And so to other matters."

Upon the Diction of Chaucer. By the same.

[From the Same.]

"In the expositione of the olde wordes, as you shewe greate diligence and knowledge, so yet in my opynione, vnlesse a manne be a good Saxoniste, French, and Italyane linguiste, (from whence Chaucer

Chaucer hathe borrowed manye wordes,) he cannott well expounde the same to our nowe vnderstandinge; and therefore (though I will not presume of much knowledge in these tounges) yt semeth yet to mee that, in your expositione, some wordes are not so fullye and rightlye explaned as they mighte bee; although peradventure you haue framed them to make sence. Wherefore I haue collected these fewe (from many others lefte for more leysure) whiche seme to mee not to be fully explained in their proper nature, though peradventure you will seme to excuse them by a metaphoricall gloose.

"AKETON or HAKETONE you expounde a jackett withoute sleves, without any further additōne, that beinge an indiffynyte speache, and therefore may be entended a comōne garmente daylye vsed, suche as we call a jerken or jackett withoute sleeves. But *haketon* is a slevelesse jackett of plate for the warre, covered withe anye other stuffe; at this day also called a jackett of plate. Suche *aketon* Walter Stapletone, bishoppe of Excester and Custos or Warden of Londone, had vppon hym secretlye, when he was apprehended and behedded in the twentyeth yere of Edwarde the seconde.

"BESANTE you expounde a duckett. But a duckett ys farre from a *besante*, bothe for the tyme of the inventōne, and for the forme; and as I suppose for the valewe, not withstandinge that Hollybande in his Frenche-Englishe dictionarye makes yt of the valewe of a duckett, whiche duckett is for the most part eyther Venetienne or Spanyshe, when the *besante* ys mere Grekishe; a coyne well knowen and vsed in Englande (and yet not therefore an auncient coyne of Englande, as Hollybande sayethe yt was of France,) emongst the Saxons before, and the Normans after, the Conqueste; the forme whereof I will at other tyme describe, onlye nowe settinge downe, that this *besante* (beinge the Frenche name, and in armorye rightlye according to his nature, for *a plate of golde*,) was called in Latine Byzantium, obteyninge that name because yt was the coyne of Constantinople sometyme called Bizantium; and because you shall not thinke this any fictione of myne owne, I will warrante the same with Williame of Malmesberye in the fourthe booke *De Regibus*, who hathe these wordes: *Constantinopolis primùm Bizantiū dicta. Formam antiqui vocabuli preferunt imperatorii nummi Bizantiū dicti*; where another coppye for *nummi Bizantiū* hath *Bizantini nummi*; and the Frenche hath yt *besante* or *bezantine*, makinge yt an olde coyne of France, (when he sholde haue sayed an old coyne *in* France and not *of* France,) of the valewe of a duckett.

"FERMENTACOĒ [fermentation] you expounde dawbinge, whiche cannott anye way be metaphoricallye so vsed in Chaucer, although yt sholde be improperlye or harshlye applied. For *fermentacōne* ys a peculier terme of Alchymye, deduced from the bakers fermente or levyne. And therefore the chimicall philosophers defyne the fermente to be *animā*, the sowle or lyfe, of the philosophers stone. Whereunto agreeth Clauiger Bincing, a chimicall author, sayinge; *autem vivificationē, id est, fermentacōem*, which is before tinctinge, or gyvinge tincture or color; that beinge as muche to saye as gyvinge sowle or lyfe to the philosophers stone, wherby that may fermente

or

or color or gyve lyfe to all other metaline bodyes.

"OFFRAYES you expounde goldsmythes worke, whiche ys as nere to goldsmythes worke as clothe of golde; for this worde *orefrayes*, beinge compounded of the Frenche worde *or* and *frays* or *fryse* the Englishe; is that whiche to this daye (beinge now made all of one stuffe or substance) is called *frised* or *perled clothe of golde*; in Latyne, in tymes past, termed *aurifrisium* or *aurifrixorium*. A thinge well knowen to the Saxons in Englande before, as to the Normans after, the Conqueste; and therefore fullye to satisfye you thereof, I will produce two auctorities of the weavinge and vse thereof before the Conquest and since, wherein you shall playnely see what yt was, and in what accompt yt was holden, beinge a worke peculier to the Englishe. The lieger booke of Elye, speakinge of Ediswetha daughter to Brightnothus aldermanne erle or duke of Northumberlande before the Conquest, sayeth; *cui tradita Coveneia, locus monasterio vicinus, vbi* AURIFRIXORIE *et* TEXTURE *secretiùs cum puellis vacabat*; and a little after, *tunica rubra purpura per gyrum et ab humeris* AURIFRI. *vndique circumdatum*. Then, after the Conquest, Mathew Paris speakethe thereof aboute ornaments to be sente to the Pope. But because I haue not my Mathewe Paris here, I will vouche one whose name hathe muche affinytye with him, and that is Mathewe Parker Archbyshoppe of Canterburye, who, in the Lyfe of Bonifacius Archbishoppe of that see, hathe these wordes. A°. Domini 1246, *Rome multi Anglicani aderant Clerici, qui capis vt aiunt chorealibus, et infulis, ornamentisque ecclesiasticis, ex Anglice tunc more gentis, ex lana tenuissima et auro artificiosè intexto fabricatis, vterentur. Huius modi ornamentorum aspectu et concupiscentia provocatus Papa, rogavit cuiusmodi essent. Responsio est,* AURIFRISIA *appellari, quia et eminens ex panno et lana quam Angli* FRYSE *appellant, simul contexta sunt. Cui subridens et dulcedine captus Papa, Vere, inquit,* (for these are the wordes of Mathewe Paris whiche lyved at that tyme,) *Hortus noster deliciarum est Anglia, verus puteus est inexhaustus, et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa sumere licet. Itaque, concupiscentia illectus oculorum, litteras suas bullatas sacras misit ad Cistercienses in Anglia Abbates, quorum orationibus se devotè commendabat, vt ipsi hec* AURIFRISIA *speciosissima ad suum ornandum chorum compararent. Hoc Londoniensibus placuit, quia ea tum venalia habebant, tantique quanti placuit vendiderunt.* In whiche discourse you not onlye see that *orefryes* was a wevved clothe of golde and not goldsmythe worke, [but] that Englande had before and since the Conqueste the arte to compose suche kynde of delicate clothe of golde as Europe had not the lyke; for yf yt had, the Pope wolde haue made suche prouisione thereof in other places, and not from Englande. And because you shall not thinke that yt was onlye vsed of the Clergye, you shall fynde in a Record of the Towre that yt was also an ornamente of the kings garmente, since the Conqueste. For, in *Rotulo Patentium* 6. *Johannis in dorso* (in whiche the kinge comaunded the Templers to deliuer suche jewells, garmentes, and ornamentes as they had of the kings in kepinge,) are these wordes: *Dalmaticam de eodem samitto vrlatani de* ORFREYES *et cum lapidibus.* Whiche is to saye, the kings Dal-

maticall garmente of the same samitte (spoken of before, whiche was crymsone) vrled or bordrede (suche as we nowe calle garded) withe *orfreyes*.

"OUNDYE and CRISPE is by you expounded *slyked* and *curled*, whiche sence althoughe yt may beare after some sorte, yet the propryetye of the true sence of *oundye* (beinge an especiall terme appropriate to the arte of Heraldye) dothe signifye *wavinge* or *movinge*, as the water dothe; beinge called *vndye*, of Latyne *vnda* for *water*. For so her haire was *oundye*, that is, layed in rooles vpp and downe, lyke waves of water when they are styrred with the winde, and not slyked or playne, etc.

"You expounde not RESAGER, beinge a terme of Alchymye; as you leave many of them vntouched. This worde sholde rather be *resalgar*. Wherefore I will shewe you what *resalgar* ys in that abstruse science, whiche Chaucer knewe full well, althoughe he enveye againste the sophisticall abuse thereof in the *Chanons Yeomans Tale*. This *resalgar* is that whiche by some is called *ratesbane*, a kynde of poysone named *arsenicke*, which the chimicall philosophers call their venome or poysone. Whereof I coulde produce infynyte examples; but I will gyve you onlye these fewe for a taste. Aristotle, in *Rosario Philosophorum*, sayethe, *Nullum tingens venenum generatur absque sole et eius vmbra, id est, uxore*. Whiche venome they call by all names presentinge or signifyinge poysone, as a toade, a dragon, a basilyske, a serpente, arsenicke, and suche lyke; and by manye other names, as *in exercitacione ad turbam philosophorum*, apperethe; where aqua simplex is called venenum argentum vivum, cinnabar, aqua permanens, gumma, acetum, urina, aqua maris, draco, serpens, etc. And of this poysone the treatyce *de phenice*, or the philosophers stone, written in Gothyshe rymynge verses dothe saye;

> Moribunda, corporis virus emanabat
> Quod maternam faciem candidam fœdabat.

"BEGYN and BIGOTT you expounde supersticious hypocrites. Whiche sence I knowe it maye somewhate beare, because yt sauorethe of the dispositione of those *Begins*, or *Beguines*, for that ys the true wrytinge. But this worde *Begyn* sholde in his owne nature rightlye haue ben expounded supersticious or hipocriticall wemenne, as appereth by Chaucer himselfe, who nombreth them emongst the wemen in the *Romante of the Rose* when he sayethe,

> But empresses, and duchesses,
> These queenes, and eke countesses,
> These abbasses, and eke *Bigins*,
> These greate ladyes palasins.

And a little after, in the same Romante, he doth write,

> That dame Abstinence streyned
> Tooke on a robe of camelyne,
> And ganne her gratche as a *Bygin*.
> A large cover-cherfe of threade
> She wrapped all aboute her hedde.

These wemen the Frenche call *Beguynes* or Nonnes; being in Latyne called *Bigrinæ* or *Biguinæ*; whose originall order, encrease, and contynuance are sett downe by Mathewe Paris and Mathewe Westm. But as I sayed, since I haue not my Mathewe Paris at hand, I will sett you downe the wordes of Mathewe Westmynster (otherwise called *Flores Historiarum Florilegus*) in this sorte. *Sub eisdem diebus* (which was in the yere of Christe 1244. and aboute the 28 of kinge Henry the

the thirde,) *quidam in Alemania precipuè se asserentes vitam et habitum relligiones elegisse, in utroque sexu, sed maximè in muliebri, continentiam cuius vite simplicitate profitentes se voto privato Deo obligdrunt. Mulieresque, quas* BIGRINAS *vulgaritèr vocamus, adeò multiplicate sunt, quod earum numerus in vna ciuitate, scilicèt Colonia, ad plus quam mille asseritur ascendisse, etc.* After whiche, speakinge yn the yere of Christe 1250 of the encrease of Relligious Orders, he sayeth, *Item in Alemania et Francia mulieres, quas* BIGUINAS *nominant, etc.*

"CITRINATIONE you do not expounde, beinge a terme of Alchymye. Whiche *citrinatione* is both a color and parte of the philosophers stone. For, as hathe *Tractatus Avicenne* (yf yt be his and not *liber supposititicus*, as manye of the Alchimicall Workes are foysted in vnder the names of the best-lerned authors and philosophers, as Plato, Aristotle, Avicen, and suche others,) in parte of the 7 chapter: CITRINATIO *est que fit inter album et rubrum, et non dicitur color perfectus:* whiche *citrinatione*, as sayeth Arnoldus de Nova Villa, lib. i. ca. 5 *nihil aliud est quàm completa digestio.* For the worke of the philosophers stone, following the worke of nature, hathe lyke color in the same degree. For as the vrine of manne, being whityshe, sheweth imperfecte digestione; but when he hathe well rested, and slept after the same, and the digestione perfected, the vrine becomethe *citrine*, or of a depe yellow color; so ys yt in Alchymye: which made Arnolde call this *citrinatione* perfect digestion, or the color provinge the philosophers stone broughte almoste to the heighte of perfectione.

"FORAGE in one place you expounde *meate*, and in another place *fodder*. Bothe whiche properly cannott stande in this place of Chaucer in the *Reves Prologue*, where he sayeth, 'my fodder is forage.' For yf *forrage* be *fodder*, then is the sense of that verse, 'my fodder is 'fodder.' But *fodder* beinge a generall name for meate gyven to cattle in winter, and of affynytie withe foode applied to menne and beasts, dothe onlye signyfye *meate*. And so the sense is, 'my meate ys 'forage;' that is, my meate is suche harde and olde provisione as ys made for horses and cattle in winter. For so doth this worde *forragium* in Latyne signyfye. And so dothe Chaucer meane. For the word next before dothe well shewe yt, when the Reve sayeth,

> I am olde, me liste not play for age,
> Grasse tyme is donne, my fodder is *forrage*.

Yet metaphorically yt may be taken for other than drye horse-meate, although improperlye; as Chaucer hathe, in *Sir Topas Ryme*, where he maketh yt grasse for his horse, and vseth the worde rather to make vpp the rhyme than to shewe the true nature thereof; sayinge,

> That downe he layed hym in that place,
> To make his steede some solace,
> And gyve hym good *forage*.

"HERONER you expounde a certeyne kind of hawke. Whiche is true: for a gowshawke, sparrowehawke, tassel, &c. be kindes of hawkes. But this *heroner* is an especiall hawke (of anye of the kyndes of longe winged kawkes) of more accompte than other hawkes are. Because the flighte of the *herone* ys more daungerous than of other fowles, insomuch that, when she fyndeth her selfe in danger, she will lye in the ayre vppon her backe, and turne vpp her bellye towardes

the hawke; and so defile her enymye with her excrementes, that eyther she will blinde the hawke, or ells with her byll or talons pierce the hawkes brest yf she offer to sease vppon her.

"The HYPPE is not simplye the redde berrye on the bryer, vnlesse you adde this epitheton and saye, the redde berrye on the swete bryer, (which is the eglantyne,) to distinguyshe yt from the comone bryer or bramble bearinge the blacke berrye; for that name *bryer* ys comone to them bothe; when the *hyppe* is proper but to one; neither maye yt helpe you that you saye the redd berrye, to distinguyshe yt from the blacke; for the blacke berrye ys also redde for a tyme, and then may be called the redde berrye of the bryer for that tyme.

"NOWELL you expounde *Christmasse*, whiche is that feaste and more. For yt is that tyme, whiche is properlye called the Advente together with Christmasse and Neweyeres tyde. Wherefore the true etymologye of that worde ys not Christmasse, or the twelve dayes; but yt is *God with us*, or *oure God*; expressinge to vs the comynge of Christe in the fleshe: whiche peradventure after a sorte, by the figure synechdoche, you may seeme to excuse, placinge then Christmasse a parte of this tyme of *Nowell* for all the tyme that *Nowell* conteyneths. For in the same worde is conteyned sometyme XX, but for the most parte thirtye dayes before Christmasse, as well as the Christmasse yt selfe; that worde being deduced, as hathe Will. Postellus in *Alphabet.* 12 *Linguarum*, from the Hebrue worde *Noell:* for thus he writethe:—*Noel, sonat* DEUS NOSTER *sive* DEUS NOBIS ADVENIT; *solitaque est hec vox cuntaria plebe ante Christi Natalitia viginti aut triginta dies quedam desiderio.*

"PORPHERYE you expounde *marble*, Whiche marble ys *genus*, but *porpherye* is *species*. For as there is white and grey marble, so ys there redd marble, whiche is this *porpherye*, a stone of reddish purple color; distinct or interlaced with white veynes as you may see in the great pillars entringe into the Royall Exchange or Burse in Cornhill.

"SENDALE you expounde a thynne stuffe lyke cypres. But yt was a thynne stuffe lyke sarcenett, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or sarcenett, but coarser and narrower than the sarcenett nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.

"TREPEGETT you expounde a ramme to batter walls. But the *trepegett* was the same as the *magonell*. For Chaucer calleth yt a *trepegett* or *magonell*. Wherefore the *trepegett* and *magonell* being all one, and the magonell an instrument to flynge or cast stones (as your selfe expounde yt) into a towne, or against a towne-walles, (an engine not muche vnlyke to the catapulte, an instrumente to cast forthe dartes stones, or arrowes,) the *trepegett* must nedes also be an instrumente to cast stones or such lyke against a wall or into a towne, and not a ramme to batter walles; since the ramme was no engine to flinge anye thinge, but by mens handes to be broughte and pushed againste the walles; a thinge farr different in form from the magonell or catapulte, as appereth by Vigetius and Robertus Valturius de Re Militari.

"WIVER you expounde not. Wherefore I will tell you, a *wyver* is a kynde of serpent of good bulke, not vnlyke vnto a dragon, of whose kinde he is; a thinge well knowen vnto the Heraldes, vsinge the same for

for armes, and crestes, and supporters of manye gentle and noble menne. As the erle of Kent beareth a *wiver* for his creste and supporters; the erle of Pembroke, a *wiver* vert for his creste; the erle of Cumberlande, a *wiver* gules for his supporters.

"AUTENTICKE you expounde to be *ant. quytye*. But howe you may seme to force and racke the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I am, the proper signyficatione of *autenticke* is a *thinge of auctorityc or credit allowed by menne of auctoritye*, or the originall or fyrste archetypum of any thinge; whiche I muse that you did not remember.

"ABANDONE you expounde *libertye;* whiche in all Italiane, Frenche, and Spanishe, signifyeth *relinquere*, to forsake and leave a thinge; whiche methinketh you most hardely stretche to *libertye*, vnless you will saye that, when one forsakethe a thinge, he leaveth yt at libertye; whiche ys but a streyned speche, although the Frenche Hollybande, not vnderstandinge the true energye of our tongue, hath expounded yt *libertye;* whiche may be some warrante vnto you."

ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE.

[From Mr. BLACK'S LIFE OF TORQUATO TASSO]

"WHEN the barbarous tribes over-ran the different provinces of the Roman Empire, the lands (distributed by *lot*, were thence called *Allodial*, and) were held in entire dominion by each proprietor, without any other obligation, than that of, on great occasions, defending the community. New tribes succeeded to the first, and subduing large tracks of country, many individuals occupied large landed estates. The king, or chieftain who had led them to conquest, naturally acquired the largest portion of territory. These lands, he found it convenient to parcel out to his principal followers, subjecting them to certain aids, and military services. His example was imitated by his courtiers, who distributed, under similar conditions, portions of their estates to their dependants. A feudal kingdom was thus a military establishment, and had the appearance of a victorious army, subordinate to command, and encamped under its officers in different parts of the country. Amidst the turbulence and disorder of the middle ages, the allodial possessor found it convenient, both for personal safety, and the protection of his property, to subject his estate to the feudal services, and become the vassal of some great military baron.

"The country was thus portioned out amongst a number of warlike chieftains, all of them considering themselves as independent of the sovereign, except during a period of national war. Possessed of large territories, and residing at a distance from the capital, they erected strong and gloomy fortresses in places of difficult access; and not only oppressed the people, and slighted the civil magistrate, but were often in a condition to set the authority of the crown itself at defiance. As the tenure by which the lands were held

was

was military, as there was no art or science to occupy the mind, every landed proprietor was a soldier, and being expert and strong by the daily use of arms, was eager for an opportunity of shewing his prowess. This was never wanting; for when not employed in some expedition against a public enemy, he was commonly engaged in some petty enterprise, prompted by avarice, idleness, or revenge. Animosities and feuds were continually rising among the neighbouring barons, and as lives were often lost in these combats, disputes were rendered hereditary, and the son succeeded to the quarrels, as well as to the estate of his ancestor.

"In these private battles only a few were engaged at a time, so that the prowess of a single combatant became conspicuous, and had a considerable influence on the fortune of the day. Those who chiefly distinguished themselves were the barons, and principal persons, who had a great advantage over the common people, by fighting on horseback clothed in armour, by the superiority of their weapons, and by the dexterity and skill which they had acquired by constant exercise. In these combats, the same individuals were frequently, at different times, and probably with different success, led to encounter each other; their emulation and animosity were thereby increased; they singled out each other in the field, and mutual challenges were given to a comparative trial of skill, courage, or address.

"From these challenges, and private encounters, arose the practice of duelling, and of the judicial combat. When a dispute arose between two barons in some civil court, upon any matter of property, the parties, who in such cases were not distinguished either for politeness to their adversaries, or attention to the judge, generally disagreed about facts, and affronted, or *gave one another the lye*. This, which still continues to be the principal offence for which *satisfaction* is required, induced them to appeal to the sword; and the civil magistrate, finding himself unable to restrain them, and wishing at the same time not to lose all shadow of authority, contented himself with superintending the ceremonies, and regulating the forms of the encounter. There exists, too, in the human breast, a certain kind of retributive principle, which renders it natural to believe that the Almighty and Omniscient Being will will vindicate innocence, and punish guilt. The impatience of mankind, however, leads them to imagine that the intervention ought to take place even in this world, and that a solemn appeal to heaven must needs be followed by the discovery of its will. This opinion was rendered peculiarly strong in those times by the clergy, whose temporal policy it was to represent the Divine Power as dispensing with the laws of nature on the most frivolous occasions, where their interest was concerned. 'One superstition prepared the way 'for another; and whoever believed 'the Supreme Being had interposed 'miraculously on those trivial occa-'sions mentioned in legends, could 'not but expect his intervention in 'matters of greater importance, 'when solmnly referred to his deci-'sion.'*

"Even the prejudices of men, however, are not wholly prejudices. The belief of the visible interposition of the Supreme Power was not altogether without foundation.

* Robertson's Charles V. vol. I. p. 61.

Many

Many effects are naturally produced by moral causes; 'a sinful 'heart makes feeble hand;'* and, things in other respects being equal, it is not improbable, that innocence would generally triumph. This custom of duelling, and the peculiar notions of honour which now arose, were unknown in former times. 'In 'those ancient states,' says Mr. Millar, 'that were most addicted to 'war, as in Rome and Sparta, the 'people were early brought under 'the authority of government, so as 'effectually to prevent the exercise 'of private hostilities. A Roman 'or Spartan, therefore, was never 'under the necessity of supporting 'his military dignity in opposition 'to his own countrymen; but was 'constantly employed in maintain-'ing the glory of his country, in 'opposition to that of his enemies. 'The prejudices and habits acquired 'in such a situation were all of a 'patriotic nature. The pride and 'vanity of individuals were exerted 'in acts of public spirit, not in pri-'vate animosities and disputes.' †

"The possession of great strength and skill being of so much consequence, men of rank were in those days trained to the use of arms by long previous discipline. From this circumstance, from the dignity of mind inspired by the idea of independence, from the habit of despising danger, the sentiment of strength, and the condition of society, arose the singular institution of chivalry. Even in the forests of Germany, the initiation of a youth to the profession of a warrior, had been attended with solemn and appropriate ceremonies. The chieftain of the tribe decorated him with the sword and armour; a simple form, which was, in the progress of the feudal system, converted into a mysterious and pompous rite. Previous to their admission into the knightly order, the young candidates began attendance from their early years on some person of valour and reputation, by whose example and instruction, they might become distinguished for courtesy and prowess. The former of these qualities was produced by their readiness to take fire, and to avenge the smallest approach to contumely; a circumstance which led them to respect each other, and to be careful of giving the least offence in their conversation or conduct. After having passed through a complete course of military education, they were then admitted, by many devout and pompous ceremonies, to the high dignity of knighthood; an honour which presupposed a noble origin, a long discipline and skill in the use of arms, and, joined with valour, a high degree of courtesy and honour.

"From these warlike ideas and employments, arose too, the military sports, designed by the name of *Jousts* and *Tournaments*; the former a more private and inferior, the latter a more pompous and public exhibition. These mock fights served the purpose of interesting the mind, when scenes of true war did not present themselves, of displaying and augmenting the address and vigour of the youthful champion, of collecting from different quarters the fair and brave, and of attesting the magnificence and hospitality of the prince or baron. At these, not only the 'gorgeous 'knights' of the same, but those of every country were welcome to exhibit their strength and skill; their

* Marmion, Can. VI. St. 31.

† Historical View of the English Government, p. 76, 4to. 1787.

Tilting

—— Tilting furniture, emblazon'd shields,
Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds.

After which, they were entertained at the

—— marshal'd feast
Serv'd up in hall, with sewers, and seneschals.*

"The knight was thus, by the nature of his education, distinguished for strength, courtesy, and valour; nor in these days, when the ascendancy of the church was all powerful, was he less remarkable for his warm and superstitious devotion. The pomp and circumstance of the Roman Catholic worship, its relics and its miracles, made a strong and irresistible impression on the fancy and the heart. There was, besides, little demand for virtue and good works; and the knight might gratify, without remorse, all his amorous or ireful passions, provided he believed in certain dogmas, complied with certain pilgrimages or penances, and especially did not neglect to present his tythes and oblations to the church.

"One circumstance remains to be accounted for, and that is, the romantic love and gallantry by which the age of chivalry was distinguished. There are two appetites which, for wise purposes, the Author of Nature has implanted in sentient beings, the appetite for food, and that of the sexes. The first, being necessary for individual preservation, is strongest and most necessary; and wherever, as among the savages of North America, its gratification was uncertain and imperfect, the sexual appetite was weak, and the degraded female was held in small esteem. On the other hand, where the comforts of life were abundant, as in Otaheite, no restraint was laid upon sexual indulgence, and individual love was lost in general voluptuousness.

"This is, in some degree, a picture of what takes place in the progress of society, with regard to those sentiments and affections, which, though ultimately founded on appetite, are refined into the elegant passion of love, and have a considerable influence in the exaltation of our nature. In a state of poverty and indigence, the mind loses its sensibility to beauty; and besides, the female cannot acquire those graces and embellishments which fascinate the imagination. On the other hand, when wealth and luxury have increased to a great height, dissipation is produced, and the heart loses its tone by indulgence in sensual gratifications. Besides, as the youth are in the daily habit of seeing almost all the beauties of the country, the heart does not easily fix on one, and strong and fervent love gives place to frivolous and general gallantry.

"It appears then, that the state of society most favourable to the passion of love, is one like that in the middle ages, equally removed from the extremes of indigence and of luxury. It is a passion, too, which is nourished in a high degree by obstacles; and these occurring frequently at that period, inflamed it to a fever, of which there are few that can now form a conception. The virgins were not then led in troops to public assemblies, but lived in retirement, in stately castles, surrounded often by romantic woods. The sight of a beauty was, from her seclusion, rare, and made an almost infallible impression on a vigorous and uncorrupted heart. At no period too, were higher ideas con-

* Paradise Lost, IX. 36.

ceived,

ceived, either of individual dignity, or of family importance; so that a lady would not stoop to give encouragement to a lover who was not distinguished by rank and prowess. Even in such cases, she was haughty and reserved, often insolent and scornful. Add to this, that by frequent feuds and family hostilities, a knight might often accidentally become enamoured of a lady of some house at variance with his own. These and other circumstances, by interposing obstacles which were difficult to be surmounted, fixed on some object, and exalted the imagination, and love became a species of warm, and almost frenzied devotion.

"With his sensibilities thus awakened, alive to honour, and eager to distinguish himself in the eyes of the world, and of his mistress, the knight often sallied forth in search of adventures, when domestic cares did not furnish sufficient exercise for his activity and courage. Amidst the disorder and anarchy of those times, there was much insolence to be repressed, and much distress to be succoured. It was the duty and object of the errant knight to punish the injuries, and redress the grievances of the feeble and oppressed; provided the oppressed persons were people of distinction. The female sex had a peculiar claim to his protection; and many distressed damsels (we are told) were defended, rescued, or avenged. In short, there was an obligation on whoever had been dignified with the high honour of knighthood, to be a mirror of valour, devotion, courtesy, justice, generosity, and honour. His reward was love, his means of attaining it glory. Thus, when the 'squyr of 'lowe degré,' becomes enamoured of the 'king's doughter of Hungré,' she addresses him, in the old romance, as follows:

For, and ye my love should wynne,
With chyvalry ye must begynne,
And ryde through many a peryllous place
As a venterous man to seke your grace;
Over hylles and dales, and hye mountains,
In wethers wete, both hayle and raynes,
And yf ye may no harbroughe ge,
Than must ye lodge under a tre,
Among the beastes wyld, and tame,
And ever you wyll get your name.*

"The records of the exploits and adventures of these enterprising knights was called romance, from the circumstance of their being sung by the minstrels, in the vulgar or corrupted Roman language. Never did a mode of life produce characters equally energetic, and manners equally striking as those of chivalry; never did it offer to the poet, subjects equally glowing to the fancy, interesting to curiosity, and affecting to the heart. If we consider, first, the *scenery* in which the actors were placed, what could be more picturesque than those frowning castles, those majestic cathedrals, those magnificent abbeys? The habitations of the people, indeed, were hovels, their situation humble and degraded, their manners rude or mean; but this gave only a bolder relief to those who were in the higher ranks of society. With regard to their *costume*, never did man conceive himself of so much individual importance, nor testify his pride and ostentation by such splendour of array, such pomp of attendance, or such solemnity of ceremonial. Contemplated in a *moral view*, that mixture of generosity and barbarity, of fierceness and gallantry, of superstition and enthusiasm; that refined polish ob-

* Ritson's Ancient English Metrical Romances, vol. III. p. 152.

served

served even to the greatest enemy; that generous valour with which they exposed themselves to hazards; have all a tendency powerfully to affect the imagination. Add to this, the number of those hazards, the variety of adventures, which, from the state of society, the knight was likely to encounter; add, too, the fabulous *natural* foes, which a mind, unacquainted with the constitution of things, and the *supernatural* ones, which a superstitious fancy might conjure up to itself, and we shall own, that never were richer subjects of delineation presented to the pencil of the poet.

"The records, I have said, of the adventures and prowess of these warlike knights were called Romances. These Romances were adorned with many fabulous embellishments; and different hypotheses have been formed to account for the introduction and nature of these supernatural ornaments. Mr. Warton attributes to the Saracens the origin of those splendid fablings, to which we give the name of romantic fiction. We know, indeed, that the science of modern Europe is considerably indebted to the Saracens; nor is it probable, that literature owes them nothing. It does not seem, however, to be proved, that its obligations are very great; and, as the science of the Arabians was derived from the Greeks, it is not improbable that many of their fictions also, had their source in the writings of Homer, the fountain from which the streams of poetry, which have gladdened every land, have principally flowed.

"A second hypothesis has been supported by the bishop of Dromore,* that romantic fiction was principally derived from the tales or sagas of the northern bards. These sagas, however, are now asserted by antiquarians to be generally modern and spurious; and the Edda itself, if not a complete forgery, is a work, it is said, of no great antiquity. Its pretended author Snorro, (which, as Ritson observes, is no bad name for a dreamer,) compiled, or, according to the same writer, fabled it in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and manifestly long after the introduction of Christianity into the north.† Both the Arabic and Gothic systems, however, seem to be true to a certain extent; though by no means to such a degree, or so exclusively, as their respective champions have supposed.

"Others again, (as Mr. Leyden, in his *Introduction to the Complaynte of Scotland,)* supposes Armorica or Brittany to be the native country of romantic fiction. All the European nations derived their romances of chivalry from the French, and all the French romances originated (with one or two exceptions) in the north of France. The more ancient romances of chivalry, too, have especially celebrated the heroes of Brittany, or those of Wales; from which, it is asserted, a large colony of Britons fled to Armorica, about the year 513, from the Saxon tyranny.

"With regard, however, to the colouring, and machinery introduced into these fabulous narrations, (at least in the form in which they appear among the Italian writers,) whatever did not arise from the state of manners, and the creative power of the imagination, may be attributed, I think, almost wholly to the classical tales of antiquity. The

* Reliques, vol. III. p. 11. &c. See also Mallet, Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc.

† Dissertation on Romance and Chivalry, p. 30.

composers

composers of romance seem not to have been ignorant of the works of several of the ancient Greek and Latin poets. The war of Troy was the subject of many popular poems; nor was there a single striking mythological idea, perhaps, which did not linger behind, and which was not modified by the peculiar manners of the times.

> Men lykyn gestis for to here,
> And Romans rede in divers manere,
> Of Alexandre the conquerour,
> Of Julius Cæsar the emperour,
> Of Greece and Troy the strong stryf,
> Ther many a man lost his lyf.
> *Cursor Mundi apud Ritson*, cv.

"The expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece, the golden apples of the Hesperides watched by a dragon, the king's daughter, who is an enchantress, and who delivers the hero, is so perfect a specimen of romantic fiction, that we are told by Quadrio, that it was considered by many as a Grecian romance of chivalry. There is, indeed, scarcely a fable in the poem of Ariosto, of which the elements may not be found in the fictions of the Greeks. In Andromeda, we have the prototype of distressed damsels on the point of being devoured by an ork or dragon, and delivered by a knight. Circe and Calpyso are the originals of Alcina and Armida; and the flying horse of Bellerophon appears to be the dam of the Hippogryf. A sentient tree is described in Virgil's tale of Polydorus; enchanted armour is furnished by Vulcan, both to Achilles and Æneas; and a giant and his cave are exhibited in the story of Polyphemus. The head of Medusa is the obvious origin of the stupifying shield; and the ring which renders invisible, is to be met with in the fable of Gyges. Camilla and Penthesilea might easily furnish the idea of Marfisa and Bradamante."

On the Influence of some late Philological Speculators.

[From Philosophical Essays by Dugald Stewart, Esq.]

"If the different considerations, stated in the preceding chapter, be carefully combined together, it will not appear surprizing, that, in the judgment of a great majority of individuals, the common analogical phraseology concerning the mind should be mistaken for its genuine philosophical theory. It is only by the patient and persevering exercise of reflection on the subjects of consciousness, that this popular prejudice can be gradually surmounted. In proportion as the thing typified grows familiar to the thoughts, the metaphor will lose its influence on the fancy; and while the signs we employ continue to discover, by their etymology, their historical origin, they will be rendered, by long and accurate use, virtually equivalent to literal and specific appellations. A thousand instances, perfectly analagous to this, might be easily produced from the figurative words and phrases which occur every moment in ordinary conversation. They who are acquainted with Warburton's account of the natural progress of writing, from hieroglyphics to apparently arbitrary characters, cannot fail to be struck with the similarity between the history of this art, as traced by him, and the gradual

dual process by which metaphorical terms come to be stripped of that literal import, which, at first, pointed them out to the selection of our rude progenitors. Till this process be completed, with respect to the words denoting the powers and operations of the understanding, it is vain for us to expect any success in our inductive researches concerning the principles of the human frame.

"In thus objecting to metaphorical expressions, as solid *data* for our conclusions in the science of mind, I would not be understood to represent them as of no use to the speculative inquirer. To those who delight to trace the history of language, it may, undoubtedly, form an interesting, and not unprofitable employment, to examine the circumstances by which they were originally suggested, and the causes which may have diversified them in the case of different nations. To the philologer it may also afford an amusing and harmless gratification (by tracing, to their unknown roots, in some obscure and remote dialects, those words which, in his mother tongue, generally pass for primitives), to shew, that even the terms which denote our most refined and abstracted thoughts, were borrowed originally from some object of external perception. This, indeed, is nothing more than what the considerations, already stated, would have inclined us to expect *a priori*; and which, how much soever it may astonish those who have been accustomed to confine their studies to grammar alone, must strike every philosopher, as the natural and necessary consequence of that progressive order in which the mind becomes acquainted with the different objects of its knowledge, and of those general laws which govern human thought in the employment of arbitrary signs. While the philologer, however, is engaged in these captivating researches, it is highly necessary to remind him, from time to time, that his *discoveries* belong to the same branch of literature with that which furnishes a large proportion of the materials in our common lexicons and etymological dictionaries; that after he has told us (for example) that *imagination* is borrowed from an optical *image*, and *acuteness* from a Latin word, denoting the sharpness of a material instrument, we are no more advanced in studying the theory of the human intellect, than we should be in our speculations concerning the functions of money, or the political effects of the national debt, by learning, from Latin etymologists, that the word *pecunia*, and the phrase *æs alienum*, had both a reference, in their first origin, to certain circumstances in the early state of Roman manners.

"From these slight hints, considered in their connection with the subject which introduced them, some of my readers must have anticipated the use of them I intend to make, in prosecuting the argument concerning the origin of human knowledge. To those, however, who have not read Mr. Tooke's work, or who, in reading it, have not been aware of the very subtile and refined train of thinking, which latently connects his seemingly desultory etymologies, it may be useful for me to select one or two examples, where Mr. Tooke himself has been at pains to illustrate the practical application, of which he conceived his *discoveries* to be susceptible, to philosophical discussions. This is the more necessary, that, in general, he seems purposely to have confined himself to the statement of premises, without pointing out (except by implication or *innuendo*) the purposes to which he means them to be applied;—a mode of writ-

ing, I must beg leave to observe, which, by throwing an air of mystery over his real design, and by amusing the imagination with the prospect of some wonderful secret afterwards to be revealed, has given to his truly learned and original disquisitions, a degree of celebrity among the smatterers in science, which they would never have acquired, if stated concisely and systematically in a didactic form.

"RIGHT is no other than RECT-"*um (regitum)*, the past participle "of the Latin verb *regere*. In the "same manner, our English verb "JUST is the past participle of the "verb *jubere*.

"Thus, when a man demands his "RIGHT, he asks only that which it "is *ordered* he shall have.

"A RIGHT conduct is, that which "is *ordered*.

"A RIGHT reckoning is, that "which is *ordered*.

"A RIGHT line is, that which is "*ordered* or directed—(not a ran-"dom extension, but) the shortest "distance between two points.

"The RIGHT road is, that *ordered* "or directed to be pursued (for the "object you have in view).

"To do RIGHT is, to do that "which is *ordered* to be done.

"To be in the RIGHT is, to be in "such situations or circumstances as "are *ordered*.

"To have RIGHT or LAW on one's "side is, to have in one's favour that "which is *ordered or laid down*.

"A RIGHT and JUST action is, "such a one as is *ordered* and *com-"manded*.

"A JUST man is, such as he is "*commanded to be*—qui *leges ju-"raque* servat—who observes and "obeys the things *laid down* and "commanded.——

——"It appears to me highly "improper to say, that God has a "RIGHT, as it is also to say, that "God is JUST. For nothing is *or-"dered, directed*, or *commanded* con-"cerning God. The expressions are "inapplicable to the Deity, though "they are common, and those who "use them have the best intentions. "They are applicable only to men; "to whom alone language belongs, "and of whose sensations only words "are the representatives to men, who "are, by nature, the subjects of *or-"ders* and *commands*, and whose "chief merit is obedience."

"In reply to the objection, that, according to this doctrine, every thing that is *ordered* and *commanded* is RIGHT and JUST, Mr. Tooke not only admits the consequence, but considers it as an identical proposition.

"It is only affirming" (he observes) "that what is *ordered* and "*commanded* is—*ordered* and *com-"manded*."

"With regard to WRONG, he observes afterwards, that "it is the "past participle of the verb to *wring*, "*wringan*, torquere. The word an-"swering to it in Italian is *torto*, the "past participle of the verb *torquere*; "whence the French also have *tort*. "It means merely *wrung*, or wrest-"ed from the RIGHT, or *ordered*, "line of conduct."

"Through the whole of this passage, Mr. Tooke evidently assumes, as a principle, that, in order to ascertain with precision the philosophical import of any word, it is necessary to trace its progress historically through all the successive meanings which it has been employed to convey, from the moment that it was first introduced into our language; or if the word be of foreign growth, that we should prosecute the etymological research, till we ascertain the literal and primitive sense of the root from whence it sprung. It is in this literal

literal and primitive sense alone that; according to him, a philosopher is entitled to employ it, even in the present advanced state of science; and whenever he annexes to it a meaning at all different, he imposes equally on himself and on others. To me, on the contrary, it appears, that to appeal to etymology in a philosophical argument (excepting, perhaps, in those cases where the word itself is of philosophical origin), is altogether nugatory; and can serve, at the best, to throw an amusing light on the laws which regulate the operations of human fancy. In the present instance, Mr. Tooke has availed himself of a philological hypothesis (the evidence of which is far from being incontrovertible) to decide, in a few sentences, and, in my opinion, to decide very erroneously, one of the most important questions connected with the theory of morals.

"I shall only mention another example, in which Mr. Tooke has followed out, with still greater intrepidity, his general principle to its most paradoxical and alarming consequences.

"TRUE, as we now write it; or "TREW, as it was formerly written; "means simply and merely,—that "which is TROWED. And instead "of being a rare commodity upon "earth, except only in words, there "is nothing but TRUTH in the world.

"That every man, in his communication with others, should speak "that which he TROWETH, is of so "great importance to mankind, that it "ought not to surprise us, if we find "the most extravagant praises bestowed upon TRUTH. But TRUTH "supposes mankind; *for whom* and "*by whom*, alone the word is formed, and *to whom* only it is applicable. If no man, no TRUTH. There "is, therefore, no such thing as "eternal, immutable, everlasting "TRUTH; unless mankind, *such as* "*they are at present*, be also eternal, immutable, and everlasting."

"But what connection, it may be asked, have these quotations with the question about the origin of human knowledge? The answer will appear obvious to those who have looked into the theories which have been built on the general principle just referred to;—a principle which it seems to have been the main object of Mr. Tooke's book to confirm, by an induction of particulars; and which, if it were admitted as sound, would completely undermine the foundations both of logic and of ethics. In truth, it is from this general principle, combined with a fact universally acknowledged among philosophers (the impossibility of speaking about *mind* or its phenomena, without employing a metaphorical phraseology) that so many of our late philologists and grammarians, dazzled, as it should seem, with the novelty of these *discoveries*, have shewn a disposition to conclude (as Diderot and Helvetius formerly did from other premises) that the only real knowledge we possess relates to the objects of our external senses; and that we can annex no idea to the word *mind* itself, but that of *matter* in the most subtile and attenuated form which imagination can lend it. Nor are these the only, or the most dangerous consequences, involved in Locke's maxim, when thus understood. I point them out at present, in preference to others, as being more nearly related to the subject of this essay.

"Mr. Tooke has given some countenance to these inferences, by the connection in which he introduces the following etymologies from Vossius.

"*Animus, Anima*, Πνευμα and

"Ψυχη

" Ψυχη are participles."—" *Anima* " est ab *Animus*. *Animus* vero est " a Græco Ανεμος, quod dici volunt " quasi Ασμὸς, ab Αω sive Ασμι, quod " est Πνεω; et Latinis a *Spirando*, " *Spiritus*. Immo et Ψυχη est a " Ψυχω quod Hesychius exponit " Πνεω."

" I have already, on various occasions, observed, that the question concerning the *nature of mind*, is altogether foreign to the opinion we form concerning the theory of its operations; and that, granting it to be of a material origin, it is not the less evident, that all our knowledge of it is to be obtained by the exercise of the powers of consciousness and of reflection. As this distinction, however, has been altogether overlooked by these profound etymologists, I shall take occasion, from the last quotation, to propose, as a problem not unworthy of their attention, an examination of the circumstances which have led men, in all ages, to apply, to the sentient and thinking principle within us, some appellation synonimous with *spiritus*, or *πνευμα*; and, in other cases, to liken it to *a spark of fire*, or some other of the most impalpable and mysterious modifications of matter. Cicero hesitates between these two forms of expression; evidently, however, considering it as a matter of little consequence which we should adopt, as both appeared to him to be equally unconnected with our conclusions concerning the thing they are employed to typify: " Ani- " ma sit animus, ignisve nescio: " nec me pudet, fateri nescire quod " nesciam. Illud si ulla alia de re " obscurâ affirmare possem, sive ani- " ma sive ignis sit animus, eum ju- " rarem esse divinum." This figurative language, with respect to mind, has been considered by some of our later metaphysicians as a convincing proof, that the doctrine of its materiality is agreeable to general belief; and that the opposite hypothesis has originated in the blunder of confounding what is very minute with what is immaterial.

" To me, I must confess, it appears to lead to a conclusion directly opposite. For, whence this disposition to attenuate and subtilize, to the very verge of existence, the atoms or elements supposed to produce the phenomena of thought and volition, but from the repugnance of the scheme of materialism to our natural apprehensions; and from a secret anxiety to guard against a literal interpretation of our metaphorical phraseology? Nor has this disposition been confined to the vulgar. Philosophical materialists themselves have only refined farther on the popular conceptions, by entrenching themselves against the objections of their adversaries, in the modern discoveries concerning *light* and *electricity*, and other inscrutable causes, manifested by their effects alone. In some instances, they have had recourse to the supposition of the possible existence of matter, under forms incomparably more subtile than what it probably assumes in these, or in any other class of physical phenomena;—a hypothesis which it is impossible to describe better than in the words of La Fontaine:

" Quintessence d' atôme, extrait de la lumière."

It is evident that, in using this language, they have only attempted to elude the objections of their adversaries, by keeping the absurdity of their theory a little more out of the view of superficial inquirers; divesting matter completely of all those properties by which it is known to our senses; and substituting, instead of what is commonly

commonly meant by that word, infinitesimal or evanescent entities, in the pursuit of which, imagination herself is quickly lost.

"The prosecution of this remark would, if I am not mistaken, open a view of the subject widely different from that which modern materialists have taken. But as it would lead me too far aside from my present design, I shall content myself with observing here, that the reasonings which have been lately brought forward in their support, by their new philological allies, have proceeded upon *two* errors, extremely common even among our best philosophers;—first, the error of confounding the historical progress of an art with its theoretical principles, when advanced to maturity; and, secondly, that of considering language as a much more exact and complete picture of thought, than it is in any state of society, whether barbarous or refined. With both of these errors, Mr. Tooke appears to me to be chargeable in an eminent degree. Of the latter, I have already produced various instances; and of the former, his whole work is one continued illustration. After stating, for example, the beautiful result of his researches concerning conjunctions, the leading inference which he deduces from it is, that the common arrangement of the parts of speech, in the writings of grammarians, being inaccurate and unphilosophical, must contribute greatly to retard the progress of students in the acquisition of particular languages: whereas nothing can be more indisputable than this, that his speculations do not relate in the least to the analysis of a language, after it has assumed a regular and systematical form; but to the gradual steps by which it proceeded to that state, from the inartificial jargon of savages. They are speculations, not of a metaphysical, but of a purely philological nature: belonging to that particular species of disquisition which I have elsewhere called *theoretical history*.* To prove that conjunctions are a derivative part of speech, and that, at first, their place was supplied by words which are confessedly pronouns or articles, does not prove, that they ought not to be considered as a separate part of speech *at present*, any more than Mr. Smith's theory with respect to the gradual transformation of proper names into appellatives, proves, that proper names and appellatives are now radically and essentially the same; or than the employment of substantives to supply the place of adjectives (which Mr. Tooke tells us is one of the signs of an imperfect language), proves, that no grammatical distinction exists between these two parts of speech, in such tongues as the Greek, the Latin, or the English. Mr. Tooke, indeed, has not hesitated to draw this last inference also; but, in my own opinion, with nearly as great precipitation, as if he had concluded, because savages supply the want of forks by their fingers, that therefore a finger and a fork are the same thing."

* See the Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Smith, prefixed to his Posthumous Essays.

On the Beautiful.

[From the Same.]

"NOTWITHSTANDING the greater variety of qualities, physical, intellectual, and moral, to which the word *beauty* is applicable, I believe it will be admitted, that, in its primitive and most general acceptation, it refers to objects of sight. As the epithets *sweet* and *delicious* literally denote what is pleasing to the palate, and *harmonious* what is pleasing to the ear; as the epithets *soft* and *warm* denote certain qualities that are pleasing in objects of touch or of feeling;—so the epithet *beautiful* literally denotes what is pleasing to the eye. All these epithets, too, it is worthy of remark, are applied *transitively* to the perceptions of other senses. We speak of *sweet* and of *soft sounds*; of *warm*, of *delicious*, and of *harmonious colouring*, with as little impropriety, as of a *beautiful voice*, or of a *beautiful piece of music*. Mr. Burke, himself, has somewhere spoken of *the soft green of the soul*. If the *transitive* applications of the word *beauty* be more numerous and more heterogeneous than those of the words *sweetness*, *softness*, and *harmony*, is it not probable that some account of this peculiarity may be derived from the comparative multiplicity of those perceptions of which the eye is the common organ? Such, accordingly, is the very simple principle on which the following speculations proceed; and which it is the chief aim of these speculations to establish. In prosecuting the subject, however, I shall not fetter myself by any regular plan, but shall readily give way to whatever discussions may naturally arise, either from my own conclusions, or from the remarks I may be led to offer on the theories of others.

"The first ideas of *beauty* formed by the mind, are, in all probability, derived from *colours*. Long before infants receive any pleasures from the beauties of form or of motion, (both of which require, for their perception, a certain effort of attention and of thought) their eye may be caught and delighted with brilliant colouring, or with splendid illumination. I am inclined, too, to suspect, that in the judgment of a peasant, this ingredient of beauty predominates over every other, even in his estimate of the perfections of the female form; and, in the inanimate creation, there seems to be little else which he beholds with any rapture. It is, accordingly, from the effect produced by the rich painting of the clouds, when gilded by a setting sun, that Akenside infers the existence of the seeds of taste, where it is impossible to trace them to any hand but that of nature.

——— "Ask the swain
"Who journeys homewards from a summer-day's
"Long labour, why, forgetful of his toils,
"And due repose, he loiters to behold
"The sunshine gleaming, as through amber clouds,
"O'er all the western sky; full soon, I ween,
"His rude expression, and untutor'd airs,
"Beyond the power of language, will unfold
"The form of beauty smiling at his heart."

"Nor is it only in the judgment of the infant or of the peasant, that colours rank high among the constituents of the *beautiful*. The

spectacle alluded to by Akenside, in the foregoing lines, as it forms the most pleasing of any to the untutored mind, so it continues, after the experience of a life spent in the cultivation of taste, to retain its undiminished attractions: I should rather say, retains all its first attractions, heightened by many stronger ones of a moral nature.

"HIM have we seen, the greenwood side along,
"As o'er the heath we hied, our labour done,
"Oft as the wood-lark piped his evening song,
"With wishful eye pursue the setting sun."

"Such is one of the characteristical features in a portrait, sketched for himself, by the exquisite pencil of Gray; presenting an interesting counterpart to what he has elsewhere said of the poetical visions which delighted his childhood.

——"Oft before his infant eye would run
"Such forms as glitter in the muses ray,
"With orient hues."—

"Among the several kinds of "beauty," (says Mr. Addison) "the "eye *takes most delight in colours*. "We nowhere meet with a more "glorious or pleasing shew in na-"ture, than what appears in the "heavens, at the rising and setting "of the sun, which is wholly made "up of those different stains of "light, that shew themselves in "clouds of a different situation. "For this reason we find the poets, "who are always addressing them-"selves to the imagination, *borrow-"ing more of their epithets from "colours than from any other "topic*." *

"From the admiration of *colours*, the eye gradually advances to that of *forms*; beginning first with such as are most obviously regular. Hence the pleasure which children, almost without exception, express, when they see gardens laid out after the Dutch manner; and hence the justness of the epithet *childish*, or *puerile*, which is commonly employed to characterize *this* species of taste;—one of the earliest stages of its progress both in individuals and in nations.

"When, in addition to the pleasures connected with *colours*, external objects present those which arise from certain modifications of *form*, the same name will be naturally applied to both the causes of the mixed emotion. The emotion appears, in point of fact, to our consciousness, simple and uncompounded, no person being able to say, while it is felt, how much of the effect is to be ascribed to either cause, in preference to the other, and it is the philosopher alone, who ever thinks of attempting, by a series of observations and experiments, to accomplish such an analysis. The following expressions of Virgil shew how easily the fancy confounds these two ingredients of the beautiful under one common epithet. "*Edera formosior alba.*" "*O for-"mose puer, nimium ne crede co-"lori.*" That the adjective *formosus* originally referred to the beauty of *form* alone, is manifest from its etymology; and yet it would appear that, even to the correct taste of Virgil, it seemed no less applicable to the beauty of *colour*.

"In another passage the same epithet is employed, by the same poet, as the most comprehensive which the language afforded, to describe the countless charms of nature, in the most beautiful season of the year:

* Spectator, No. 112.

" Et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos;
" Nunc frondent sylvæ, *nunc formosissimus annus.*"

" Similar remarks may be extended to the word Beauty, when applied to *motion*, a species of beauty which may be considered as in part a modification of that of *form*; being perceived when a pleasing *outline* is thus sketched, or traced out, to the spectator's fancy. The beauty of motion has, however, beside this, a charm peculiar to itself; more particularly, when exhibited by an animated being;—above all, when exhibited by an individual of our own species. In these cases, it produces that powerful effect, to the unknown cause of which we give the name of *grace*;—an effect which seems to depend, in no inconsiderable degree, on the additional interest which the pleasing form derives from its fugitive and evanescent existence; the memory dwelling fondly on the charm which has fled, while the eye is fascinated with the expectation of what is to follow. A fascination, somewhat analogous to this, is experienced when we look at the undulations of a flag streaming to the wind;—at the wreathings and convolutions of a column of smoke;—or at the momentary beauties and splendours of fireworks, amid the darkness of night. In the human figure, however, the enchanting power of graceful motion is probably owing chiefly to the living expression which it exhibits;—an expression ever renewed and ever varied,—of taste and of mental elegance.

" From the combination of these three elements (of *colours*, of *forms*, and of *motion*) what a variety of complicated results may be conceived! And in any one of these results, who can ascertain the respective share of each element in its production? Is it wonderful, then, that the word Beauty, supposing it at first to have been applied to colours alone, should gradually and insensibly acquire a more extensive meaning?

" In this enlargement, too, of the signification of the word, it is particularly worthy of remark, that it is not in consequence of the discovery of any quality belonging in common to colours, to forms, and to motion, considered abstractly, that the same word is now applied to them indiscriminately. They all indeed agree in this, that they give pleasure to the spectator; but there cannot, I think, be a doubt, that they please on principles essentially different; and that the transference of the word Beauty, from the first to the last, arises solely from their undistinguishable co-operation in producing the same agreeable effect, in consequence of their being all perceived by the same organ, and at the same instant.

" It is not necessary for any of the purposes which I have at present in view, that I should attempt to investigate the principles on which colours, forms, or motion, give pleasure to the eye. With the greater part of Mr. Alison's remarks, on these qualities, I perfectly agree; although, in the case of the first, I am disposed to ascribe more to the mere organic impression, independently of any association or expression whatever, than he seems willing to allow.

" The opinion, however, we may adopt on this point is of little importance to the following argument, provided it be granted that each of these clauses (comprehended under the generic term Beautiful) ought, in a philosophical inquiry into the

nature of Beauty, to form the object of a separate investigation; and that the sources of these pleasing effects should be traced in analytical detail, before we presume to decide how far they are all susceptible of explanation from one general theory. In this respect, Mr. Alison's work seems to me to be peculiarly valuable. It is eminently calculated to awaken and to direct the observation of his readers to particular phenomena, and to the state of their own feelings; and whoever peruses it with due attention, cannot fail to be satisfied, that the metaphysical generalizations which have been so often attempted on this subject, are not more unsuccessful in their execution, than they are unphilosophical in their design.

"Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Burke are also entitled to much praise, for a variety of original and just remarks, with which they have enriched this part of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. But although they appear to have aimed at a plan of inquiry founded on the rules of a sound logic; and although their good sense has kept them at a distance from that vague and mysterious phraseology concerning Beauty in general, in which so many of their predecessors delighted, they have, nevertheless, been frequently misled by the spirit of system; attempting to erect the critical inferences which their good taste had formed in some particular departments of the fine arts, into established maxims of universal application. The justness of this criticism, so far as it refers to Hogarth, has been shewn in a very satisfactory manner by Mr. Alison; and it will appear, in the course of our present speculations, that Mr. Burke falls, at least in an equal degree, under the same censure. Before, however, I proceed to any comments on the conclusions of this eminent writer, it is necessary for me, in the first place, to follow out, a few steps farther, the natural progress or history of the mind, in its conceptions of the Beautiful.

"I have already taken notice of the pleasure which children very early manifest at the sight of regular forms, and uniform arrangements. The principles on which these produce their effects, and which render one regular form more pleasing than another, have engaged the attention of various authors; but it is sufficient for my purpose if the general fact be admitted; and about this there cannot possibly be any room for dispute. With respect to the theories which profess to account for the phenomena in question, I must own, that they appear to me more fanciful than solid; although I am far from being disposed to insinuate, that they are totally destitute of foundation.

"The same love of regular forms, and of uniform arrangements, continues to influence powerfully, in the maturity of reason and experience, the judgments we pronounce on all works of human art, where regularity and uniformity do not interfere with purposes of utility. In recommending these forms and arrangements, in the particular circumstances just mentioned, there is one principle which seems to me to have no inconsiderable influence; and which I shall take this opportunity of hinting at slightly, as I do not recollect to have seen it anywhere applied to questions of criticism. The principle I allude to is, that of the *sufficient reason*, of which so much use is made, (and in my opinion sometimes very erroneously made) in the philosophy of Leibnitz

witz. What is it that, in any thing which is merely ornamental, and which, at the same time, does not profess to be an imitation of nature, renders irregular forms displeasing? Is it not, at least *in part*, that irregularities are infinite; and that no circumstance can be imagined which should have decided the choice of the artist in favour of that particular figure which he has selected? The variety of regular figures (it must be acknowledged) is infinite also; but supposing the choice to be once fixed about the *number* of sides, no apparent caprice of the artist in adjusting their relative proportions, presents a disagreeable and inexplicable puzzle to the spectator. Is it not also owing, *in part*, to this, that in things merely ornamental, where no use, even the most trifling, is intended, the circular form possesses a superiority over all others?

"In a house, which is completely detached from all other buildings, and which stands on a perfectly level foundation, why are we offended when the door is not placed exactly in the middle; or when there is a window on one side of the door, and none corresponding to it on the other? Is it not that we are at a loss to conceive how the choice of the architect could be thus determined, where all circumstances appear to be so exactly alike? This disagreeable effect is, in a great measure, removed, the moment any purpose of utility is discovered; or even when the contiguity of other houses, or some peculiarity in the shape of ground, allows us to imagine, that some reasonable motive may have existed in the artist's mind, though we may be unable to trace it. An irregular castellated edifice, set down on a dead flat, conveys an idea of whim or of folly in the designer; and it would convey this idea still more strongly than it does, were it not that the imitation of something else, which we have previously seen with pleasure, makes the absurdity less revolting. The same, or yet greater irregularity, would not only satisfy, but delight the eye, in an ancient citadel, whose ground-work and elevations followed the rugged surface and fantastic projections of the rock on which it is built. The oblique position of a window in a house, would be intolerable; but utility, or rather necessity, reconciles the eye to it at once, in the cabin of a ship.

"In hanging up against the wall of an apartment a number of pictures, of different forms and sizes, the same consideration will be found to determine the propriety of the arrangement. A picture placed near one extremity of the wall will require a companion at the same distance from the other, and in the same horizontal line; and if there is any one which, in point of shape or size, is *unique*, it must be placed somewhere in the vertical line, which is equally distant from both.

"Numberless other illustrations of this principle crowd on me; but I have already said enough to explain the notion which I annex to it, and perhaps more than, to some of my readers, its importance may appear to justify.

"The remarks which have now been made, apply, as is obvious, to the works of man alone. In those of Nature, impressed, as they are everywhere, with the signatures of Almighty Power, and of Unfathomable Design, we do not look for that obvious uniformity of plan which we expect to find in the productions of beings endowed with the same faculties, and actuated by the same motives as ourselves. A deviation

deviation from uniformity, on the contrary, in the grand outlines sketched by *her* hand, appears perfectly suited to that *infinity* which is associated, in our conceptions, with all her operations; while it enhances, to an astonishing degree, the delight arising from the regularity which, in her minuter details, she everywhere scatters in such inexhaustible profusion.

"It is, indeed, by very slow degrees, that this taste for natural beauty is formed; the first impulse of youth prompting it (as I before hinted) to subject nature to rules borrowed from the arts of human life. When such a taste, however, is at length acquired, the former not only appears false, but ludicrous; and perishes of itself, without any danger of again reviving.—The associations, on the other hand, by which the love of nature is strengthened, having their root in far higher and nobler principles of the mind than those attached to the puerile judgments which they gradually supplant, are invariably confirmed more and more, in proportion to the advancement of reason, and the enlargement of experience.

"The traces of art, which formerly lent an additional charm to the natural beauties which it was employed to heighten, become now themselves offensive, wherever they appear; and even when it has been successfully exerted in supplying defects and correcting blemishes, the effect is destroyed, in proportion as its interposition is visible. The last stage of taste, therefore, in the progress of its improvement, leads to the admiration of what Martial calls—*Rus verum et barbarum:*

> ——————"Where, if Art
> "E'er dar'd to tread, 'twas with unsandal'd foot,
> "Printless, as if the place were holy ground."

"To analyse the different ingredients of the Beauty which scenery of this kind presents to an eye qualified to enjoy it, is a task which I do not mean to attempt; perhaps a task to which the faculties of man are not completely adequate. Not that this furnishes any objection to the inquiry, or diminishes the value of such approximations to the truth, as we are able to establish on a solid induction. But I confess it appears to me, that few of our best writers on the subject have been sufficiently aware of its difficulty; and that they have all shewn a disposition to bestow upon observations, collected from particular classes of facts, (and perhaps accurately and happily collected from these) a universality of application little suited to the multiplicity and variety of the phenomena which they profess to explain."

Character of the Mirror.

[From Essays Biographical, Critical, and Historical, by Nathan Drake, M.D.]

"THE Mirror. This very elegant and pleasing paper, which has deservedly obtained a place among our classical essayists, made its appearance in Edinburgh on the 23d of January, 1779, and was continued pretty constantly every Tuesday and Saturday, to May

May the 27th, 1780, on which day it concluded with the hundred and tenth number. It has since been repeatedly printed in three volumes duodecimo, and in two volumes octavo.

"In the closing essay of the Mirror its chief writer and conductor has favoured us with the following detail of its origin. "The "idea of publishing a periodical "paper in Edinburgh took its rise "in a company of gentlemen, "whom particular circumstances of "connexion brought frequently to-"gether. Their discourse often "turned upon subjects of manners, "of taste, and of literature. By "one of those accidental resolu-"tions, of which the origin can-"not easily be traced, it was deter-"mined to put their thoughts into "writing, and to read them for "the entertainment of each other. "Their essays assumed the form, "and, soon after, some one gave "them the name, of a periodical "publication; the writers of it "were naturally associated; and "their meetings increased the im-"portance, as well as the number, "of their productions. Cultivating "letters in the midst of business, "composition was to them an "amusement only; that amusement "was heightened by the audience "which this society afforded; the "idea of publication suggested it-"self as productive of still higher "entertainment.

"It was not, however, without "diffidence that such a resolution "was taken. From that, and se-"veral other circumstances, it was "thought proper to observe the "strictest secrecy with regard to "the authors; a purpose in which "they have been so successful, that, "at this moment, the very pub-"lisher of the work knows only "one of their number, to whom "the conduct of it was entrusted."

"The gentleman thus disclosed to the publisher, was Mr. Henry Mackenzie, at that time well known to the literary world as the author of "The Man of Feeling." The society to which he alludes, in the quotation just given, consisted, beside himself, of Mr. George Home, a Clerk of the Court of Session; and of Mr. W. Craig, Mr. Alexander Abercromby, Mr. M'Leod Bannatyne, Mr. R. Cullen, and Mr. George Ogilvy, Advocates; all of whom, with the exception of Mr. Ogilvy, were contributors to the Mirror.

"To these, who might be termed the regular members for contribution, were added several most valuable correspondents; namely, Mr. Richardson, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow; Lord Hailes; Mr. Frazer Tytler, Professor of History in the College of Edinburgh; Dr. Beattie, the author of the Minstrel; Mr. David Hume, nephew to the Historian; Mr. Gordon, Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland; and Mr. William Strahan, Printer to his Majesty. Two papers, Nos. 22, and 95, were communicated by persons *unknown*; and parts, likewise, of Nos. 9, 79, and 89, have not hitherto been claimed.

"To Mr. Mackenzie, the most distinguished, and also the most copious, writer in the Mirror, we are indebted for thirty-nine entire papers; viz. Nos. 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 23, 25, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49, 53, 54, 61, 64, 72, 78, 80, 81, 84, 91, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 105, 107, 108, 109, and 110. He gave considerable assistance, moreover, to the contents of Nos. 17, 21, 29, 55, 56, 85, 89, 96, 102, and 103.

"Of these contributions by the author of "The Man of Feeling," the

the most interesting are those which excite the emotions of pity through the medium of narrative. Few modern writers have been more fortunate than Mr. Mackenzie, in their appeals to the heart; and his fictions in the Mirror hold a conspicuous rank among the best efforts in pathetic composition. The Story of Le Roche, in Nos. 42, 43, and 44; that of Nancy Collins, in No. 49; of Maria, in No. 72; and of Louisa Venoni, in Nos. 108 and 109, are related with great simplicity and effect; the style is clear, sweet, and unaffected; and the characters are sketched with so much delicacy and adherence to Nature, with touches so powerful in awakening the softer passions, that they have called forth the tears of thousands.

In *humorous delineation*, also, Mr. Mackenzie has presented us with various specimens; among the number, we may point out, as peculiarly happy, No. 7, on the Importance of Names in writing; Nos. 12, 25, and 53, descriptive of the Family of the Homespuns; and Nos. 34 and 41, on the characters of Mr. Bearskin and Mr. Blubber.

"To *critical discussion* the authors of the Mirror appear to have been little attached; seven or eight papers are all which are discoverable in this department; and of these Mr. Mackenzie has contributed two in Nos. 99 and 100, containing an ingenious, and, in many respects, a just criticism on the character and tragedy of Hamlet.

"The writer next to Mr. Mackenzie, in the bulk of his communications, is Mr. Craig; he has written sixteen entire papers, Nos. 3, 10, 19, 20, 26, 31, 36, 47, 55, 60, 63, 69, 77, 83, 89, 106, and has assisted in the composition of Nos. 42, 85, and 94. Mr. Craig excels in the Drawing of Characters, on which subject he has given us an essay in No. 31. His portraits of Fleetwood and Umphraville, in Nos. 10 and 19, are very happily delineated; and he has favoured us with several spirited sketches in the same style, in Nos. 47, 55, 63, 69, 88, and 106. A very elegant and interesting paper, on the character and genius of Michael Bruce, occupies No. 36, and suggests to the reader a most pleasing idea of the benevolent tendency of Mr. Craig's mind.

"From the pen of Mr. Abercromby, the Mirror has received *eleven* essays on life, education, and manners; they include Nos. 4, 9, 18, 45, 51, 57, 65, 68, 87, 90, and 104; and of these the two most impressive are No. 87, on Superstition and the Fear of Death; and No. 90, on the Calamities incident to extreme old Age.

"*Six* papers, Nos. 1, 15, 39, 67, 70, and 71, are ascribed to Mr. Home; No. 39, on the Danger, incident to Men of fine Feelings, of quarelling with the World; and the Story of Antonio, in Nos. 70, and 71, possess considerable merit.

"With Mr. Bannatyne, who has written five papers in the Mirror, Nos. 6, 28, 33, 58, and 76, appears to have originated the character of Mr. Umphraville; at least, No. 6 introduces him to the reader's notice, and the portrait receives additional finishing in Nos. 28, and 76.

"To Mr. Cullen we are indebted for three very valuable essays; No. 13, Remarks on the Poems of Ossian; No. 27, on the silent Expression of Sorrow; and No. 48, on the question, whether, in the pleasure derived from the art of painting, the Artist or Connoisseur has an advantage over the common spectator? Much just feeling and correct

rect taste are exhibited in these papers.

"In enumerating the papers written by the *Correspondents* of the Mirror, we shall commence with Professor Richardson, a gentleman of established reputation in the critical and poetical world. From his stores the Mirror has been enriched with five essays, Nos. 8, 24, 29, 66, and 96. Two of these, Nos. 24 and 66, are accurate and elegant pieces of criticism, on the Allegro and Penseroso of Milton; and on the love-scene between Richard and Lady Anne, in Shakespeare's Richard the Third. The style of Mr. Richardson is peculiarly correct, and nearly, if not altogether, free from scoticisms.

"The essays of Lord Hailes, occupying Nos. 62, 75, 86, 97, 98, and part of 46, are entirely devoted to subjects of humour; and, together with considerable knowledge of human life, exhibit no mean powers in the display of what is ludicrous in character and conduct.

"For the two papers on Dreaming, in Nos. 73 and 74, we are indebted to Dr. Beattie; they are entertaining, but inconclusive. In a letter to the Duchess of Gordon, the Doctor, speaking of these essays, remarks, "I had no ambition to "view myself in any of these folio "looking-glasses (the Mirrors;) "but, as the publisher had sent me "a set from the beginning, and "told me that he would have no "returns but in kind; and, as I "had never refused the terms, I "thought myself bound in a sort "of debt of honour, which I en- "deavoured to pay with some de- "tached thoughts 'On Dreaming.' "It is a subject which I ought to "understand as well as other people; "for I believe I have dreamed as "much, both sleeping and waking, "as most men of my age. Your "Grace will observe, that the sub- "ject is not concluded, as I have "not yet got time to transcribe the "last part. The foolish gasconade "at the top of the first, is an addi- "tion by the printer."*

"The *last part*, thus alluded to, was added to the seventy-fourth number, when the Mirror was republished in volumes.

"To Mr. D. Hume are ascribed No. 50, on the ruin brought on Genius and Talents by Indolence and Inactivity; and No. 103, containing a ludicrous account from Simon Softly of his law-suit with Sir Ralph Holdencourt.

"Of the *four* remaining Correspondents of the Mirror, *three* contributed a single paper each; to Mr. Tytler, for instance, is attributed No. 59, on Lounging; to Mr. Alex. Craig, No. 52, including a humorous proposal for improving agriculture; and to Baron Gordon, No. 82, on Sign-posts. The first of these gentlemen likewise assisted in writing Nos. 17 and 79; the second was the author of a letter in No. 89; and the third composed the epistle signed Moderatus in No. 102. To Mr. Strahan an acknowledgment is due for a pleasing letter on the improvements of Edinburgh in No. 94.

"Sir William Forbes, when noticing the Mirror-Club, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr. Beattie, observes, that "the names of the "authors of each paper, show of "what distinguished characters this "literary society consisted: and it "is not a little remarkable, that of "these essayists, no fewer than six "either are, or have been, Judges

* Forbes's Life of Beattie, vol. II. p. 232, 233.

"of

"of the supreme courts of law in "Scotland." * The persons thus alluded to are, Lord Abercromby, Lord Craig, Lord Cullen, Lord Hailes, Mr. Baron Gordon, and Tytler Lord Woodhouselee.

"The Mirror, though inferior to the Spectator in variety and humour; to the Rambler in dignity and ethic precept; and to the Adventurer in the field of splendid fiction; yet supports a character which has justly rendered it a favourite with the public. There is, owing in a great measure to the genius of Mr. Mackenzie, a pathetic charm, a tender strain of morality, thrown over its pages, which greatly interests; nor is it, by any means, sterile or defective in the delineation of character. These qualifications are to me, by many degrees, more pleasing and permanently impressive, than the eternal wit and irony which pervade the World and Connoisseur. When we affirm, therefore, that *sweetness*, *delicacy*, and *pathos*, are the distinguishing features of the Mirror, we doubt not, from the imperishable nature of these ingredients, that it is formed to delight a distant posterity."

* Vol. III. p. 290.

Character of the Observer.

[From the same.]

"OF this very valuable paper, the composition of Mr. Cumberland, it will be necessary, in the first place, to relate what the author has himself thought proper to say of its origin, progress, and character. In the Memoirs of his own Life he has favoured us with the following account:—"I first printed two octavos (of the Observer) experimentally at our press in Tunbridge Wells: the execution was so incorrect, that I stopped the impression as soon as I had engaged my friend, Mr. Charles Dilly, to undertake the reprinting of it. He gave it a form and shape fit to meet the public eye, and the sale was encouraging. I added to the collection very largely, and it appeared in a new edition of five volumes. When these were out of print, I made a fresh arrangement of the essays, and, incorporating my entire translation of The Clouds, we edited the work thus modelled in six volumes; and these being now attached to the great edition of the British Essayists, I consider the Observer as fairly enrolled amongst the standard classics of our native language. This work, therefore, has obtained for itself an inheritance; it is fairly off my hands, and what I have to say about it will be confined to a few simple facts; I had no acknowledgments to make in my concluding essay, for I had received no aid or assistance from any man living: every page and paragraph, except what is avowed quotation, I am singly responsible for.

"I have been suspected of taking stories out of Spanish authors, and weaving them into some of these essays as my own, without acknowledging the plagiarism. One of my reviewers instances the story of Nicolas Pedrosa, and roundly asserts,

" asserts, that, from internal evi-
" dence, it must be of Spanish con-
" struction, and from these assumed
" premises leaves me to abide the
" odium of the inference. To this
" I answer, with the most solemn
" appeal to truth and honour, that
" I am indebted to no author what-
" ever, Spanish or other, for a single
" hint, idea, or suggestion of an in-
" cident, in the story of Pedrosa, nor
" that of the Misanthrope, nor in
" any other which the work con-
" tains. In the narrative of the Por-
" tuguese, who was brought before
" the Inquisition, what I say of it
" as being matter of tradition, which
" I collected on the spot, is a mere
" fiction, to give an air of credibi-
" lity and horror to the tale: the
" whole, without exception of a syl-
" lable, is absolute and entire inven-
" tion.

" I take credit to myself for the
" character of Abraham Abrahams;
" I wrote it upon principle, thinking
" it high time that something should
" be done for a persecuted race; I
" seconded my appeal to the charity
" of mankind, by the character of
" Sheva, which I copied from this
" of Abrahams. The public prints
" gave the Jews credit for their sen-
" sibility in acknowledging my well-
" intended services: my friends gave
" me joy of honorary presents, and
" some even accused me of ingrati-
" tude, for not making public my
" thanks for their munificence. I
" will speak plainly on this point;
" I do most heartily wish they had
" flattered me with some token,
" however small, of which I might
" have said, *this is a tribute to my*
" *philanthropy*, and delivered it
" down to my children, as my be-
" loved father did to me his badge
" of favour from the citizens of Dub-
" lin; but not a word from the lips,
" not a line did I ever receive from
" the pen of any Jew, though I have
" found myself in company with
" many of their nation; and in this
" perhaps the gentlemen are quite
" right, whilst I had formed ex-
" pectations that were quite wrong;
" for if I have said for them only
" what they deserve, why should I
" be thanked for it? But if I have
" said more, much more, than they
" deserve, can they do a wiser thing
" than hold their tongues?

" I think it cannot be supposed
" but that the composition of the
" Observer must have been a work
" of time and labour; I trust there
" is internal evidence of that, parti-
" cularly in that portion of it which
" professes to review the literary
" age of Greece, and gives a history
" of the Athenian stage. That se-
" ries of papers will, I hope, remain
" as a monument of my industry in
" collecting materials, and of my
" correctness in disposing them: and
" when I lay to my heart the con-
" solation I derive from the honours
" now bestowed upon me, at the
" close of my career, by one, who
" is only in the first outset of his,
" what have I not to augur for my-
" self, when he who starts with such
" auspicious promise has been pleas-
" ed to take my fame in hand, and
" link it to his own? If any of my
" readers are yet to seek for the au-
" thor to whom I allude; the *Comi-*
" *corum Graecorum fragmenta quæ-*
" *dam* will lead *them* to his name,
" and *him* to their respect.

" If I cannot resist the gratifica-
" tion of inserting the paragraph,
" which places my dim lamp be-
" tween those brilliant stars of clas-
" sic lustre, Richard Bentley and
" Richard Porson, am I to be set
" down as a conceited vain old man?
" Let it be so! I can't help it; and
" in truth I don't much care about
" it. Though the following extract

" may

" may be the weakest thing that " Mr. Robert Walpole, of Trinity " college, Cambridge, ever has writ- " ten, or ever shall write, it will out- " live the strongest thing that can " be said against it, and I will there- " fore arrest and incorporate it, as " follows:—'Aliunde quoque haud " exiguum ornamentum huic volu- " mini accepit, siquidem Cumber- " landius nostras amicè benevolèque " permisit, ut versiones suas quo- " rundam fragmentorum, exquisitas " sane illas, miràque elegantiâ con- " ditas et commendatas huc trans- " ferrem." *

" Forty numbers of the Observer in an octavo volume, and printed at Tunbridge Wells, were published in London in 1785: this collection being well received, both by the public and the critics, it was reprinted by Dilly, the succeeding year, in three volumes, crown 8vo. with such numerous additions, as augmented the numbers to ninety-three. In 1788, a fourth volume was given; and in 1790, the fifth and last. Of this arrangement in five volumes, a new impression was published in 1791, which is the edition in my possession, extending to one hundred and fifty-three essays. The Observer, in six volumes, appeared in 1798; in 1803, it was incorporated with the British Essayist; and in 1808, it was reprinted in three volumes 12mo.

" The essays which compose these interesting volumes, may be classed under the appellations of *Literary*, *Critical*, and *Narrative; Humorous*, *Moral*, and *Religious*.

" To the *Literary* papers, which amount to about forty in number, we are indebted for the most original feature in the work. These include, together with some account of the civil history of Greece, a compressed and connected detail of Grecian poetry, from the earliest era to the death of Menander. The research has been particularly directed to the remains of the Greek Dramatists, and more especially to the writers of the *Old*, the *Middle*, and the *New Comedy*. Of these, the fragments, which the desolating hand of time has spared, have been translated with uncommon felicity, by Mr. Cumberland; and merit the eulogium which Mr. Walpole has so happily expressed. The easy and flowing metrical style of Fletcher and Massinger furnished Mr. Cumberland with an appropriate model for his versions, which he has imitated with fidelity and spirit. The patience and persevering labour required for the due execution of this task, may be estimated from the declaration of the Observer, that it was his ambition to give the world " a " complete collection of the beau- " ties of the Greek stage, in our " own language, from the remains " of more than fifty comic poets." †

" The papers strictly *Critical*, in the Observer, amount to seventeen, of which eleven are devoted to the consideration of dramatic character and conduct. Among these, the contrast between the characters of Macbeth and Richard; the parallel between Æschylus and Shakespeare; the observations on Falstaff and his group; and the comparative review of Rowe's Fair Penitent with the Fatal Dowry of Massinger; are peculiarly interesting and conclusive. The essay on style, in No. 133, contains many just remarks on the diction of Addison and Johnson; with the judicious recommendation of the former, as the safer model for the student. The character of Mr. Cumberland's own style,

* Vol. ii. p. 199, et seq.

† Vol. iv. p. 119, edition of 1791.

style, indeed, partakes much more of the elegant and idiomatic simplicity of Addison, than of the elaborate, though splendid, composition of Johnson; with the exception of a few phrases, which are too flat and colloquial, it is easy, fluent, and correct.

"Of the *Narrative* portion of the Observer, which occupies no small share of the work, it is impossible not to speak highly. Powerful invention, strong delineation of character, and adherence to costume, distinguish the greater part of our author's fictions. The stories of Abdullah and Zarima; of Chaubert, the Misanthrope; of the Portuguese Gentleman who died by the rack; of Ned Drowsy, and of Nicolas Pedrosa, may be instanced as fully supporting the opinion that we have advanced; the last two more especially abound in the richest traits both of pathos and humour.

"There are many papers, likewise, in the Observer, which may more exclusively be termed *Humourous*; such as the Letters from Mr. Jedediah Fish, in Nos. 45 and 69; the Letter from Rusticus, in N° 80; the Letter from Posthumous, in N° 92; the characters of Simon Sapling and Billy Simper, in Nos. 129, 131, and 132; the adventures of Kit Cracker, in N° 134; and the letter from Tom Tortoise, in N° 149. These, and others of a similar kind, very agreeably relieve the literary and didactic portion of the work; and, at the same time, exhibit a knowledge of the world, its follies, and eccentricities.

"It may be affirmed of this periodical paper, very highly to its credit, that almost every part of it, either directly or indirectly, possesses a *Moral* tendency; a considerable number of essays is avowedly appropriated to subjects of this kind, subjects calculated to improve the manners, and meliorate the heart: and even in those which are set apart for literary and critical inquiry, great care has been taken to render them, in almost every instance, subservient to the best purposes of virtue and instruction.

"Nor should we fail to notice that some papers of great value, strong in argument, and curious in research, are devoted to *Religious* topics. The comparison of Pythagoras with Christ, in N° 12; the defence of our Saviour's Miracles, in N° 13; the morality of Christianity, as compared with that of natural religion, in N° 83; and an argument for the evidences of the christian religion, in N° 93; together with three papers, in volume the fourth, in answer to the cavils and objections of David Levi, are of this kind, and impress us with a deep sense of the piety of their author.

"The Observer, though the sole labour of an individual, is yet rich in variety, both of subject and manner; in this respect, indeed, as well as in literary interest, and in fertility of invention, it may be classed with the Spectator and Adventurer; if inferior to the latter in grandeur of fiction, or to the former in delicate irony and dramatic unity of design, it is wealthier in its literary fund than either, equally moral in its views, and as abundant in the creation of incident. I consider it, therefore, with the exception of the papers just mentioned, as superior, in its powers of attraction, to every other periodical composition."

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

Case of a Man who died in consequence of the Bite of a Rattle-Snake. By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S.

[From the Philosophical Transactions.]

"Opportunities of tracing the symptoms produced by the bite of poisonous snakes, and ascertaining the local effects on the human body when the bite proves fatal, are of such rare occurrence, that no well described case of this kind, is to be met with in any of the records that I have examined. I am therefore induced to lay before this Society the following account, with the view of elucidating this subject, in which the interests of humanity are so deeply concerned.

"Thomas Soper, twenty-six years of age, of a spare habit, on the 17th of October, 1809, went into the room in which two healthy rattle-snakes, brought from America in the preceding summer, were exhibited. He teized one of them with the end of a foot rule, but could not induce the snake to bite it, and on the rule dropping out of his hand, he opened the door of the cage to take it out; the snake immediately darted at the hand, and bit it twice in succession, making two wounds on the back part of the first phalanx of the thumb, and two on the side of the second joint of the fore finger. The snake is between four and five feet long, and when much irritated bites the object twice, which I believe snakes do not usually do.

"The bite took place at half past two o'clock. He went immediately to Mr. Hanbury, a chemist in the neighbourhood. There was at that time no swelling on the hand, and the man was so incoherent in his language and behaviour, that Mr. Hanbury considered him to be in a state of intoxication, and gave him a dose of jalap to take off the effects of the liquor, and made some slight application to the bites. It appeared on enquiry, that the man had been drinking, but that before he was bitten, there was nothing unusual in his behaviour. After leaving Mr. Hanbury the hand began to swell, which alarmed him, and he went to St. George's Hospital. He arrived there at three o'clock. The wrist-band of his shirt had been unloosed, and the swelling had extended half way up the fore-arm before his admission. The skin on the back of his hand was very tense, and the part very painful. At four o'clock the

the swelling extended to the elbow, and at half past four it had reached half way up the arm, and the pain had extended to the axilla. At this time Mr. Brodie, who visited him in my absence, first saw him; he found the skin cold; the man's answers were incoherent: his pulse beat 100 strokes in a minute, and he complained of sickness. Forty drops of aqua ammoniæ puræ, and thirty drops of spiritus ætheris vitriolici in an ounce of mistura camphorata, were given to him, but did not remain on his stomach. The wounds were bathed with the aqua ammoniæ puræ, and the arm and forearm had compresses wetted with camphorated spirits applied to them. At five o'clock he took two drams of spiritus ammoniæ compositus, and thirty drops of æther, in an ounce and a half of mistura camphorata, which remained on his stomach. At six o'clock his pulse was stronger; at half past seven his pulse was very feeble, and thirty drops of æther, and the same quantity of aqua ammoniæ puræ were given in water. At half past eight it was repeated. At nine o'clock he had the feeling of great depression, his skin was cold, his pulse weak, beating eighty strokes in a minute. The dose was increased to fifty drops of both medicines, and repeated. At a quarter past ten o'clock the pain had become very violent in the arm: his pulse was stronger, but fits of faintness attacked him every fifteen minutes, in which the pulse was not perceptible, but in the interval his spirits were less depressed. In the course of the evening he had two stools. At half past eleven o'clock I first saw him. The hand, wrist, forearm, and arm were much swelled up to the top of the shoulder, and into the axilla. The arm was quite cold, and no pulse could be felt in any part, not even in the axilla, the swelling preventing me from feeling the axillary artery with any degree of accuracy. The wounds made on the thumb were just perceptible; those on the finger were very distinct. His skin generally was unusually cold. I took some pains to diminish his alarm of danger, and found his mind perfectly collected: he said he hoped he should recover. At one o'clock in the morning of the 18th, he talked indistinctly: his pulse beat 100 in a minute; the attacks of faintness came on occasionally. The medicine was repeated every hour.

"At eight o'clock in the morning of the 18th, his pulse beat 132 strokes in a minute, and was very feeble. The swelling had not extended beyond the shoulder to the neck, but there was a fulness down the side, and blood was extravasated under the skin as low as the loins, giving the back on the right side a mottled appearance. The whole arm and hand was cold, but painful when pressed; the skin was very tense; on the inside of the arm below the axilla, and near the elbow, vesications had formed; and under each of the vesications there was a red spot in the cutis, of the size of a crown piece. The skin generally over the body had become warm. He was low and depressed; there was a tremulous motion of his lips, and the faintings recurred at nearly the same intervals as in the preceding evening. The last dose of medicine was rejected by vomiting, but some warm wine remained on his stomach. The arm was fomented. At twelve o'clock, in addition to the above symptoms, there was a starting of his limbs. He had attempted to take some broth, but his stomach did not retain it. The skin of the whole arm had a livid appearance, similar to what is met with

with in a dead body, when putrefaction has begun to take place, unlike anything which I had ever seen in so large a portion of the living body. An obscure fluctuation was felt under the skin of the outside of the wrist and forearm, which induced me to make a puncture with a lancet, but only a small portion of a serous fluid was discharged. My colleague, Dr. Nevinson, was present at this visit, and we agreed to continue the internal use of the volatile alkali, with the view of rousing the stomach to action, not considering it as having any specific power over the poison. At eleven o'clock in the evening, finding that his stomach did not always retain the medicines, nor even small quantities of brandy, which were given him, I directed the volatile alkali to be left off, and two grains of opium to be given, and repeated every four hours. At this time his pulse was scarcely perceptible at the wrist, the fainting fits were not less frequent. The vesications and red spots were increased in size.

"October 19. At nine o'clock in the morning his pulse was scarcely perceptible: his extremities were cold; the vesications were larger, and the size of the arm was diminished. He was drowsy, probably from the effect of the opium. He had taken nothing but brandy during the night. At three o'clock in the afternoon he was more depressed: spoke only in whispers: the vesications were increased: the fainting fits less frequent. The arm was diminished in size, and he had sensation in it down to the fingers. At eleven o'clock at night his pulse beat 130 in a minute, and was low. The opium was left off. A stool was procured by clyster. He was ordered to have a glass of camphorated mixture occasionally, and wine and brandy, as often as he could be induced to take them.

"October 20. He had dozed at intervals during the night; his spirits were better, and his extremities warmer. At nine o'clock he took coffee for breakfast. He afterwards took some fish for dinner, but it did not remain on his stomach; he therefore took brandy and coffee at intervals, half an ounce at a time, as larger quantities did not remain on his stomach.

"October 21. He had slept at intervals during the night, but was occasionally delirious: his pulse 120 in a minute. Brandy and jelly were the only things that stayed on his stomach. The size of the arm was reduced, but the skin was extremely tender.

"October 22. He had slept during the greatest part of the night: his pulse beat ninety-eight in a minute: he took some veal for dinner, and brandy at intervals. In the evening his pulse became full and strong: he was ordered wine instead of brandy. The right side of the back down to the loins, was inflamed and painful; and had a very mottled appearance, from the extravasated blood under the skin.

"October 23. His pulse continued full, and the arm was very painful, though reduced in size. The vesications had burst, and the exposed cutis was dressed with white ointment. Stools were procured by an opening medicine. He took some veal and porter for dinner; the wine was left off. In the evening he had a saline draught with antimonial wine.

"October 24. There was no material change.

"October 25. His pulse had increased in frequency, but in other respects he was nearly the same. His bowels were opened by medicine.

"October

"October 26. The arm was more swelled and inflamed.

"October 27. The inflammation of the arm had increased: his tongue was furred, and his pulse was very frequent. He attempted to sit up, but the weight of the arm, and the pain prevented him. The arm was bathed with spirits of wine and aqua ammoniæ acetatæ in equal quantities.

"October 28. A slough had begun to separate from the inside of the arm below the axilla, and a purging had come on, for which he was ordered chalk mixture and laudanum. In the night he had a rigor.

"October 29. The purging had abated; his pulse beat 100 in a minute, and was feeble. A large abscess had formed on the outside of the elbow, which was opened, and half a pint of reddish brown matter was discharged with sloughs of cellular membrane floating in it. The lower part of the arm became much smaller, but the upper part continued tense. A poultice was applied to the wound. The lower portion of the arm and the forearm were covered with circular stripes of soap cerate. He was ordered to take the bark, and allowed wine and porter.

"October 30. The redness and swelling of the upper part of the arm had subsided: the pulse was 100 in a minute. The purging had returned. The bark was left off: the chalk mixture and laudanum were given, and an opiate clyster administered.

"October 31. The pulse beat 120 in a minute. The discharge from the abscess had diminished, the purging continued, and at night he had a rigor.

"November 1. The pulse was 120. His voice was feeble; he had no appetite; was delirious at intervals. Ulceration had taken place on the opening of the abscess, so that it was much increased in size. He drank two pints of porter in the course of the day.

"November 2. His pulse was very weak; his countenance was depressed; his tongue brown; the ulceration had spread to the extent of two or three inches. Mortification had taken place in the skin nearer the axilla. His stomach rejected every thing but porter: in the night he was delirious.

"November 3. The mortification had spread considerably: the purging continued: the forefinger, which had mortified, was removed at the second joint.

"November 4. He died at half past four o'clock in the afternoon.

"Sixteen hours after death, the body was examined by Mr. Brodie and myself, in the presence of Mr. Maynard, the house surgeon, and several of the pupils of the hospital.

"With the exception of the right arm which had been bitten, the body had the natural appearance. The skin was clear and white; and the muscles contracted.

"The wounds made by the fangs at the base of the thumb were healed, but the puncture made by the lancet at the back of the wrist, was still open. That part of the back of the hand, which immediately surrounded the wounds made by the fangs, for the extent of 1 ½ inch in every direction, as also the whole of the palm, was in a natural state, except that there was a small quantity of extravasated blood in the cellular membrane. The orifice of the abscess was enlarged, so as to form a sore on the outside of the arm, elbow, and forearm, near six inches in length. Around this, the skin was in a state of mortification, more

than half way up the outside of the arm, and as far downwards, on the outside of the forearm. The skin still adhered to the biceps flexor muscles in the arm, and flexor muscles in the forearm, by a dark coloured cellular membrane. Every where else in the arm and forearm, from the axilla downwards, the skin was separated from the muscles, and between these parts there was a dark coloured fluid, with an offensive smell, and sloughs of cellular membrane resembling wet tow, floating in it. The muscles had their natural appearance every where, except on the surface, which was next the abscess. Beyond the limits of the abscess, blood was extravasated in the cellular membrane, and this appearance was observable on the right side of the back as far as the loins, and on the right side of the chest over the serratus major anticus muscle.

"In the thorax the lungs had their natural appearance. The exterior part of the loose fold of the pericardium, where it is exposed, on elevating the sternum was dry, resembling a dried bladder. The cavity of the pericardium contained half an ounce of serous fluid, which had a frothy appearance, from an admixture of bubbles of air. On cutting into the aorta, a small quantity of blood escaped, which had a similar appearance. The cavities of the heart contained coagulated blood.

"In the abdomen, the cardiac portion of the stomach was moderately distended with fluid: the pyloric portion was much contracted; the internal membrane had its vessels very turgid with blood. The intestines and liver had a healthy appearance. The gall bladder was moderately full of healthy bile. The lacteals and the thoracic duct were empty; they had a natural appearance.

"In the cranium the vessels of the pia mater and brain were turgid with blood; the ventricles contained rather more water than is usual, and water was effused into the cells, connecting the pia mater and tunica arachnoides. It is to be observed, that these appearances in the brain and its membranes are very frequently found in cases of acute diseases, which terminate fatally.

"The following cases were sent from India, to my late friend Dr. Patrick Russell: they arrived after his death, and Mr. Claude Russell very kindly gave them to me, knowing the subject of them to be one, in which I had taken an interest. As they correspond in many of the circumstances, with that which has been detailed, I have inserted them in this place, as well as an experiment, which I had an opportunity of making in the West Indies, on the effects of the snake's poison on animals.

"A boy, a slave of a gentleman in India, was bitten by a snake called Kannlee by the natives, in the lower part of the arm, at eight o'clock in the evening. The blood flowed very freely for some time. He died next day at noon in great pain.

"A sepoy, sixty years of age, was admitted into the hospital of his regiment, under the care of Mr. Perrin, assistant surgeon, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th of October, 1802, in consequence of his being bitten by a cobra di capello, on the back part of the hand. At the time of his admission he complained of pain running up the arm. He immediately took a drachm of eau de luce, and this dose was repeated every half hour, and

the

the same remedy was applied externally as a lotion to the arm and forearm. At four o'clock in the morning of the 16th of October, the pain began to increase, and the arm to swell with great hardness and stiffness, and tumor in the axilla, with much inclination to vomit. He took twelve grains of Dr. James's powder, which brought up a great quantity of bilious matter. He drank copiously of warm water, but no perspiration was induced. He appeared relieved for a short time. At eight o'clock in the morning the arm was distended, painful, and discoloured. He took four ounces of brandy, and repeated it every hour until twelve o'clock, with a drachm of eau de luce occasionally. At this time he was a little revived. The brandy was reduced to two ounces, which were carefully and regularly given every hour, until twelve at noon on the 17th of October, when the arm was more free from pain, but much swelled, hard, and black: his spirits and pulse also were considerably relieved. The eau de luce was now omitted, but the brandy was continued every hour, until twelve o'clock at noon on the 18th of October, when the stiffness and tumor in the axilla had disappeared; the arm was still swelled, but was softer, and less painful. The brandy was omitted: at night he took six grains of Dr. James's powder. On the 19th of October the arm was less, softer, with little or no pain; a blister was formed and burst on the back of the hand, which discharged three ounces of black fœtid pus. On the 20th, an abscess burst on the hand, in the same situation as the blister, which discharged a large quantity of a fluid, having an offensive smell. He was directed to take a drachm of Peruvian bark in port wine, every two hours. On the 22d the swelling was gone, but the discharge was considerable. From this time the man gradually, but slowly recovered, with the loss of the use of his forefinger, which remained permanently extended, and some of the other fingers were affected in a less degree.

"In this case, the swelling of the arm was slower in coming on, and less extensive; the pain running up to the axilla, which preceded it, was mistaken for the effect of absorption.

"In the year 1762, while in the island of St. Lucia, I made the following experiment.

"A spotted dark coloured snake, about two feet in length, having the poison fangs on each side double, with the corresponding surfaces grooved, so as to form a canal for the poison, was put into a square tin box, open at the top, in which a half grown rat was confined. The rat expressed great terror, and remained crouching in one corner of the box, with its eyes fixed on the snake, who lay coiled up at some distance, they were allowed to remain a few minutes in this situation: I then raised one end of the box, which caused the snake to slide along the smooth surface, till it came in contact with the rat, which it immediately bit. The rat died in a minute after the bite. I removed it immediately from the box by means of a pair of long forceps. The wounds made by the fangs were marked by two specks of blood immediately below the shoulder blade. On dividing the skin with a scalpel, the cellular membrane under it was found entirely destroyed: the muscles were detached from the ribs, and from a small portion of the scapula. The parts immediately surrounding the bite were exceedingly inflamed; as far as I could trust to memory,

memory, the appearances very much resembled those produced on the muscles of a dog's thigh, by the application of white arsenic, in consequence of which, death ensued in about sixteen hours.

"Fifteen hours after the death of the first, a second rat was bitten by the same snake. This rat was much irritated, and bit the snake in the neck, so violently, that the latter died in about ten minutes. The rat continued very lively for about six hours, and then died. On examination after death, the bite was found to have been inflicted on the left side of the navel, and the abdominal muscles at that part, were in the same state as in the other rat, but in a less degree.

"It appears from the facts, which have been stated, that, the effects of the bite of a snake vary according to the intensity of the poison.

"When the poison is very active, the local irritation is so sudden and so violent, and its effects on the general system are so great, that death soon takes place. When the body is afterwards inspected, the only alteration of structure met with, is in the parts close to the bite, where the cellular membrane is completely destroyed, and the neighbouring muscles very considerably inflamed.

"When the poison is less intense, the shock to the general system does not prove fatal. It brings on a slight degree of delirium, and the pain in the part bitten is very severe: in about half an hour, swelling takes place from an effusion of serum in the cellular membrane, which continues to increase with greater or less rapidity for about twelve hours, extending during that period into the neighbourhood of the bite; the blood ceases to flow in the smaller vessels of the swoln parts; the skin over them becomes quite cold, the action of the heart is so weak, that the pulse is scarcely perceptible, and the stomach is so irritable, that nothing is retained in it. In about sixty hours these symptoms go off, inflammation and suppuration takes place in the injured parts, and when the abscess formed is very great, it proves fatal. When the bite has been in the finger, that part has immediately mortified. When death has taken place under such circumstances, the absorbent vessels and their glands, have undergone no change similar to the effect of morbid poisons, nor has any part lost its natural appearance, except those immediately connected with the abscess.

"In those patients, who recover with difficulty from the bite, the symptoms produced by it, go off more readily, and more completely, than those produced by a morbid poison, which has been received into the system.

"The violent effects which the poison produces on the part bitten, and on the general system, and the shortness of their duration, where they do not terminate fatally, has frequently induced the belief, that the recovery depended on the medicines employed; and in the East Indies, eau de luce is considered as a specific, for the cure of the bite of the cobra di capello.

"There does not appear to be any foundation for such an opinion; for when the poison is so intense, as to give a sufficient shock to the constitution, death immediately takes place, and where the poison produces a local injury of sufficient extent, the patient also dies, while all slighter cases recover.

"The effect of the poison on the constitution is so immediate, and the irritability of the stomach is so great, that there is no opportunity of exhibiting

hibiting medicines till it has fairly taken place, and then there is little chance of beneficial effects being produced.

"The only rational local treatment, to prevent the secondary mischief, is making ligatures above the tumefied part, to compress the cellular membrane, and set bounds to the swelling, which only spreads in the loose parts under the skin; and scarifying freely the parts already swoln, that the effused serum may escape, and the matter be discharged, as soon as it is formed. Ligatures are employed in America, but with a different view, namely, to prevent the poison being absorbed into the system."

Analysis of several Varieties of British and Foreign Salt, with a View to explain their Fitness for different economical Purposes. By W. Henry, M. D. F. R. S.

[From the same.]

"IN undertaking the series of experiments described in the following pages, I had not so much in view the discovery of novelties in science, as the determination, by the careful employment of known processes, and by the improvement of methods of analysis, of a number of facts, the establishment of which (it appeared to me probable) might have an influence on an important branch of national revenue and industry.

"An opinion has for some time past existed, and I believe has been pretty general both in this and other countries, to the disadvantage of British salt as a preserver of animal food; and a decided preference has been given to the salt procured from France, Spain, Portugal, and other warm climates, where it is prepared by the spontaneous evaporation of sea water. In conformity with this opinion, large sums of money are annually paid to foreign nations, for the supply of an article, which Great Britain possesses, beyond almost any other country in Europe, the means of drawing from her own internal resources. It becomes, therefore, of much consequence to ascertain, whether this preference of foreign salt be founded on accurate experience, or be merely a matter of prejudice; and, in the former case, whether any chemical difference can be discovered, that may explain the superiority of the one to the other.

"The comparative fitness of these varieties of salt for the curing of provisions, which has been a subject of much controversy among the parties who are interested, can be decided, it is obvious, in no other way, than by a careful examination of the evidence on both sides. Where evidence, however, is doubtful, and where there exists, as in this case, much contrariety of testimony, it cannot be unfair to yield our belief to that, which best accords with the chemical and physical qualities of the substances in question. Again, if salt of British production should be proved to be really inferior in chemical purity to foreign salt, it would be important to ascertain, as the basis of all attempts towards its improvement, in what, precisely, this

this inferiority consists. It seemed desirable, also, to examine whether any differences of chemical composition exist among the several varieties of home-made salt, which can explain their variable fitness for economical purposes.

"Such were the considerations that induced me to undertake an enquiry, which has occupied, for several months past, a large share of my leisure and attention. I began the investigation, wholly uninfluenced by any preconceived opinions on the subject; and I had no motive to see the facts in any other than their true light, since I have no personal interest, either directly or remotely, in the decision of the question.

"The principal sources of the salt, which is manufactured in this country, are rock salt, brine springs, and sea water. The first material is confined entirely, and the second chiefly, though not wholly, to a particular district of Cheshire. Of the extent and boundaries of this district, the process of manufacture, and other circumstances interesting to the mineralogist as well as to the chemist, an ample and excellent history has been given by Mr. Henry Holland, in the Agricultural Report of the County of Chester.* From his account, I shall extract, in order to render some parts of this memoir more intelligible, a very brief statement of the characteristic differences of the several varieties of salt, which are prepared in Northwich, and its neighbourhood.

"In making the *stoved* or *lump salt*, the brine is brought to a boiling heat, which, in brine fully saturated, is 226° of *Fahrenheit*. This temperature is continued during the whole process; and as the evaporation proceeds, small flakey crystals continue to form themselves, and to fall to the bottom of the boiler. At the end of from eight to twelve hours, the greatest part of the water of solution is found to be evaporated; so much only being left, as barely to cover the salt and the bottom of the pan. The salt is then removed into conical wicker baskets, termed *barrows*; and, after being well drained, is dried in stoves, where it sustains a loss of about one seventh of its weight.

"On the first application of heat to the brine, a quantity of carbonate of lime, and sometimes a little oxide of iron, both of which have been held in solution by an excess of carbonic acid, are separated; and are either removed by skimming, or are allowed to subside to the bottom of the pan, along with the salt first formed, and with some sulphate of lime; and are afterwards raked out. These two operations are called *clearing* the pan. Some brines scarcely require them at all, and others only occasionally. The whole of the impurities, however, are not thus removed; for a part, subsiding to the bottom, forms a solid incrustation, termed by the workmen *pan-scale*. The portion of this, which is lowest, acquires so much induration and adhesion to the pan, that it is necessary to remove it, once every three or four weeks, by heavy blows with a pick-axe. These sediments are formed, also, in making the other varieties of salt.

"In preparing *common salt*, the brine is first raised to a boiling heat, with the double view of bringing it as quickly as possible to the point of saturation, and of clearing it from its earthy contents. The fires are then slackened, and the evaporation

* Published in 1808.

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is carried on for twenty-four hours, with the brine heated to 160° or 170° *Fahrenheit*. The salt, thus formed, is in quadrangular pyramids or hoppers, which are close and hard in their texture. The remainder of the process is similar to that of making stoved salt, except that after being drained, it is carried immediately to the store-house, and not afterwards exposed to heat, an operation confined to the stoved salt.

"The *large grained flakey salt* is made with an evaporation conducted at the heat of 130 or 140 degrees. The salt thus formed, is somewhat harder than common salt, and approaches more nearly to the cubic shape of the crystals of muriate of soda.

"Large grained or *fishery salt*, is prepared from brine heated only to 100° or 110° *Fahrenheit*. No perceptible agitation, therefore, is produced in the brine, and the slowness of the process, which lasts from seven or eight to ten days, allows the muriate of soda to form in large, and nearly cubical crystals, seldom however quite perfect in their shape.*

"For ordinary domestic uses, stoved salt is perfectly sufficient. Common salt is adapted to the *striking* and salting of provisions, which are not intended for sea voyages or warm climates. For the latter purposes, the large grained or fishery salt is peculiarly fitted.

"On the eastern and western coasts of Scotland, and especially on the shores of the Firth of Forth, large quantities of salt are made by the evaporation of sea water. In consequence of the cheapness of fuel, the process is carried on, from first to last, by artificial heat, at a temperature, I believe, equal or nearly so to the boiling point, and varying, therefore, according to the concentration of the brine. The kind of salt, chiefly formed in Scotland, approaches most nearly to the character of stoved salt. In some places a salt is prepared, termed *Sunday salt*, so called, in consequence of the fires being slackened between Saturday and Monday, which increases considerably the size of the crystals.

"I am indebted to Dr. Thomson of Edinburgh, (who gave me his assistance with great zeal and alacrity) for an opportunity of examining upwards of twenty specimens of Scotch salt, prepared by different manufacturers. That distinguished chemist, it appears from a letter which he addressed to me on the subject, was some time ago engaged in experiments on Cheshire salt. The particulars he has lost; and he retains only a general recollection of the facts, which confirms, I am happy to state, the accuracy of the results obtained by my own experiments.

"At Lymington, in Hampshire, advantage is taken of the greater heat of the climate, to concentrate the sea water by spontaneous evaporation to about one-sixth its bulk, before admitting it into the boilers. One kind of salt is chiefly prepared there, which most nearly resembles in grain the stoved salt of Cheshire. The process varies a little, in some respects, from that which has been already described. The salt is not fished (as it is termed) out of the boiler, and drained in baskets; but the water is entirely evaporated, and the whole mass of salt taken out at once, every eight hours, and removed into troughs with holes in the bottom. Through these it drains into pits made under ground, which re-

* Cheshire Reports, p. 59, &c.

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ceive the liquor called *bittern* or *bitter liquor*. Under the troughs, and in a line with the holes, are fixed upright stakes, on which a portion of salt that would otherwise have escaped, crystallizes and forms, in the course of ten or twelve days, on each stake, a mass of sixty or eighty pounds. These lumps are called *salt cats*. They bear the proportion to the common salt, made from the same brine, of 1 ton to 100.

"From the mother brine, or bitter liquor, which has drained into the pits, the sulphate of magnesia is made during the winter season, when the manufacture of salt is suspended, in consequence of the want of the temperature required, for the spontaneous evaporation of the sea water. The process is a very simple one.* The bitter liquor from the pits is boiled for some hours in the pans, which are used in summer to prepare common salt; and the impurities, which rise to the surface, are removed by skimming. During the evaporation, a portion of common salt separates; and this, as it is too impure for use, is reserved for the purpose of concentrating the brine in summer. The evaporated bitter liquor is then removed into wooden coolers eight feet long, five feet wide, and one foot deep. In these it remains twenty-four hours, during which time, if the weather prove clear and cold, the sulphate of magnesia, or Epsom salt crystallizes at the bottom of the coolers, in quantity equal to about one-eighth of the boiled liquor. The uncrystallizable fluid is then let off through plug-holes at the bottom of the coolers; and the Epsom salt, after being drained in baskets, is deposited in the store-house. This is termed *single* Epsom salts, and after solution and a second crystallization, it acquires the name of *double Epsom* salts. Four or five tons of sulphate of magnesia are produced from a quantity of brine, which has yielded 100 tons of common, and one ton of cat salt.

"On the banks of the Mersey, near its junction with the Irish Channel, the water of that river before evaporation is brought to the state of a saturated brine, by the addition of rock salt. The advantage of this method of proceeding, will be obvious when it is stated, that 100 tons of this brine yield at least twenty-three tons of common salt, whereas from the same quantity of sea water, with an equal expenditure of fuel, only two tons seventeen cwt. of salt can be produced.†

"Within the few past years, an attempt has been made to apply rock salt itself to the packing of provisions. For this purpose it is crushed to the proper size between iron rollers. The trials which have been made, I am informed, are but few, and the results hitherto are not perfectly known.

"The *bay salt* imported from foreign countries is well known to be prepared by the spontaneous evaporation of sea water, which, for this purpose, is confined in shallow pits, and exposed to the full influence of the sun and air. I have no addition to make to the account of its manufacture, which has already been given by various writers.‡

* See Aikin's Chemical Dictionary, II. 398.

† See the Earl of Dundonald's "Thoughts on the Manufacture and Trade of Salt." London, 1785.

‡ Encyclop. Method. Art. Salins. (Des Marais Salans) Aikin's Dictionary of Chemistry, II. 224. Watson's Chemistry, Vol. II. p. 52. It is necessary to remark, that a great proportion of what is sold in London as bay salt, is Cheshire large grained fishery salt.

"As

"As the results of the investigation, which forms the subject of this memoir, may be acceptable to many persons who can scarcely be expected to take an interest in a long detail of analytical processes, I shall present, in the following section, a general view of the experiments, and of the conclusions that may be deduced from them. In the last place, in order that other chemists may be enabled to repeat the analyses under similar circumstances, I shall describe minutely, the methods that were adopted, some of which are new, and others reduced to greater precision. If, however, in the future progress of science, it should appear that any of these processes are imperfect, it may still be admitted that, for all useful purposes, they afford a fair *comparison* of the composition of the several varieties of culinary salt; since the sources of fallacy, that may hereafter be discovered, must have been the same in every case, and have produced in each an error of nearly the same amount.

§ 2. *General Statement of the Results of the Experiments, and Conclusions that may be deduced from them.*

"A comparison of the component parts of British and foreign salts, and of different varieties of British salt with each other, will best be made by an examination of the following table, which comprehends the results of the analysis of equal weights of each variety.

TABLE

TABLE.

	Kind of Salt.	1000 parts by weight consist of									
		Insol. matter.	Muriate of lime.	Muriate of magnesia.	Total earthy muriates	Sulph. of lime.	Sulph. of magnesia.	Total sulphates.	Total impurities.	Pure muriate of soda.
Brit. sea water.	St. Ube's	9	a trace.	3	3	23 ½	4 ½	28	40	960
	St. Martin's	12	do.	3 ½	3 ½	19	6	25	40 ½	959 ½
	Oleron	10	do.	2	2	19 ½	4 ½	23 ½	35 ½	964 ½
	Scotch (common)	4	—	23	28	15	17 ½	32 ½	64 ½	935 ½
	Scotch (Sunday)	1	—	11 ½	11 ½	12	4 ½	16 ½	29	971
	Lymington (common)	2	—	11	11	15	35	50	63	937
	Do. (cat)	1	—	5	5	1	5	6	12	988
Cheshire salt.	Crushed rock	10	0. 1/6	0. 1/6	0. ½	6 ½	—	6 ½	16 ½	983 ½
	Fishery	1	0. ½	0. ½	1	11 ½	—	11 ½	13 ½	986 ½
	Common	1	0. ½	0. ½	1	14 ½	—	14 ½	16 ½	983 ½
	Stoved	1	0. ½	0. ½	1	15 ½	—	15 ½	17 ½	982 ½

"I. The *total amount of impurities,* and the *quantity of real muriate of soda,* contained in each variety of common salt, may be learned by inspecting the two last columns of the table. From these it appears, that the foreign bay salt is purer, generally speaking, than salt which is

is prepared by the rapid evaporation of sea water; but that it is contaminated with about three times the amount of impurities, discoverable in an equal weight of the Cheshire *large-grained* salt, and with more than twice that of those, that are found in the *stoved* and *common* salt of the same district.

"II. The *insoluble matter* in the foreign salt, after the action of boiling water, appears to be chiefly argillaceous earth coloured by oxide of iron, and is probably derived in part from the pits in which the sea water is submitted to evaporation. We may, perhaps, assign the same origin to the very minute portion of muriate of lime, which is not found in the salt prepared by evaporating sea water in metallic vessels, nor even in the mother liquor, or uncrystallizable residue. In sea salt prepared by rapid evaporation, the insoluble portion is a mixture of carbonate of lime with carbonate of magnesia, and a fine silicious sand; and in the salt prepared from Cheshire brine, it is almost entirely carbonate of lime. The insoluble part of the less pure pieces of rock salt is chiefly a marly earth, with some sulphate of lime. The quantity of this impurity, as it is stated in the table, is considerably below the average, which in my experiments has varied from ten to forty-five parts in 1000. Some estimate of its general proportion, when ascertained on a larger scale, may be formed from the fact, that government, in levying the duties, allows 65 lb. to the bushel, of rock salt, instead of 56 lb. the usual weight of a bushel of salt.

"III. The *earthy muriates*, and especially that with base of magnesia, abound most in salt which is prepared by the rapid evaporation of sea water. Now since common salt, in all its forms, contains, as will afterwards appear, very little water of crystallization, it is probable that the muriate of magnesia, discovered by the analysis of sea salt, is derived entirely from that portion of the mother liquor, which adheres to the salt after being drained, and which amounts to about $\frac{1}{7}$ of its weight. The larger the size of the grain, the less is the quantity of this solution which the salt holds suspended, and hence the salt prepared at a lower degree of heat, being in larger crystals, is less debased by the magnesian muriate, than the salt formed at a boiling temperature. It is probable, also, that when the salt is drawn at intervals from the boiler, the proportion of the earthy muriate will vary with the period of the evaporation, at which it is removed. For it may readily be conceived, that as the proportion of the earthy muriates in any brine is increased by the separation of muriate of soda, the greater will be the quantity of the muriates which the crystals of common salt, formed in the midst of the brine, will retain; thence it follows, that, so far as the earthy muriates only are concerned, salt must diminish in purity as the process of evaporation advances.

"In the several varieties of Cheshire salt, the earthy muriates do not exceed one thousandth part of this weight, and they are precisely, (or so nearly so, that the difference is not ascertainable) the same in all. This will cease to be matter of surprise, when it is considered that the salt obtained by evaporating to dryness the whole of a portion of Cheshire brine, does not give more than five parts of earthy muriates in 1000. In the entire salt of sea water, according to Bergman, the earthy muriates form no less than 213 parts in the same quantity.

"According

"According to the proportion in which the earthy muriates are present in any kind of salt, will be its power of deliquescence, or of attracting moisture from the atmosphere. It is not entirely, however, from the salts with earthy base, that common salt derives this quality; for the most transparent specimens of rock salt, which I find to consist of absolutely pure muriate of soda, attract much moisture from a humid atmosphere.

"IV. The *sulphate of magnesia* and the *sulphate of lime*, both enter into the composition of all the varieties of salt prepared from sea water; but the sulphate of lime alone is found in Cheshire salt. The proportion of sulphate of magnesia is greatest in that variety of sea salt, which has been formed by rapid evaporation. In foreign bay salt, its quantity is very insignificant.

"From the table it may be seen, that the proportion of sulphate of lime is greater in foreign bay salt, than in any variety of British salt, even than in those which are prepared from sea water with a boiling heat. The only explanation of this fact, that occurs to me, is, that during the rapid evaporation of sea water, a considerable part of the calcareous sulphate is precipitated at an early stage of the process, and is partly removed in *clearing* the boiler, a process, which can scarcely be performed during the formation of bay salt, in pits whose sides are composed of moist clay. The remainder of the selenite, thus precipitated by the rapid evaporation of sea water, enters into the composition of the pan-scale.

"In the course of this inquiry, I was induced to repeat the same experiments several times, on various specimens of salt, bearing the same designation; and was surprised to find, that the results by no means corresponded. In one instance, for example, fishery salt was found in 1000 parts to contain no less than 16 parts of sulphate lime; while another specimen, nominally the same, contained only 11¼ parts of selenite in the same quantity; and a third only 5¾. At length it occurred to me, that these differences were probably owing to the circumstance of the salt having been taken from the boiler at different periods of the evaporation. I requested, therefore, to be furnished with specimens of salt, drawn at different stages of the process, from a given portion of brine, evaporated in the same boiler. These were submitted to analysis; and the results are shewn in the following table.

	Contained in 1000 parts.	Sulphate of lime.
Common salt drawn from the boiler two hours after the first application of heat		16
Salt drawn four hours after do		11
Salt drawn six hours after do		3¼

"Hence it appears, that there was a gradually increasing purity in the salt from sulphate of lime, as the process of evaporation advanced; the greatest part of this earthy compound being deposited at an early stage of the process. Different specimens of the same kind of salt may, therefore, differ in chemical purity as much from each other, as from other varieties. But when the impurities, contained in a solution of muriate of soda, are of a different species, from those of Cheshire brine, and consist chiefly of the earthy muriates, the order will be reversed, and the purest

purest salt, as I have already suggested, will be that which is first deposited; the contamination with the muriate of lime or of magnesia, continuing to increase, as the process advances to a conclusion.

"At an early period of the inquiry, it appeared to me probable that the differences between the several varieties of culinary salt might depend, in some degree, on their containing variable proportions of water of crystallization. It was found, however, by experiment, that the proportion of water in any variety of common salt, after being dried at 212° *Fahrenheit*, is not much greater or less than that which is contained in any other variety. Pure transparent rock-salt, calcined for half an hour in a low red heat, (= 4° or 5° of Wedgwood's pyrometer) lost absolutely nothing of its weight. It is remarkable, also, that the pure native salt, if free from adventitious moisture, may be suddenly and strongly heated, with scarcely any of that sound called *decripitation*, which is produced by the similar treatment of all the varieties of artificial salt. Even these varieties, however, exposed during equal times to a low red heat, do not lose more than from half a grain to three grains in one hundred. This comparison cannot be extended to the salt prepared at a boiling temperature from sea water; because the muriate of magnesia, which these varieties contain, is decomposed at a red heat, and deprived of its acid.

"The following table shews the quantity of water contained in several kinds of salt, inferred from the loss which they sustain by ignition during equal times, after being first dried at 212°.

100 parts of large grained fishery salt contain of water		3
100 ..... foreign bay salt (St. Martin's)		3
100 ..... do. ..... (Oleron)		2¼
100 ..... do. Cheshire common salt		1½
100 ..... do. ..... stoved salt		0½

"The loudness and violence of the decrepitation was, as nearly as could be judged, in the same order, and was most remarkable in the large grained varieties.

"To determine the proportions of real muriate of soda in those varieties of artificial salt which are nearly free from earthy muriates, I employed also the process of decomposition by nitrate of silver. The following are the quantities of fused *luna cornea*, obtained from 100 grains of each three varieties dried, previously to solution, at the temperature of 212° *Fahrenheit*.

100 grains pure transparent rock-salt gave of luna cornea		242
100 ..... stoved salt, remarkably pure		239
100 ..... fishery salt,	do.	237

"The proportion of ingredients in the several kinds of muriate of soda (setting apart the impurities) appears, therefore, to be nearly the same in all. And as the very minute quantity of water, discovered by analysis, is not constant in the several varieties, it may be inferred to be rather an accidental than a necessary ingredient; for in the latter case, an invariable proportion might be expected, conformably to the

the important law, establishing an uniformity in the proportions of chemical compounds, which has been explained by Mr. Dalton, and confirmed by Drs. Thomson and Wollaston.

"What then, it may be inquired, is the cause of those differences which are acknowledged, on all hands, to exist among the several species of muriate of soda, so far as respects their fitness for economical purposes. If I were to hazard an opinion, on a subject about which there must still be some uncertainty, it would be that the differences of *chemical composition*, discovered by the preceding train of experiments, in the several varieties of culinary salt, are scarcely sufficient to account for those properties, which are imputed to them on the ground of experience. The *stoved* and *fishery* salt, for example, though differing in a very trivial degree as to the kind or proportion of their ingredients, are adapted to widely different uses. Thus the large grained salt is peculiarly fitted for the packing of fish and other provisions, a purpose to which the small grained salts are much less suitable. Their different powers, then, of preserving food must depend on some mechanical property; and the only obvious one is the magnitude of the crystals, and their degree of compactness and hardness. Quickness of solution, it is well known, is pretty nearly proportional, all other circumstances being equal to the quantity of surface exposed. And since the surfaces of cubes are as the squares of their sides, it should follow that a salt whose crystals are of a given magnitude will dissolve four times more slowly than one whose cubes have only half the size.

"That kind of salt, then, which possesses most eminently the combined properties of hardness, compactness, and perfection of crystals, will be best adapted to the purpose of packing fish and other provisions because it will remain permanently, between the different layers, or will be very gradually dissolved by the fluids that exude from the provisions; thus furnishing a slow, but constant supply of saturated brine. On the other hand, for the purpose of preparing the pickle, or of *striking* the meat, which is done by immersion in a saturated solution of salt, the smaller grained varieties answer equally well; or, on account of their greater solubility, even better.

"With the hardness or strong aggregation of the several varieties of salt, it seemed to me not improbable that their specific gravity might, in some degree, be connected. The exact determination of this property in saline substances is, however, a problem of considerable difficulty, as will sufficiently appear from the various results which have been given, with respect to the same salts, by different experimentalists. Thus Muschenbroek makes the specific gravity of artificial muriate of soda to vary from 1918 to 2148, the mean of which is 2033. Sir Isaac Newton states it at 2143, and Hassenfratz at 2200.* All that was necessary for my purpose, was an approximation to the truth; and the introduction of a small error could be of no importance, provided it was the same in every case, since the comparison would still hold good.

"The specific gravity of rock salt, there can be little difficulty in determining with precision. A piece of this salt,† of such perfect transparency, that I had reserved it as a

* Annales de Chimie, Vol. XXVIII. p. 13.

† Foliated rock salt of Jameson. See his Mineralogy, Vol. II. p. 10.

cabinet

cabinet specimen, weighed in the air 513 grains, and lost, when weighed in alcohol, 194 grains. The alcohol, at the temperature of 56° *Fahrenheit*, had the specific gravity of 820, and hence that of the salt may be estimated at 2170. Another specimen considerably less pure, and more approaching to a fibrous fracture, had the specific gravity of 2125 only.

"For ascertaining the specific weights of artificial varieties of salts, I used a very simple contrivance. It consisted of a glass globe about 3½ diameter, having a stem or neck 10 inches long. Sixteen cubic inches of water (each 252½ grains at 60° *Fahrenheit*,) filled the whole of the globe, and about half an inch of the lower part of the neck; and from the line where the water stood in the instrument, it was accurately graduated upwards into hundredth parts of a cubical inch. Into this vessel I poured exactly sixteen cubic inches of a perfectly saturated solution of common salt; and then added 400 grains of the salt under examination, washing down the particles that adhered to the neck by a portion of the liquid, which had been previously taken out of the globe for the purpose. As much as possible of the air which adhered to the salt, was dislodged by agitation: and the increase of bulk was then observed.

"Care was taken that the salts were all of equal temperature, and dryness, and that no change of temperature happened during the experiment.

	Hundredths of a cubic inch.	Hence its specific grav. was.*
400 grains of the less pure kind of rock salt, broken down into small fragments, filled the space of	75	2112
400 grains of stoved salt	75	2112
400 do. (another sample)	76	2084
400 do. common salt	76	2084
400 large grained fishery salt	83	1909
400 do. (another sample)	83	1909
400 St. Ube's	82	1932

"If the above mode of determination at all approach to correctness, it would appear that the specific gravity of rock salt is diminished, by being broken into small fragments, from 2125 to 2112, probably in consequence of the quantity of air which the fragments envelope, and which cannot be entirely separated by agitation. From the numbers given in the last column, it is evident, that the smaller grained salts are specifically heavier than those which are composed of larger and more perfect crystals. A difference of only one or two hundredth parts of a cubic inch, is perhaps entitled, in a process of this kind, to little reliance; and I do not therefore regard it as indicating any material difference in the specific gravity of the first four, or last three salts submitted to experiment. But when the difference amounts to eight hundredths, as between the small and large grained salt, it may safely be imputed to an inferior specific gravity in that species, which occupies so much greater a proportional bulk.†

"The last series of experiments

* Distilled water at 1000 being taken as the standard.

† Annales de Chimie, XXVIII. p. 17.

proves

proves decisively, that in an important quality, (viz. that of specific gravity,) which is probably connected with the mechanical property of hardness and compactness of crystals, little or no difference is discoverable between the large grained salt of British, and that of foreign manufacture. If no superiority, then, be claimed for British salt as applicable to economical purposes, on account of the greater degree of chemical purity which unquestionably belongs to it, it may safely, I believe, be asserted that the larger grained varieties are, as to their mechanical properties, fully equal to the foreign bay salt. And the period, it may be hoped, is not far distant, when a prejudice (for such, from the result of this investigation, it appears to be,) will be done away, which has long proved injurious to the interests and prosperity of an important branch of British manufacture."

On the Volcanoes of Jorullo.

[From Humboldt's Essay on New Spain.]

"THE grand catastrophe in which this volcanic mountain issued from the earth, and by which the face of a considerable extent of ground was totally altered, was perhaps one of the most extensive physical changes, that the history of our globe exhibits. Geology points out spots in the ocean, where, within the last two thousand years, volcanic islets have arisen above the surface of the sea, as near the Azores, in the Archipelago, and on the south of Iceland: but it records no instance of a mountain of scoriæ and ashes, 517 met. [563 yards] above the old level of the neighbouring plains, suddenly formed in the centre of a thousand small burning cones, thirty-six leagues from the seashore, and forty-two leagues from any other volcano. This phenomenon remained unknown to the mineralogists and natural philosophers of Europe, though it took place but fifty years ago, and within six days journey of the capital of Mexico.

"Descending from the central flat toward the coasts of the Pacific ocean, a vast plain extends from the hills of Aguasarco to the villages of Toipa, and Patatlan, equally celebrated for their fine cotton plantations. Between the picachos del Mortero and the cerras de las Cuevas and de Cuiche, this plain is only from 750 to 800 met. [820 to 880 yards] above the level of the sea. Basaltic hills rise in the midst of a country, in which porphyry with base of green-stone predominates. Their summits are crowned with oaks always in verdure, and the foliage of laurels and olives intermingled with dwarf fan palms. This beautiful vegetation forms a singular contrast with the arid plain, which has been laid waste by volcanic fire.

"To the middle of the eighteenth century fields of sugar-canes and indigo extended between two rivulets, called Cuitimba and San Pedro. They were skirted by basaltic mountains, the structure of which seems to indicate, that all the country, in remote periods, has several times

experinced

experienced the violent action of volcanoes. These fields, irrigated by art, belonged to the estate of San Pedro de Jorullo (Xorullo, or Juvriso), one of the largest and most valuable in the country. In the month of June, 1759, fearful rumbling noises were accompanied with frequent shocks of an earthquake, which succeeded each other at intervals for fifty or sixty days, and threw the inhabitants of the estate into the greatest consternation. From the beginning of the month of September, every thing seemed perfectly quiet, when in the night of the 28th of that month a terrible subterranean noise was heard anew. The frightened Indians fled to the mountains of Aguasarco. A space of three or four square miles, known by the name of Malpays, rose in the shape of a bladder. The boundaries of this rising are still distinguishable in the ruptured strata. The Malpays towards the edge is only 12 met. [13 yards] above the former level of the plain, called las playas de Jorullo; but the convexity of the ground increases progressively toward the centre, till it reaches the height of 160 met. [175 yards].

"They who witnessed this grand catastrophe from the top of Aguasarco assert, that they saw flames issue out of the ground for the space of more than half a league square; that fragments of red hot rocks were thrown to a prodigious height; and that through a thick cloud of ashes, illumined by the volcanic fire, and resembling a stormy sea, the softened crust of the earth was seen to swell up. The rivers of Cuitimba and San Pedro then precipitated themselves into the burning crevices. The decomposition of the water contributed to reanimate the flames, which were perceptible at the city of Pascuoro, though standing on a very wide plain 1400 met. [1530 yards] above the level of the playas de Jorullo. Eruptions of mud, particularly of the strata of clay including decomposed nodules of basaltes with concentric layers, seem to prove, that subterranean waters had no small part in this extraordinary revolution. Thousands of small cones, only two or three yards high, which the Indians call ovens, issued from the raised dome of the Malpays. Though the heat of these volcanic ovens has diminished greatly within these fifteen years, according to the testimony of the Indians, I found the thermometer rise to 95° [if centig. 203° F.] in the crevices that emitted an aqueous vapour. Each little cone is a chimney, from which a thick smoke rises to the height of ten or fifteen met. [11 or 16 yards.] In several a subterranean noise is heard like that of some fluid boiling at no great depth.

"Amid these ovens, in a fissure, the direction of which is from N. N. E. to S. S. E, six large hummocks rise 400 or 500 met. [440 or 550 yards] above the old level of the plain. This is the phenomenon of Monte Novo at Naples repeated several times in a row of volcanic hills. The loftiest of these huge hummocks, which reminded me of the country of Auvergne, is the large volcano of Jorullo. It is constantly burning, and has thrown out on the north side an immense quantity of scorified and basaltic lava, including fragments of primitive rocks. These grand eruptions of the central volcano continued till February 1760. In the succeeding years they became gradually less frequent. The Indians, alarmed by the horrible noise of the new volcano, at first deserted the

the villages for seven or eight leagues round the plain of Jorullo. In a few months they became familiar with the alarming sight, returned to their huts, and went down to the mountains of Aguasarco and Santa Ines, to admire the sheaves of fire thrown out by an infinite number of large and small volcanic openings. The ashes then covered the houses of Queretaro, more than 48 leagues [120 miles] in a right line from the place of the explosion. Though the subterranean fire appears to be in no great activity at present, and the Malpays and the great volcano begin to be covered with vegetables, we found the air so heated in the little ovens, that in the shade, and at a considerable distance from the ground, the thermometer rose to 43° [109.4° F]. This fact evinces, that there is no exaggeration in the report of some of the old Indians, who say, that the plains of Jorullo were uninhabitable for several years, and even to a considerable distance from the ground raised up, on account of the excessive heat.

"Near the cerro of Santa Ines the traveller is still shown the rivers of Cuitimba and San Pedro, the limpid waters of which formerly refreshed the sugar-canes on the estate of Don Andrew Pimentel. These springs were lost in the night of the 29th of September, 1759: but 2000 met. [near 2200 yards] to the westward, in the soil that has been elevated, two rivulets are seen to break out of the clayey dome of the furnaces, exhibiting themselves as thermal waters, in which the thermometer rises to 52.7° [126.86° F]. The Indians still give these the names of San Pedro and Cuitimba, because in several parts of the Malpays large bodies of water are supposed to be heard running from east to west, from mountains of Santa Ines to the estate of the Presentation. Near this estate is a brook, that emits the sulphuretted hidrogen gas: it is more than 7 met. [near 8 yards] wide, and is the most copious hidrosulphurous spring I ever saw.

"In the opinion of the natives these extraordinary changes I have described, the crust of earth raised and cracked by volcanic fire, the mountains of scoriæ and ashes heaped up, are the works of monks; the greatest, no doubt, they ever produced in either hemisphere. Our Indian host, at the hut we inhabited in the plain of Jorullo, told us, that some missionary capuchins preached at the estate of San Pedro, and, not meeting a favourable reception, uttered the most horrible and complicated imprecations against this plain, then so beautiful and fertile. They prophesied, that the estate should first be swallowed up by flames issuing out of the bowels of the Earth; and that the air should afterward be cooled to such a degree, that the neighbouring mountains should remain for ever covered with ice and snow. The first of these maledictions having been so fatally verified, the common people foresee in the gradual cooling of the volcano the presage of a perpetual winter. I have thought it right to mention this vulgar tradition, worthy a place in the epic poem of the jesuit Landivar, because it exhibits a striking feature of the manners and prejudices of these remote countries. It shows the active industry of a class of men, who, too frequently abusing the credulity of the people, and pretending to possess the power of suspending the immutable laws of nature, know how to avail themselves of every event for establishing

ing their empire by the fear of physical evil.

"The situation of the new volcano of Jorullo leads to a very curious geological observation. It has already been observed in the third chapter, that there is in New Spain a line of great heights, or a narrow zone included between the latitudes of 18° 59′ and 19° 12′, in which are all the summits of Anahuac that rise above the region of perpetual snow. These summits are either volcanoes still actually burning; or mountains, the form of which, as well as the nature of their rocks, renders it extremely probable, that they formerly contained subterranean fire. Setting out from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and proceeding westward, we find the peak of Oribaza, the two volcanoes of la Puebla, the Nevado de Toluca, the peak of Tancitaro, and the volcano of Colima. These great heights, instead of forming the ridge of the cordillera of Anahuac, and following its direction, which is from S. E. to N. W., are on the contrary in a line perpendicular to the axis of the great chain of mountains. It is certainly worthy remark, that in the year 1759 the new volcano of Jorullo was formed in the continuation of this line, and on the same parallel as the ancient Mexican volcanoes.

"A view of my plan of the environs of Jorullo will show, that the six large hummocks have risen out of the earth on a vein, that crosses the plain from the cerro of las Cuevas to the pichaco del Montero. The new mouths of Vesuvius too are found ranged along a fissure. Do not these analogies give us reason to suppose, that there exists in this part of Mexico, at a great depth within the Earth, a fissure stretching from east to west through a space of 137 leagues [343 miles], and through which the volcanic fire has made its way at different times, bursting the outer crust of porphyritic rocks, from the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico to the South Sea? Is this fissure prolonged to that little groupe of islands, called by Colluet the Archipelago of Regigedo, and round which, in the same parallel with the Mexican volcanoes, pumice stone has been seen floating? Naturalists who distinguish the facts offered by descriptive mineralogy from theoretical reveries concerning the primitive state of our planet will pardon me for having consigned these observations to the general Map of New Spain, contained in the Mexican Atlas."

Analysis of Antique Bronzes, by Mr. Klaproth.

[From Nicholson's Journal.]

"WE know from ancient authors, as well as from weapons and utensils dug up in modern times, that men in the earliest ages, and even those that succeeded them, employed copper in preference for the fabrication of metallic utensils and weapons. Thus what Herodotus says of the Massagetæ, who used no iron, and whose weapons and utensils were of copper, is more or less applicable to all the nations of antiquity.

"The great difference in the exterior

terior characters of the two metals in their crude state leaves no doubt, that men were sooner acquainted with copper, and the method of adapting it to their purposes, than iron. It is probable, that they found copper in large masses, and nearly prepared by nature, as we still meet with it in countries, the mineralogical wealth of which has been little explored. Accordingly in treating the ore by fire they could not fail to observe all the advantages of this metal both with respect to the richness of its produce, and the facility with which it might be forged. Iron, on the contrary, was not so obvious to men's eyes; and the distinguishing of its various ores, with the art of working them, and forming weapons and instruments of them, could only be the fruit of long experience.

"I shall not avail myself of the numerous testimonies of ancient authors to prove, that copper has been employed in preference to iron, as it is sufficient, to appeal to Homer. All weapons, both offensive and defensive, as swords, spear-heads, helmets, and shields, as well as various domestic utensils, were of copper (χαλχος); though in Homer's time iron (σιδηρος) was used, but less frequently, and hardened by plunging redhot into water. Even when the advantages of iron, and the modes of fabricating it, were well known, men used copper for their weapons; for instance, in the last ages of the republics of Greece and Rome.

"We know, that copper is not fit for the purposes, for which the ancients employed it. When cast it is porous and brittle; and, when forged, too soft. The ancient weapons and utensils being of a hardness, which this metal does not possess, it was long supposed, that the ancients had some method of hardening copper, as we do iron and steel. But chemical analysis has shown the falsity of this opinion; and demonstrated, that these weapons and instruments were not pure copper, but an alloy of this metal with tin, which we call bronze, and which was the *æs*, brass, of the Romans. The weapons, instruments, and statues, which have been dug out of the ground, evidently prove, that the property of tin to impart hardness and density to the metal alloyed with it was known and employed by the most ancient nations. All these objects occur of bronze, but none of pure copper. It is astonishing, that this practice of imparting to copper, by alloying it with a certain portion of tin, a hardness sufficient for sword-blades and other cutting instruments, should have been so generally followed by the ancients, notwithstanding the want of tin mines. All the tin they used they were obliged to procure from the Cassiterides, the present Cornwall, and the trade was exclusively in the hands of the Phenicians.

"Having had an opportunity of assaying several fragments of metallic antiquities, I conceive it may be of some utility to make public the results, as a supplement to the few accurate analyses hitherto made.

"The fragments to be analysed, being first weighed, were put into a phial, into which were poured six or eight parts of nitric acid of the specific gravity of 1 22, and digested in a sandheat; till completely dissolved. The contents of the phial were then diluted with a sufficient quantity of water, and the mixture left to stand, till all the oxide of tin had fallen down, and the azure liquid appeared quite clear. This being

being poured off, the oxide of tin was collected, washed repeatedly with water, dried, heated redhot, and weighed. It was found, that 100 parts of calcined oxide of tin equalled 80 parts of tin in the metallic state. The nitric solution was tested in the usual way for silver, iron, lead, and zinc. When it was found free from these metals, as in all the following inquiries it proved, it was easy to calculate, by deducting the quantity of tin found, the proportion of copper, which was likewise obtained by the common methods.

1. *Analysis of an antique sword.*

"In a collection of antiquities at Berlin, found on digging into some ancient graves in the march of Brandenburg, among several articles of bronze, as spear-heads, knives, ornaments, &c. are two swords; but the place where they were found is not known. One of these swords was broken, the other entire. Their composition is the same. They are both covered with the green shining rust called patina. The sword in question weighs 17 ounces, and is 20 inches long; the blade 16½, and the hilt, which is rivetted, 3½. The blade is two-edged, and 1¼ inch broad for two thirds of its length, the other third sloping off to a round point. In the middle it is 3½ lines thick, and slopes to form an edge on each side. Below the hilt, and on each side at the edge, is a part cut out 9 or 10 lines long, and 1 or 1¼ deep, the use of which I do not know.

"To find the colour and brightness of the blade, I ground it; and though the parts injured by the rust prevented me from restoring its original appearance, its colour and lustre were observable in some parts, and indicated considerable hardness and density.

"Its analysis in the way above mentioned gave the following proportions: copper 89, tin 11.

"To render the description and analysis of these antique swords found in our country more interesting by a comparison with other weapons, I shall here give an abstract of two excellent papers by Mr. Mongez in the 5th vol. of the Memoirs of the Institute, which contain a description and analysis of similar bronze swords found near Abbeville. One was found under a bed of peat, with the skeletons of a man and horse. Its whole length was 22 inches, the breadth of the blade 16 lines, the weight 21 ounces. According to the analysis of Mr. Darcet, it contained 15.53 tin, and 87.57 copper. A second, which was found at the depth of 10 feet, in a calcareous tufa, was about 29 inches long, and contained fifteen tin and 85 copper. The rivets that fastened the outer part of the hilt contained but 5 per cent of tin, because they required to be more flexible. A third was 33 inches long, and found at the depth of nine feet in a bed of peat, by the side of the skeleton of a man, on the head of which was a bronze helmet. This skeleton and several others were lying in an ancient boat. The composition of this sword was 10 tin and 90 copper. Another sword, or cutlas, 18½ inches long, contained but 4 per cent of tin.

"These antique swords were not forged, like our weapons of iron and steel, but were cast in moulds, like all other instruments of bronze. Their edge, as well as those of cutting instruments in general, must have been given by hard, smooth stones. The opinion of some antiquaries therefore, who assert, that the

the ancients were unacquainted with the art of casting metals, is absolutely false.

"To say nothing of the nature of bronze rendering it incapable of being prepared in any other way, any one may be convinced of this by simple inspection; and if you would have a proof of it in Homer, you need only read the 23d book of the Iliad.

2. *Analysis of the metallic alloy of crooked antique knives.*

"In several provinces of Germany cutting instruments, shaped like sickles, have been found in digging or ploughing the ground; but whether they really were ancient sickles is not determined, as many suppose, that they may have been used as knives in the warm baths. I have selected two of these, found at different places, for analysis.

"One, which was found with various utensils in a garden at Merz, near Mueltord, yielded by analysis, after its crust of grayish rust was removed, tin 15 parts, copper 85.

"The other, found in the island of Rugen, was covered with the common patina, and gave tin 13, copper 87.

3. *Analysis of an antique ring.*

"I had selected for other inquiries a fragment of an elastic and flexible ring, which was found with some Roman coins in the vicinity of the Rhine. This ring was made with a half-flattened stem, grooved on the outside, and 8 lines broad. Its exterior diameter is $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, its interior $2\frac{1}{4}$. It is not soldered, but its extremities are so closed by the elasticity of the metal, that it is difficult to separate them. The colour of the metal, in the parts that have been polished, is very fine. We have no sufficient clew to the use of these rings. Its analysis gave tin 9, copper 91.

"The same proportions were found in an elastic ring analysed by Mr. Mongez, which was found near Bourg, where several other Roman antiquities had before been discovered.

"It is to be wished, that the elastic property of bronze should be examined more minutely.

4. *Analysis of a piece of Grecian brass.*

"This little fragment, decorated with ornaments, which was found in Sicily in a Grecian tomb, appears to have been a button, or some other ornament of armour. Its proportions are, tin 11, copper 89.

5. *Analysis of antique rivets.*

"These rivets were short, and of the thickness of a middle-sized wire. As it was necessary they should be flexible, it was requisite, that the alloy should be in different proportions, that of the tin being diminished. This consisted of tin 2·25, copper 97·75.

6. *Analysis of an antique cup.*

"The great number of antique cups and vases found at different times sufficiently prove, that the ancients possessed the art of reducing bronze to thin sheets. The cup, pieces of which were employed for this analysis, was found in a Grecian tomb near Naples. It has so well resisted rust, that its inside has lost very little of its polish. Being very thin, I expected to find in it but a small proportion of tin; but I obtained tin 14, copper 86.

"Comparing the proportions of tin found in the present analysis with those of a fragment of an antique mirror, which I had already published in Scherer's Journal, Vol. VI,

VI. and which consisted of 32 per cent. tin, and a little lead, we find, that the ancients judiciously adapted the proportions of tin and copper to the purposes for which they were required. I conceive it unnecessary to particularize the rest of the analyses I made of pieces of antique bronze: it is sufficient to say, that, except this mirror and the rivets already mentioned, I always found the alloy contained from 9 to 15 per cent of tin.

7. Analysis of the quadriga of Chios.

"The proportions of the alloy of this masterpiece of antiquity bear no resemblance to those already mentioned. It has been long asserted, that these horses were the work of Lysippus, contemporary of Alexander, who is known in the history of the arts as the greatest master in the execution of equestrian statues: but several modern connoisseurs dispute this, and say the horses are in too clumsy a style, to have been the work of Lysippus.

"It is admitted however, that they were brought from Chios to Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius I. In 1204, when the croisaders made themselves masters of that city for the second time, pillaged it, and set it on fire, this quadriga escaped the destruction that befel many ancient works of art. On dividing the plunder, the doge Dandolo destined these horses for the republic of Venice. After his death the podestat Martin Zeno sent them to Venice with other parts of the spoil, and the doge Peter Ziani ornamented with them the entrance to the cathedral of St. Mark. About six centuries after, in 1798, they were removed to Paris, and placed at the two entrances of the square of the Carrousel. Since that time they have been brought together again, and harnessed to a chariot, to decorate the triumphal arch in that square.

"These four horses were not cast at once, like statues in bronze, but are composed of separate parts, wrought with the chisel, and afterward joined together. The hollows in the hind parts are filled with lead, which has assumed its shining reddish appearance. These parts are gilt: yet the gilding is nearly effaced, though, according to Buonarotti, the gold with which the ancients covered their bronze was to ours as six to one.

"These horses were supposed to be of copper, because this metal takes gilding better than bronze; and I have been enabled to verify the fact on a small piece weighing 40 grains, which was sent me. From this it appears, that the copper was not absolutely pure, as it contained a little tin; but the oxide of tin obtained from these 40 grs. amounted only to 0·35 of a grain; so that, when reduced to the metallic state, the proportion would be only 7 parts of tin to 993 of copper. This proportion is so small, it may be presumed to have been accidental.

"In our days the use of iron and brass has singularly diminished that of bronze, which was so frequently employed by the ancients. It is now confined to cannons, bells, and statues. But is it not desirable, that our copper vessels should be replaced by vessels of bronze or brass, as they are less liable to oxidation, and to injure the health? This question deserves to be solved by comparative experiments. What ought to induce us to examine this important question is, that the ancients employed only vessels of bronze in their

their kitchens and cellars in general, though they were well acquainted with the injurious qualities of oxide of copper taken internally. This oxide however they used externally for cleansing and healing wounds. According to Aristotle, wounds made with weapons of bronze were more easily cured than those made with weapons of iron.

" In a note subjoined Mr. Darcet observes, that the metal of the horses of the Carrousel, taken as it is, yields copper, tin, lead, gold, and silver. If the surface be filed, so as to remove all the gilt part, nothing is found but copper, tin, and lead. If a piece perfectly free from cracks be taken, and thoroughly cleaned by the file, it yields copper and tin alone: but it is difficult to procure such pieces, for the copper is full of flaws, and the mixture of lead and tin, with which the horses were partly filled, has insinuated itself into every crack. On analysing some select pieces, he found copper 99·177, tin 0·823: but as sulphuric acid disturbed the transparency of the solution, he supposes a little lead was present, and that part of the tin might come from the alloy of tin and lead, which had covered the inside of the pieces he used.

" He could not procure a piece well gilt, to examine in what way the gold was applied; but he observes that the brittleness of the metal seems to indicate, that quicksilver was employed."

Observations upon Luminous Animals, by J. Macartney, Esq.

[From the Philosophical Transactions.]

" THE property which certain animals possess of emitting light, is so curious and interesting, that it has attracted the attention of naturalists in all ages. It was particularly noticed by Aristotle and Pliny amongst the ancients, and the publications of the different learned societies in Europe, contain numerous mémoirs upon the subject. Notwithstanding the degree of regard bestowed upon the history of luminous animals, it is still very imperfect; the power of producing light appears to have been attributed to several creatures which do not possess it; some species which enjoy it in an eminent degree, have been imperfectly described, or entirely unobserved; the organs which afford the light in certain animals have not been examined by dissection; and lastly, the explanations that have been given of the phænomena of animal light, are unsatisfactory, and in some instances palpably erroneous.

" As this subject forms an interesting part of the history of organized beings, I have for some years availed myself of such opportunities as occurred for its investigation. Having communicated the result of some of my researches to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, he immediately offered me his assistance with that liberality, which so eminently distinguishes him as a real lover of science. I am indebted to him for an inspection of the valuable journal he kept during his voyage with Captain Cook; for permission

permission to copy the original drawings in his possession, of those luminous animals discovered in both the voyages of Cook; and for some notes upon the luminous appearance of the sea, that were presented to him by Captain Horsburg, whose accuracy of observation is already known to this learned Society.

" In the following paper, I shall first examine the grounds on which the property of shewing light has been ascribed to certain animals, that either do not possess it, or in which its existence is questionable. I shall next give an account of some luminous species, of which some have been inaccurately described, and others quite unknown. I shall endeavour to explain from my own observations, and the information communicated to me by others, many of the circumstances attending the luminous appearance of the sea. I shall then describe the organs employed for the production of light in certain species; and, lastly, I shall review the opinions which have been entertained respecting the nature and origin of animal light, and relate the experiments I have made for the purpose of elucidating this part of the subject.

" The property of emitting light has been reported to belong to several fishes, more particularly the mackarel, the moon-fish (tetraodon mola), the dorado, mullet, sprat, &c.

" Mr. Bajon observed during the migration of the dorados, &c. that their bodies were covered with luminous points. These, however, proved, upon examination, to be minute spherical particles, that adhered to the surface of these fishes; and, he adds, appeared to be precisely the same sort of points that illuminated the whole of the sea at the time. They were, therefore, in all probability, the minute kind of medusa, which I shall have occasion to describe hereafter.

" Godeheu de Riville states, in a paper sent to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, that on opening the scomber pelamis while alive, he found in different parts of its body an oil which gave out much light: but it should be observed, that Riville had a particular theory to support, for which this fact was very convenient, and that other parts of his memoir bear marks of inaccuracy. It may be added, that if the oil of fishes were usually luminous, which Riville supposed, it would be almost universally known, instead of resting on a solitary observation.

" As far as I am able to determine from what I have seen, the faculty of exhibiting light during life does not belong to the class of fishes. It appears probable, that some fishes may have acquired the character of being luminous, from evolving light soon after death.

" Some species of lepas, murex, and chama, and some star-fish, have been said to possess the power of shining; and the assertion has been repeated by one writer after another, but without quoting any authority.

" Brugueire, upon one occasion, saw, as he supposed, common earth worms in a luminous state; all the hedges were filled with them; he remarked that the light resided principally in the posterior part of the body.*

" Flaugergues pretended to have seen earth-worms luminous in three instances; it was at each time in October; the body shone at every part, but most brilliantly at the genital organs.†

* Journal d'Histoire Naturelle, Tom. II.

† Journal de Physique, Tom. XVI.

" Notwithstanding

" Notwithstanding this concurrence of testimony, it is next to impossible that animals so frequently before our eyes as the common earthworm, should be endowed with so remarkable a property, without every person having observed it. If they only enjoyed it during the season for copulation, still it could not have escaped notice, as these creatures are usually found joined together in the most frequented paths, and in garden walks.

" In different systems of natural history, the property of shining is attributed to the cancer pulex. The authorities for this opinion are Hablitzl, and Thules and Bernard. The former observed, upon one occasion, a cable that was drawn up from the sea exhibit light, which upon closer inspection, was perceived to be covered by these insects.* Thules and Bernard reported that they met with a number of this species of cancer on the borders of a river, entirely luminous.† I am nevertheless disposed to question the luminous property of the cancer pulex, as I have often had the animal in my possession, and never perceived it emit any light.

" The account given by Linneus of the scolopendra phosphorea, is so improbable and inconsistent, that one might be led to doubt this insect's existence, particularly as it does not appear to have been ever seen, except by Ekeberg, the captain of an East Indiaman, from whom Linneus learnt its history.

" I now proceed to the description of those luminous animals that have been discovered by the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Captain Horsburg, and myself.

" On the passage from Madeira to Rio de Janeiro, the sea was observed by Sir Joseph Banks to be unusually luminous, flashing in many parts like lightning. He directed some of the water to be hauled up, in which he discovered two kinds of animals that occasioned the phænomenon; the one, a crustaceous insect, which he called the cancer fulgens; the other, a large species of medusa, to which he gave the name of pellucens.

" The cancer fulgens bears some resemblance to the common shrimp; it is however considerably less, the legs are furnished with numerous setæ. The light of this animal, which is very brillant, appears to issue from every part of the body.

" The medusa pellucens measures about six inches across the crown or umbella; this part is marked by a number of opake lines, that pass off from the center to the circumferrence. The edge of the umbella is divided into lobules, which succeed each other, one large and two small ones alternately. From within the margin of the umbella, there are suspended a number of long cord-shaped tentacula. The central part of the animal is opake, and furnished with four thick irregularly shaped processes, which hang down in the midst of the tentacula.

" This zoophyte is the most splendid of the luminous inhabitants of the ocean. The flashes of light emitted during its contractions are so vivid, as to affect the sight of the spectator.

" In the notes communicated to Sir Joseph Banks by Captain Horsburg, he remarks, that the luminous state of the sea between the tropics is generally accompanied with the appearance of a great number of ma-

* Hablitzl ap. Pall. n. Nord. Beytr. 4, p. 296.
† Journal de Physique, Tom. XXVIII.

sine

rine animals of various kinds upon the surface of the water: to many of which he does not, however, attribute the property of shining. At other times, when the water which gave out light was examined, it appeared only to contain small particles of a dusky straw colour, which dissolved with the slightest touch of the finger. He likewise observes, that in Bombay, during the hot weather of May and June, he has frequently seen the edges of the sea much illuminated by minute sparkling points.

"At sun-rise on April 12, 1798, in the Arabian sea, he perceived several luminous spots in the water, which conceiving to be animals, he went in the boat and caught one. It proved to be an insect somewhat resembling in appearance the wood-louse, and was about one third of an inch in length. When viewed with the microscope, it seemed to be formed by sections of a thin crustaceous substance. During the time that any fluid remained in the animal, it shone brilliantly like the fire fly.

"In the month of June in the same year, he picked up another luminous insect on a sandy beach, which was also covered with a thin shell, but it was a different shape, and a larger size, than the animal taken in the Arabian sea.

"By comparing the above description with an elegant pen and ink drawing which was made by Captain Horsburg, and accompanied his paper, I have no doubt that both these insects were monoculi; the first evidently belongs to the genus limulus of Muller; I shall therefore beg leave to distinguish it by the name of limulus noctilucus.

"My pursuits, and the state of my health, having frequently led me to the coast, I have had many opportunities of mak upon the animals v our own seas. Of covered three specie is a beroe not hithe authors; another with the medusa he I conceive it to be least a variety of t third is a minute sp which I believe to animal so frequent gators, although it distinctly examined

"I first met wi in the month of C Herne Bay, a smal upon the northern Having observed th tremely luminous f I had a considerabl water taken up. V rest, no light was the slightest agitati in which the wate a brilliant scintillat ed, particularly tow and when the ves struck, a flash of the top of the wate of so many point same moment. W sparkling points wi the water, they r any light. They rent, that in the like globules of wa more minute than smallest pin. Up touch, they broke the sight. Having tity of the lumino number of these puscles were obt cloth, and the wate strained, did not a the least light. sea-water that ha particularly clear, tions, into a large

floated in it a fine cloth, on which I had previously collected a number of luminous points, several of them were liberated, and became distinctly visible in their natural element, by placing the glass before a piece of dark coloured paper. They were observed to have a tendency to come to the surface of the water; and after the glass was set by for some time, they were found congregated together, and when thus collected in a body, they had a dusky straw colour, although individually they were so transparent, as to be perfectly invisible, except under particular circumstances. Their substance was indeed so extremely tender and delicate, that they did not become opaque in distilled vinegar or alcohol, until immersed in these liquors for a considerable time.

"On examining these minute globules with the microscope, I found that they were not quite perfect spheres, but had an irregular depression on one side, which was formed of an opaque substance, that projected a little way inwards, producing such an appearance as would arise from tying the neck of a round bag, and turning it into the body.

"The motions of these creatures in the water were slow and graceful, and not accompanied by any visible contraction of their bodies. After death they always subsided to the bottom of the vessel.

"From the sparkling light afforded by this species, I shall distinguish it by the name of medusa scintillans.

"The night following that, on which I discovered the preceding animal, I caught the two other luminous species. One of these I shall call the beroe fulgens.

"This most elegant creature is of a colour changing between purple, violet, and pale blue; the body is truncated before, and pointed behind; but the form is difficult to assign, as it is varied by partial contractions, at the animal's pleasure. I have represented the two extremes of form that I have seen this creature assume: the first is somewhat that of a cucumber, which, as being the one it takes when at rest, should perhaps be considered as its proper shape: the other resembles a pear, and is the figure it has in the most contracted state. The body is hollow, or forms internally an infundibular cavity, which has a wide opening before, and appears also to have a small aperture, posteriorly through which it discharges its excrement. The posterior two-thirds of the body are ornamented with eight longitudinal ciliated ribs, the processes of which are kept in such a rapid rotatory motion, while the animal is swimming, that they appear like the continual passage of a fluid along the ribs. The ciliated ribs have been described by Professor Mitchell as arteries, in a luminous beroe, which I suspect was no other than the species I am now giving an account of.

"When the beroe fulgens swam gently near the surface of the water, its whole body became occasionally illuminated in a slight degree; during its contractions, a stronger light issued from the ribs, and when a sudden shock was communicated to the water, in which several of these animals were placed, a vivid flash was thrown out. If the body were broken, the fragments continued luminous for some seconds, and being rubbed on the hand, left a light like that of phosphorus: this, however, as well as every other mode of emitting light, ceased after the death of the animal.

"The hemispherical species that I discovered, had a very faint purple

ple colour. The largest that I found, measured about three quarters of an inch in diameter. The margin of the umbella was undivided, and surrounded internally by a row of pale brown spots, and numerous small twisted tentacula: four opaque lines crossed in an arched manner from the circumference, towards the centre of the animal: an opaque irregular shaped process hung down from the middle of the umbella: when this part was examined with a lens of high powers, I discovered that it was inclosed in a sheath in which it moved, and that the extremity of the process was divided into four tentacula, covered with little cups or suckers, like those on the tentacula of the cuttle fish.

"This species of medusa bears a striking resemblance to the figures of the medusa hemispherica, published by GRONOVIUS and MULLER; indeed it differs as little from these figures, as they do from each other. Its luminous property, however, was not observed by these naturalists, which is the more extraordinary, as MULLER examined it at night, and says it is so transparent, that it can only be seen with the light of a lamp. If it should be still considered as a distinct species, or as a variety of the hemispherica, I would propose to call it the medusa lucida.

"In this species, the central part and the spot round the margin, are commonly seen to shine on lifting the animal out of the water into the air, presenting the appearance of an illuminated wheel, and when it is exposed to the usual percussion of the water, the transparent parts of its body are alone luminous.

"In the month of September 1805, I again visited Herne Bay, and frequently had opportunities of witnessing the lu
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assume the appearance of a plain of snow on the coast of Malabar.*

"Captain Horsburgh, in the notes he gave to Sir Joseph Banks," says, there is a peculiar phenomenon sometimes seen within a few degrees distance of the coast of Malabar, during the rainy monsoon, which he had an opportunity of observing. At midnight the weather was cloudy, and the sea was particularly dark, when suddenly it changed to a white flaming colour all around. This bore no resemblance to the sparkling or glowing appearance he had observed on other occasions in seas near the equator, but was a regular white colour, like milk, and did not continue more than ten minutes. A similar phenomenon, he says, is frequently seen in the Banda sea, and is very alarming to those who have never perceived or heard of such an appearance before.

"This singular phenomenon appears to be explained by some observations communicated to me by Mr. Langstaff, a surgeon in the city, who formerly made several voyages. In going from New Holland to China, about half an hour after sun-set, every person on board was astonished by a milky appearance of the sea: the ship seemed to be surrounded by ice covered with snow. Some of the company supposed they were in soundings, and that a coral bottom gave this curious reflection; but on sounding with 70 fathoms of line no bottom was met with. A bucket of water being hauled up, Mr. Langstaff examined it in the dark, and discovered a great number of globular bodies, each about the size of a pin's head, linked together. The chains thus formed did not exceed three inches in length, and emitted a pale phosphoric light. By introducing his hand into the water, Mr. Langstaff raised upon it several chains of the luminous globules, which were separated by opening the fingers, but readily re-united on being brought again into contact, like globules of quicksilver. The globules, he says, were so transparent, that they could not be perceived when the hand was taken into the light.

"This extraordinary appearance of the sea was visible for two nights. As soon as the moon exerted her influence, the sea changed to its natural dark colour, and exhibited distinct glittering points, as at other times. The phenomenon, he says, had never been witnessed before by any of the company on board, although some of the crew had been two or three times round the globe.

"I consider this account of Mr. Langstaff very interesting and important, as it proves that the diffused light of the sea is produced by an assemblage of minute medusæ on the surface of the water.

"In June 1806, I found the sea at Margate more richly stored with the small luminous medusæ than I have ever seen it. A bucket of the water being set by for some time, the animals sought the surface, and kept up a continual sparkling, which must have been occasioned by the motions of individuals, as the water was perfectly at rest. A small quantity of the luminous water was put into a glass jar, and on standing some time, the medusæ collected at the top of the jar, and formed a gelatinous mass, one inch and a half thick, and of a reddish or mud colour, leaving

* Mem. Etrang. de l'Acad. des Sc. Tom. 2.

ing the water underneath perfectly clear.

" In order to ascertain if these animals would materially alter their size, or assume the figure of any other known species of medusa, I I kept them alive for twenty-five days, by carefully changing the water in which they were placed; during which time, although they appeared as vigorous as when first taken, their form was not in the slightest degree altered, and their size but little increased. By this experiment I was confirmed in the opinion of their being a distinct species, as the young actiniæ and medusæ exhibit the form of the parent in a much shorter period than the above.

" In September 1806, I took at Sandgate a number of the beroe fulgens, but no other species: they were of various dimensions, from the full size down to that of the medusa scintillans: they could however be clearly distinguished from the latter species, by their figure.

" Since that time, I have frequently met with the medusa scintillans on different parts of the coast of Sussex, at Tenby, and at Milford Haven. I have likewise seen this species in the bays of Dublin and Carlingford in Ireland.

" In the month of April, last year, I caught a number of the beroe fulgens in the sea at Hastings; they were of various sizes, from about the half of an inch in length, to the bulk of the head of a large pin. I found many of them adhering together in the sea; some of the larger sort were covered with small ones, which fell off when the animals were handled, and by a person unaccustomed to observe these creatures, would have been taken for a phosphoric substance. On putting a number of them into a glass, containing clear sea shewed a dispositi upon the surface. when they adher shewed no contrac part of their body the cause of the pa of the diffused li The flashes of li come from the s were probably pro and general effort separate from eac scend in the water

" The medusa constantly exists branches of Milfo called Pills. I hav these animals coll numbers in thos they bore a consid the volume of th they were contair gallon of sea wa state, I have stra of these medusæ. sea under such circ me more support the water to taste than usual; probe of density, that h at different times sea, may be refer

" All my own me to conclude, scintillans is the m of the light of t country, and by counts of others and with what I I am persuaded t in other parts of observers appear this species for t which was very were prepossesse the frequent exi and had no know Some navigators scribed this speci

out being aware of its nature. Mr. Bajon, during his voyage from France to Cayenne, collected many luminous points in the sea, which, he says, when examined by a lens, were found to be minute spheres. They disappeared in the air. Dr. Le Roy, in sailing from Naples to France, observed the sparkling appearance of the sea, which is usually produced by the medusa scintillans. By filtering the water, he separated luminous particles from it, which he preserved in spirits of wine: they were, he says, like the head of a pin, and did not at all resemble the nereis noctiluca, described by Vianelli; their colour approached a yellow brown, and their substance was extremely tender and fragile. Notwithstanding this striking resemblance to the medusa scintillans, Le Roy, in consequence of a preconceived theory, did not suppose what he saw were animals, but particles of an oily or bituminous nature.*

"The minute globules seen by Mr. Langstaff in the Indian ocean, were, I think, in all probability, the scintillating species of medusa; and on my shewing him some of these animals I have preserved in spirits, he entertained the same opinion.

"Professor Mitchell, of New-York, found the luminous appearance on the coast of America to be occasioned by minute animals, that, from his description, plainly belonged to this species of medusa; notwithstanding which, he supposed them to be a number of the nereis noctiluca.†

"The luminous animalcule, discovered by Forster off the Cape of Good Hope, in his voyage round the world, bears so strong a resemblance to the medusa scintillans, that I am much disposed to believe them the same. He describes his animalcule as being a little gelatinous globule, less than the head of a pin; transparent, but a little brownish in its colour; and of so soft a texture, that it was destroyed by the slightest touch. On being highly magnified, he perceived on one side a depression, in which there was a tube that passed into the body, and communicated with four or five intestinal sacs. The pencil drawings he made on the spot are in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, by whose permission engravings from them are subjoined to this paper. By comparing these with the representations of the medusa scintillans, and some of this species rendered visible, by being a long time preserved in spirits, which I have laid before this learned Society, it will be found, that the only difference between Forster's animalcule, and the medusa scintillans, is in the appearance of the opaque parts, shewn in the microscopic views.

"Many writers have ascribed the light of the sea to other causes than luminous animals. Martin supposed it to be occasioned by putrefaction: Silberschlag believed it to be phosphoric: Professor J. Mayer conjectured, that the surface of the sea imbibed light, which it afterwards discharged. Bajon and Gentil thought the light of the sea was electric, because it was excited by friction. Forster conceived that it was sometimes electric, sometimes caused from putrefaction, and at others by the presence of living animals. Fougeroux de Bondaroy believed that it came sometimes from electric fires, but more frequently from the putrefaction of marine animals and plants.

* Observ. sur un Lumiere produite par l'Eau de la Mer. Mem. Etrang. des Sc.
† Phil. Mag. Vol. X. p. 20.

"I shall

"I shall not trespass on the time of the Society, to refute the above speculations; their authors have left them unsupported by either arguments or experiments, and they are inconsistent with all ascertained facts upon this subject.

"The remarkable property of emitting light during life is only met with amongst animals of the four last classes of modern naturalists, viz. *mollusca, worms, insects,* and *zoophytes.*

"The mollusca and worms contain each but a single luminous species; the pholas dactylus in the one, and the nereis noctiluca in the other.

"Some species yield light, in the eight following genera of insects; elater, lampyris, fulgora, pausus, scolopendra, cancer, lynceus,* and limulus. The luminous species of the genera lampyris, and fulgora, are more numerous than is generally supposed, if we may judge from the appearance of luminous organs, to be seen in dried specimens.

"Amongst zoophytes we find that the genera medusa, beroe,† and pennatula, contain species which afford light.

"The only animals which appear to possess a distinct organization for the production of light, are the luminous species of lampyris, elater, fulgora, and pausus.

"The light of the lampyrides is known to proceed from some of the last rings of the abdomen, which when not illuminated, are of a pale yellow colour. Upon the internal surface of these rings there is spread a layer of a peculiar soft yellow substance, which has been compared to paste, but by examination with a lens, I found it to be organized like the common inter the insect's body, a closer texture, colour. This subst tirely cover the in rings, being more along their edges, an irregular wavin observed in the gl is absorbed, and by common inte after the season f past.

"The segments behind which this is situated, are thi in order to expose mination.

"The number varies in different pyris, and, as it w ferent periods in dual.

"Besides the lu above described, in the common gl inner side of the la two bodies, which appear more minu of the smallest pin in two slight depre the shell of the these points partic On examining th the microscope, I were sacs containi substance, of a m mogenous texture, lines the inner surf The membrane for peared to be of tw which is composed silvery fibre, in th the internal memb ratory tubes of ins in this case the fib

* The animal discovered by Riville off the coast of Malabar in testaceous insect, and appears to belong to the genus lynceus of Mu

† The luminous zoophyte for which Peron has lately instituted t somma, appears to me to be a beroe, and only worthy of a specific di

This membrane, although so delicately constructed, is so elastic as to preserve its form, after the sac is ruptured, and the contents discharged.

"The light that proceeds from these sacs is less under the controul of the insect than that of the luminous substance spread on the rings: it is rarely ever entirely extinguished in the season that the glow-worm gives light, even during the day; and when all the other rings are dark, these sacs often shine brightly.

"The circumstance of there being points, which give a more permanent light than the other parts of the luminous rings of the abdomen, has been noticed before by the Comte G. de Razoumouski. He states the number of these luminous points to vary from 2 to 5.*

"I must however remark, that I never saw more than two of these luminous points, which were always upon the last ring of the body, and that the figures which accompany the memoir of the Comte de Razoumouski bear scarcely any resemblance to the insect they are intended to represent, from which we may fairly suspect him of inaccuracy in other particulars.

"As far as my observation has extended, the small sacs of luminous substances are not found in any species of lampyris, except the glow-worm of this country. Thunburg mentions that the lampyris japonica has two vesicles on the tail, which afford light.

"The organs for the production of light in the genus elater are situated in the corcelet; these likewise consist of a peculiar yellow substance, placed behind transparent parts of the shell, which suffer the be seen through them in the day, and when illuminated, give passage to the light.

"On dissecting the organs of light in the elater noctilucus, I found that there is a soft yellow substance, of an oval figure, lodged in the concavity of the yellow spots of the corcelet, which parts are particularly thin and transparent in this species. This substance is so remarkably close in its structure, that at first view it appears like an inorganic mass, but with a lens it is readily perceived to be composed of a great number of very minute parts or lobules closely pressed together. Around these oval masses, the interstitial substance of the corcelet is arranged in a radiated manner, and the portion of the shell that immediately covers the irradiated substance, is in a certain degree transparent, but less so than that which lies over the oval masses; it is therefore probable, that the interstitial substance in this situation may be endowed with the property of shining. A fasciculus of the muscles of the corcelet arises in the interior of the oval masses of the luminous substance, but not apparently with any design, as it contributes, with the adjacent fasciculi, to move the anterior feet.

"In the elater ignitus, the masses of luminous substances are extremely irregular in their figure: they are situated nearly at the posterior angles of the corcelet, and are more loose in their texture than the oval masses of the noctilucus, resembling rather in composition the interstitial substance which surrounds these masses in that species. The shell of the corcelet is somewhat thinner, and more transparent along both sides of the margin, than at other places, but

* Mem. de la Soc. de Lausanne, Tom. II.

it

it is not, as in the noctilucus, elevated, and peculiarly clear and thin immediately over the seat of the luminous organ; consequently, the light emitted by the elater ignitis, cannot be very brilliant.

"I have not been able to procure any specimen of the elater phosphorea; but from the accounts of naturalists, it appears to resemble in every respect the elater noctilucus: indeed I have great doubts of the phosphorea being a distinct species.

"I have had an opportunity of examining, preserved in a moist way, two species of fulgora, the candelaria and lanternalia. The light in this genus has been observed to issue from the remarkable proboscis on the fore-part of the head. This part has always been described by authors as hollow or empty, which I have found to be perfectly correct; and what is more extraordinary, that the cavity communicates freely with the external air, by means of a chink or narrow aperture, placed on each side of the root of the proboscis. This projection is covered internally by a membrane, between which and the horny part or shell, there appears to be interposed a pale reddish coloured soft substance, that is arranged in the candelaria in broad lines or stripes; but it is so thin, that I could not distinctly examine its structure, or absolutely determine whether it should be considered as a substance intended to furnish the light of these insects, or the pigment upon which the colour of the proboscis depends.

"The globes of the antennæ constitute the organs of light in the pausus spherocerus. Dr. Afzelius, who discovered the luminous property in this species, compares them to lanterns spreading a dim phosphoric light.* The

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* Linn. Trans. Vol. IV.

minous fluid is particularly evident, and in vast quantity. It is recorded by Pliny, that this fluid is like liquid phosphorus, and renders every object luminous with which it comes into contact. Reaumur also found that it was diffusible in water, or any other fluid in which the animal might be immersed.*

"The shining of the scolopendra electrica I have always observed to be accompanied by the appearance of an effusion of a luminous fluid upon the surface of the animal, more particularly about the head, which may be received upon the hand, or other bodies brought into contact with the insect at the moment, and these exhibit a phosphoric light for a few seconds afterwards. This fluid, however, I never could discover in the form of moisture, even upon the clearest glass, although examined immediately with the most scrupulous attention by a lens: it must therefore be extremely attenuated.

"The same appearance has been observed during the illumination of the nereis noctiluca by Fougeroux de Bondaroy.†

"The animal discovered by Riville shed a blue liquor, which illuminated the water for a distance of two or three lines.‡

"Spallanzani relates, that the medusa which he examined communicated the property of shining to water, milk, and other fluids, on being rubbed or squeezed in them.§

"The luminous fluid is in some instances confined to particular parts of the body, and in others is diffused throughout the whole substance of the animal.

"In the scolopendra electra it appears to reside immediately under the integuments. In the lyncus, discovered by Riville, it is contained in the ovary. If I may judge from my own observations, every part of the body of the medusæ is furnished with this fluid, as there is no part I have not seen illuminated under different circumstances; but Spallanzani affirms that it is only found in the large tentacula, the edges of the umbella, and the purse or central mass; which he proved, he says, by detaching these parts successively, when they shone vividly, while the rest of the body neither gave light or communicated any luminous appearance to water.‖

"Spallanzani discovered a mucous luminous fluid in the plumule of the pennatula phosphorea.**

"The phenomenon of animal light has been attempted to be explained in different ways. By many persons it was formerly ascribed to a putrefactive process; but since the modern theories of combustion became known, it has been generally believed to depend upon an actual inflammation of the luminous substance, similar to the slow combustion of phosphorus. Others have accounted for the luminous effect, by supposing the matter of light to be accumulated, and rendered latent under particular circumstances, and afterwards evolved in a sensible form.

"The opinion of the light of living animals being the consequence of putrefaction, is evidently absurd, and contradictory to all observation on the subject. It has been proved by the experiments of Dr. Hulme and others, that even the luminous

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Sc. 1712. † Ibid. 1707.
‡ Mem. Etrang. de l'Acad. des Sc. Tom. III.
§ Spallanzani's Travels in the Two Sicilies, Vol. IV.
‖ Memoria sopra le meduse fosforiche, Mem. della Soc. Ital. Tomo VII.
** Mem. della Soc. Ital. Tomo II.

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appearances of dead animals are exhibited only during the first stages of the dissolution of the body, and that no light is emitted after putrefaction has really commenced.

"Spallanzani, who was the most strenuous advocate for the phosphorescent nature of animal light, stated that the glow-worms shone more brilliantly when put into oxygen gas; that their light gradually disappeared in hydrogen or in azotic, and was instantly extinguished in fixed air; that it was also lost by cold, and revived by the application of a warm temperature. He conjectured that the luminous matter of these insects was composed of hydrogen and carbonated hydrogen gas.

"Foster relates, in the Lichtenberg Magazine for 1783, that on putting a lampyris splendidula into oxygen gas, it gave as much light as four of the same species in common air.

"Carradori has made some experiments upon the lucciole, (lampyris italica) which led him to deny its phosphorescence. He found that the luminous portion of the belly of the insect shone in vacuum, in oil, in water, and different liquids, and under different circumstances, where it was excluded from all communication with oxygen gas. He accounts for the result of Foster's experiment, by supposing, that the worm shone more vividly, because it was more animated in oxygen gas than in common air.

"Carradori adopts on this subject the doctrine of Brugnatelli, and ascribes the luminous appearances of animals, to the condensation and extrication of light in particular organs, which had previously existed in combination with the substance of their bodies. He to be originally food, or the atm into the body; in animals have the of gradually imb foreign bodies, a secreting it in a se

"The follow which I made would lead me t conclusions than ceding authors.

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* Annal. de Chimica, Tomo xiii. 1797.

the temperature of the room being 69, the instrument rose to 75, 76, and 77, according to circumstances, as the warmth was reflected from the hand, or dissipated by the worm crawling over cold substances. The luminous portion of the tail, when very brilliant, appeared to raise the thermometer more quickly than the other parts of the body, but it was not invariably the case. When shining strongly, I thought that the luminous rings communicated the sensation of warmth to the hand, but this was probably a deception, as the actual degree of heat was not sufficient for such an effect. It should however be mentioned, that in Templar's observations on the glow-worm, he said his feelings deceived him, if he did not experience some heat from the shining of the insect.*

"*Experiment* 6.—To satisfy myself how far evolution of heat during the shining of glow-worms, depended upon the life of the animals, I cut off the luminous portion of the tail from several living worms, and I found that if the thermometer was applied to them immediately, it was raised by them one or two degrees; but after these parts were dead, although they continued to emit light, they produced no effect whatever upon the instrument.

"*Experiment* 7.—Some hemispherical medusæ were put into a spoon, containing a small quantity of sea water, and held over a burning candle. As soon as the water became heated the medusæ appeared like illuminated wheels, the spots at the margin and centre alone emitting light; in which manner they shone vividly and permanently for about twenty seconds, when they shrunk and died, after which they were no longer luminous.

"*Experiment* 8.—Some of the same species were put into spirits: a strong and unremitting light was instantly given out, which issued from the central and marginal parts, as in the preceding experiment, and continued until they died.

"*Experiment* 9.—Some of the scintillating and hemispherical species of medusæ, contained in a small glass jar, were introduced into the receiver of an air pump, and the air being exhausted, they shone as usual when shaken; if any difference could be perceived, the light was more easily excited, and continued longer in vacuum.

"I wished next to try the influence of electricity on the luminous property of animals.

"*Experiment* 10.—A medusæ hemispherica was placed in a small glass dish, containing a quantity of water, merely sufficient to allow the animal to preserve its figure; being insulated, it was electrified, and sparks drawn from it, which had not the slightest effect; the experiment was repeated several times with different individuals, but without exciting the animals to throw out light.

"*Experiment* 11.—Some hemispherical medusæ were placed in contact with the two ends of an interrupted chain, and slight electric shocks passed through them. During the very moment of their receiving the shock no light was visible, but immediately afterwards the medusæ shone like illuminated wheels, which appearance remained for some seconds. Upon the closest inspection with a magnifying glass, no contractile motion could be perceived

* Phil. Trans. No. 72.

ceived to accompany the exhibition of the light. The application of electricity in this instance seems to have acted merely as a strong mechanic shock.

"The above experiments on the luminous medusæ were made at Herne, with the assistance of George May, Esq. of Stroud-house, and in the presence of a large company, capable of accurately distinguishing their results.

"It seems proved by the foregoing experiments, that so far from the luminous substance being of a phosphorescent nature, it sometimes shews the strongest and most constant light, when excluded from oxygen gas; that it in no circumstances undergoes any process like combustion, but is actually incapable of being inflamed; that the increase of heat, during the shining of glow-worms, is an accompaniment, and not an effect of the phenomenon, and depends upon the excited state of the insect; and lastly, that heat and electricity increase the exhibition of light, merely by operating like other stimuli upon the vital properties of the animal.

"In confirmation of these opinions, I may quote the high authority of the Secretary of this Society, who has found that the light of the glow-worm is not rendered more brilliant in oxygen, or in oxygenated muriatic gas, than in common air; and that it is not sensibly diminished in hydrogen gas.

"I may further add, that Spallanzani's experiments of diffusing the luminous liquor of the medusæ in water, milk, and other fluids, are in direct contradiction of his own theory, as is also the extinction of the light of these mixtures by the application of a high degree of heat.

"If the light emitted by animals were derived fro air they respire, a radori, the phen increased or dim to the quantity c the creatures cor not find this to be situations where found to be most deprived, in a these assumed so

"In fact, the l of living animals pendent of all fo frequently destro I have always f the medusæ to ce of the moon, or day; and when never could exci out light until t for some time in luminous insect themselves as mu ing the day time, at night. I have that the scoloper not shine unless i ly exposed to sola observed that it s and as frequently short time in a when left uncove The circumstanc dra requiring ex its giving out lig countable, as the to itself, always possible conceal indeed it is the o turalists that it is of the sun.

"The opinions Carradori are co general doctrines, ture of light, w present venture pears to me, that unresolved, whet stantial existence

non depending upon certain operations or conditions of the ordinary forms of matter. But the highly ingenious researches of Count Rumford, on the laws of what have been called subtile fluids, and the extraordinary advances lately made by Mr. Davy, on the decomposition of substances, that were hitherto looked upon as elementary, give us reason to hope, that future investigations may unfold views of the material world, of which we can at present have only an indistinct conception; that new modes of analysis may enable us to see things, not "through a glass darkly," but more nearly as they are; and that the boundaries of physical and metaphisical science, now so far asunder, may be made to approach each other.

"In the present state of our knowledge, our business should be, to collect, arrange, and compare phenomena, rather than to speculate upon their nature. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from observing, that the circumstances attending the luminous appearance of living animals, are much more favourable to the supposition of light being a property, than a substance. The quantity of light emitted by an animal in a certain time, (admitting it to be matter) far exceeds that which could be possibly supplied by the sources, from whence it is usually supposed to be derived. Thus the luminous appearance of some medusæ may be continued with the intermission of short intervals for an indefinite time, notwithstanding the creature be kept in darkness, and without any other food than what a small quantity of filtered sea water would afford. The uninterrupted and long continued light that is sometimes evolved by the luminous sacs, and the ova of the glow-worm, is also inconsistent with the notion of an accumulation and subsequent dispersion of a material substance.

"I shall terminate this paper by an enumeration of the several conclusions, that are the result of the observations I have been able to make upon the phenomena of animal light.

"The property of emitting light is confined to animals of the simplest organization, the greater number of which are inhabitants of the sea.—The luminous property is not constant, but in general, exists only at certain periods, and in particular states of the animal's body.—The power of shewing light resides in a peculiar substance or fluid, which is sometimes situated in a particular organ, and at others diffused throughout the animal's body.—The light is differently regulated, when the luminous matter exists in the living body, and when it is abstracted from it. In the first case, it is intermitting, or alternated with periods of darkness; is commonly produced or increased by a muscular effort; and is sometimes absolutely dependant upon the will of the animal. In the second case, the luminous appearance is usually permanent until it becomes extinct, after which it may be restored directly by friction, concussion, and the application of warmth; which last causes operate on the luminous matter (while in the living body,) only indirectly, by exciting the animal.—The luminous matter, in all situations, so far from possessing phosphoric properties, is incombustible, and loses the quality of emitting light, by being dried, or much heated.—The exhibition of light, however long it may be continued, causes no diminution of the bulk of the luminous matter. It

does

does not require the presence of pure air, and is not extinguished by other gasses.

" The luminous appearance of living animals is not exhausted by long continuance, or frequent repetitions, nor accumulated by exposure to natural light; it is, therefore, not dependant upon any foreign source, but inheres as a property, in a peculiarly organized animal substance or fluid, and is regulated by the same laws which govern all the other functions of living beings.

" The light of the sea is always produced by living animals, and most frequently by the presence of the medusæ scintillans. When great numbers of this species approach the surface, they sometimes coalesce together, and cause that snowy or milky appearance of the sea, which

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POETRY.

Ode to the New Year

By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat.

ERE yet, 'mid Rhedecyna's bowers,
I humbly cull'd the Muses' flowers,
By silver Isis's sedgy side,
Not rolling there a classic tide,
My native meads and groves among,
As blythe I tun'd my artless song,
My fancy hail'd the halcyon day,
Crown'd with our Sovereign's opening sway,
And pour'd the verse to that auspicious morn
Which plac'd on Britain's Throne a Monarch Britain-born.

Raptur'd I pour the Verse again
To hail the British Monarch's lengthen'd reign,
To celebrate the rising year,
In which a King to Britain dear
Bids every British breast with grateful lay
Bless the tenth lustre of his lenient sway;
For while I strike the votive lyre,
The thrillings of the trembling wire
Are lost amid the swelling notes of praise,
Which with accordant voice a grateful people pays.

From Thulé's hyperborean reign,
To where upon the Southern Main
Bellerus frowns—to where the Atlantic roars,
O verdant Erin, 'gainst thy Western shores,
The pæans loud of exultation rise,
Wafting a Nation's plaudits to the skies:
And while the hallow'd rites of prayer and praise
To Heaven's high throne their grateful incense raise,
Mild Charity with liberal hand
Spreads her blest influence o'er the smiling land;
With genial current far and wide
Flows of benevolence the copious tide,
Grateful, the boon while shouting myriads see,
That dries Affliction's tear, and sets the Captive free.

Though

Though looking back through many an age
Since Egbert first our Saxon sires obey'd,
No King recorded stands on History's page
So long, who England's golden sceptre sway'd,*
O yet, through many a rolling year,
Long! long! may Albion's joyful race
Behold a Crown, to Freedom sacred, grace
The Man they love—the Sovereign they revere.

Though seated on her rocky throne,
Girt by her Navy's adamantine zone,
Britannia rears sublime her dauntless head,
Amid the storms of war that round her spread;
Yet by a generous Monarch be possess'd,
The first great object of his patriot breast;
May every baleful vapour fly
That hangs malignant now o'er Europe's sky,
Infernal Discord's iron tempest cease,
And GEORGE's sun decline in Glory and in Peace!

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

[By the same.]

WHEN loud the wintry tempest roars,
When dark the exhalations rise,
When dash the billows 'gainst the shores,
And sable clouds obscure the skies;
Cheerful amid the dreary scene,
Hope looks abroad with eye serene,
To happier hours when Spring again
Shall shew her renovated reign,
And leading on the rosy hours,
Shall strew the teeming Earth with flowers;
With young delight each bosom cheer,
And wake to joy again the variegated year.

Or if it chance the influence bland
Be check'd by adverse skies awhile,
By Eurus' ruder gales if fann'd
Uncertain April cease to smile:

* Though, to reckon from the accession to the demise, Henry III. reigned nominally 56, and Edward III. 50 years; yet, as the first acceded at nine years of age, and the last at fourteen, they did not either of them, in fact, reign so long as his present Majesty has now reigned.

When

When Maia's genial breezes blow;
With richer dyes, and warmer glow,
When June appears; fleets every cloud away,
And all creation heals the animating ray.

Then from Ambition's iron reign,
The embattled wall, the ensanguin'd plain,
The inmates of this favour'd Isle
Look fondly with expectant smile,
To that bless'd hour when Britons sing
The birth auspicious of a Parent King;
And as the clouds of Winter fly
When June illumes the genial sky,
So may the threat'ning storm that lowers
O'er wide Europa's trembling powers,
Like wintry clouds dispersing fade away
Before the radiant beams that gild this happy day.

When the proud Persian vainly tried
In impotence of rage to chain the tide,
Old Ocean mock'd the impious boast,
And Grecia triumph'd o'er his naval host.
Such Gallia's vaunt, and such the fate
That on such empty vaunt shall wait.
For while she threats in angry mood
From every shore our commerce to exclude,
Britannia's arms beyond the Atlantic main
Explore new regions of her golden reign.
And while each Isle that studs the Western wave,
Yields to her daring prows and warriors brave,
Her barks commercial crowd the azure deep,
Her fleets each hostile sail from Ocean's bosom sweep.

INVOCATION TO THE MINSTREL HARP.

[From Mr. W. Scott's Lady of the Lake.]

HARP of the North! that mouldering long hast hung
On the witch-elm that shades Saint Fillan's spring,
And down the fitful breeze thy numbers flung,
Till envious ivy did around thee cling,
Muffling with verdant ringlet every string,—
O minstrel Harp, still must thine accents sleep?
Mid rustling leaves and fountains murmuring,
Still must thy sweeter sounds their silence keep,
Nor bid a warrior smile, nor teach a maid to weep?

Not

Not thus, in ancient days of Caledon,
Was thy voice mute amid the festal crowd,
When lay of hopeless love, or glory won,
Aroused the fearful, or subdued the proud.
At each according pause, was heard aloud
Thine ardent symphony sublime and high!
Fair dames and crested chiefs attention bow'd;
For still the burthen of thy minstrelsy
Was Knighthood's dauntless deed, and Beauty's n

O wake once more! how rude soe'er the hand
That ventures o'er thy magic maze to stray;
O wake once more! though scarce my skill comm
Some feeble echoing of thine earlier lay:
Though harsh and faint, and soon to die away,
And all unworthy of thy nobler strain,
Yet if one heart throb higher at its sway,
The wizard note has not been touched in vain.
Then silent be no more! Enchantress, wake again

ELLEN DOUGLAS.

[From the same.]

FROM the steep promontory gazed
The Stranger, raptured and amazed.
And, "What a scene were here," he cried,
"For princely pomp or churchman's pride!
On this bold brow, a lordly tower;
In that soft vale, a lady's bower;
On yonder meadow, far away,
The turrets of a cloister grey.
How blithely might the bugle horn
Chide, on the lake, the lingering morn!
How sweet, at eve, the lover's lute
Chime, when the groves were still and mute
And, when the midnight moon should lave
Her forehead in the silver wave,
How solemn on the ear would come
The holy matin's distant hum,
While the deep peal's commanding tone
Should wake, in yonder islet lone,
A sainted hermit from his cell,
To drop a bead with every knell—
And bugle, lute, and bell, and all,
Should each bewildered stranger call
To friendly feast, and lighted hall.

"Blithe were it then to wander here!
But now,—beshrew yon nimble deer,—
Like that same hermit's, thin and spare,
The copse must give my evening fare;
Some mossy bank my couch must be,
Some rustling oak my canopy.
Yet pass we that;—the war and chase
Give little choice of resting-place;—
A summer night, in green-wood spent,
Were but to morrow's merriment;
But hosts may in these wilds abound,
Such as are better missed than found;
To meet with highland plunderers here
Were worse than loss of steed or deer.—
I am alone;—my bugle strain
May call some straggler of the train;
Or, fall the worst that may betide,
Ere now this faulchion has been tried."—

But scarce again his horn he wound,
When lo! forth starting at the sound,
From underneath an aged oak,
That slanted from the islet rock,
A Damsel guider of its way,
A little skiff shot to the bay,
That round the promontory steep
Led its deep line in graceful sweep,
Eddying, in almost viewless wave,
The weeping willow twig to lave,
And kiss, with whispering sound and slow,
The beach of pebbles bright as snow.
The boat had touch'd this silver strand,
Just as the Hunter left his stand,
And stood concealed amid the brake,
To view this Lady of the Lake.
The maiden paused, as if again
She thought to catch the distant strain,
With head up-raised, and look intent,
And eye and ear attentive bent,
And locks flung back, and lips apart,
Like monument of Grecian art,
In listening mood, she seemed to stand
The guardian Naïad of the strand.

And ne'er did Grecian chisel trace
A Nymph, a Naïad, or a Grace,
Of finer form, or lovelier face!
What though the sun, with ardent frown,
Had slightly tinged her cheek with brown,—
The sportive toil, which, short and light,
Had died her glowing hue so bright,

Served

Served too in hastier swell to show
Short glimpses of a breast of snow;
What though no rule of courtly grace
To measured mood had trained her pace,—
A foot more light, a step more true,
Ne'er from the heath-flower dashed the dew
E'en the slight hare-bell raised its head,
Elastic from her airy tread:
What though upon her speech there hung
The accents of the mountain tongue,—
Those silver sounds, so soft, so dear,
The listener held his breath to hear.

A chieftain's daughter seemed the maid;
Her satin snood, her silken plaid,
Her golden brooch, such birth betray'd.
And seldom was a snood amid
Such wild luxuriant ringlets hid,
Whose glossy black to shame might bring
The plumage of the raven's wing;
And seldom o'er a breast so fair,
Mantled a plaid with modest care,
And never brooch the folds combined
Above a heart more good and kind.
Her kindness and her worth to spy,
You need but gaze on Ellen's eye;
Not Katrine, in her mirror blue,
Gives back the shaggy banks more true,
Than every free-born glance confessed
The guileless movements of her breast;
Whether joy danced in her dark eye,
Or woe or pity claimed a sigh,
Or filial love was glowing there,
Or meek devotion poured a prayer,
Or tale of injury called forth
The indignant spirit of the north.
One only passion, unrevealed,
With maiden pride the maid concealed,
Yet not less purely felt the flame;—
O need I tell that passion's name!

MEETING OF DOUGLAS AND HIS DAUGHTER.

[From the same]

UPON a rock with lichens wild,
Beside him Ellen sate and smiled.
Smiled she to see the stately drake
Lead forth his fleet upon the lake,
While her vexed spaniel, from the beach,
Bayed at the prize beyond his reach?
Yet tell me then the maid who knows,
Why deepened on her cheek the rose?—
Forgive, forgive, Fidelity!
Perchance the maiden smiled to see
Yon parting lingerer wave adieu,
And stop and turn to wave anew;
And, lovely ladies, ere your ire
Condemn the heroine of my lyre,
Shew me the fair would scorn to spy,
And prize such conquest of her eye!

THE COURSE OF TIME.

[From the same.]

TIME rolls his ceaseless course. The race of yore
Who danced our infamy upon their knee,
And told our marvelling boy-hood legends store,
Of their strange ventures happ'd by land or sea,
How are they blotted from the things that be!
How few, all weak and wither'd of their force,
Wait, on the verge of dark eternity,
Like stranded wrecks, the tide returning hoarse,
To sweep them from our sight! Time rolls his ceaseless course.

Yet live there still who can remember well,
How, when a mountain chief his bugle blew,
Both field and forest, dingle, cliff, and dell,
And solitary heath, the signal knew;
And fast the faithful clan around him drew,
What time the warning note was keenly wound,
What time aloft their kindred banner flew,
While clamorous war-pipes yelled the gathering sound,
And while the Fiery Cross glanced, like a meteor, round.

THE

THE HERMIT BRIAN.

[From the same.]

A HEAP of wither'd boughs was piled,
Of juniper and rowan wild,
Mingled with shivers from the oak,
Rent by the lightning's recent stroke.
Brian, the Hermit, by it stood,
Bare-footed, in his frock and hood.
His grisled beard and matted hair
Obscured a visage of despair;
His naked arms and legs, seamed o'er,
The scars of frantic penance bore.
That Monk, of savage form and face,
The impending danger of his race
Had drawn from deepest solitude,
Far in Benharrow's bosom rude.
Not his the mien of Christian priest,
But Druid's, from the grave released,
Whose hardened heart and eye might brook
On human sacrifice to look.
And much, 'twas said, of heathen lore
Mixed in the charms he mutter'd o'er;
The hallowed creed gave only worse
And deadlier emphasis of curse.
No peasant sought that Hermit's prayer,
His cave the pilgrim shunned with care;
The eager huntsman knew his bound,
And in mid chase called off his hound;
Or if, in lonely glen or strath,
The desert-dweller met his path,
He prayed, and signed the cross between,
While terror took devotion's mien.

Of Brian's birth strange tales were told.
His mother watched a midnight fold,
Built deep within a dreary glen,
Where scattered lay the bones of men,
In some forgotten battle slain,
And bleached by drifting wind and rain.
It might have tamed a warrior's heart,
To view such mockery of his art!
The knot-grass fettered there the hand,
Which once could burst an iron band;
Beneath the broad and ample bone,
That bucklered heart to fear unknown,
A feeble and a timorous guest,
The field-fare fram'd her lowly nest;

There the slow blind-worm left his slime
On the fleet limbs that mocked at time;
And there, too, lay the leader's skull,
Still wreathed with chaplet flushed and full,
For hearth-bell, with her purple bloom,
Supplied the bonnet and the plume.
All night, in this sad glen, the maid
Sate shrouded in her mantle's shade:
—She said, no shepherd sought her side,
No hunter's hand her snood untied,
Yet ne'er again to braid her hair
The virgin snood did Alice wear;
Gone was her maiden glee and sport,
Her maiden girdle all too short,
Nor sought she, from that fatal night,
Or holy church or blessed rite,
But locked her secret in her breast,
And died in travail, unconfessed.

Alone, among his young compeers,
Was Brian from his infant years;
A moody and heart-broken boy,
Estranged from sympathy and joy,
Bearing each taunt which careless tongue
On his mysterious lineage flung.
Whole nights he spent by moon-light pale,
To wood and stream his hap to wail,
Till, frantic, he as truth received
What of his birth the crowd believed,
And sought, in mist and meteor fire,
To meet and know his Phantom Sire!
In vain, to sooth his wayward fate,
The cloyster oped her pitying gate;
In vain, the learning of the age
Unclasped the sable-lettered page;
Even in its treasures he could find
Food for the fever of his mind.
Eager he read whatever tells
Of magic, cabala, and spells,
And every dark pursuit allied
To curious and presumptuous pride,
Till, with fired brain and nerves o'erstrung,
And heart with mystic horrors wrung,
Desperate he sought Benharrow's den,
And hid him from the haunts of men.
The desert gave him visions wild,
Such as might suit the Spectre's child,
Where with black cliffs the torrents toil,
He watched the wheeling eddies boil,

Till,

Till, from their foam, his dazzled eyes
Beheld the river-daemon rise:
The mountain mist took form and limb,
Of noontide hag, or goblin grim;
The midnight wind came wild and dread,
Swelled with the voices of the dead;
Far on the future battle-heath
His eye beheld the ranks of death:
Thus the lone Seer, from mankind hurled,
Shaped forth a disembodied world.
One lingering sympathy of mind
Still bound him to the mortal kind;
The only parent he could claim
Of ancient Alpine's lineage came.
Late had he heard, in prophet's dream,
The fatal Ben-Shie's boding scream;
Sounds, too, had come in midnight blast,
Of charging steeds, careering fast
Along Benharrow's shingly side,
Where mortal horsemen ne'er might ride;
The thunderbolt had split the pine,—
All augur'd ill to Alpine's line.
He girt his loins, and came to show
The signals of impending woe,
And now stood prompt to bless or ban,
As bade the Chieftain of his clan.

'Twas all prepared;—and from the rock,
A goat, the patriarch of the flock,
Before the kindling pile was laid,
And pierc'd by Roderick's ready blade.
Patient the sickening victim eyed
The life-blood ebb in crimson tide,
Down his clogged beard and shaggy limb,
Till darkness glazed his eyeballs dim.
The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,
A slender crosslet framed with care,
A cubit's length in measure due;
The shaft and limbs were rods of yew,
Whose parents in Ineh-Cailliach wave
Their shadows o'er Clan-Alpine's grave,
And, answering Lomond's breezes deep,
Sooth many a chieftain's endless sleep.
The Cross, thus formed, he held on high,
With wasted hand and haggard eye,
And strange and mingling feelings woke,
While his anathema he spoke.

"Woe to the clans-man, who shall view
This symbol of sepulchral yew,

Forgetful that its branches grew
Where weep the heavens their holiest dew
On Alpine's dwelling low!
Deserter of his Chieftain's trust,
He ne'er shall mingle with their dust,
But, from his sires and kindred thrust,
Each clans-man's execration just
Shall doom him wrath and woe."
He paused;—the word the Vassals took,
With forward step and fiery look,
On high their naked brands they shook,
Their clattering targets wildly strook;
And first, in murmur low;
Then, like the billow in his course,
That far to seaward finds his source,
And flings to shore his mustered force,
Burst, with loud roar, their answer hoarse,
"Woe to the traitor, woe!"
Ben-an's grey scalp the accents knew,
The joyous wolf from covert drew,
The exulting eagle screamed afar,—
They knew the voice of Alpine's war.

The shout was hushed on lake and fell,
The Monk resumed his muttered spell.
Dismal and low its accents came,
The while he scathed the Cross with flame;
And the few words that reached the air,
Although the holiest name was there,
Had more of blasphemy than prayer.
But when he shook above the crowd
Its kindled points, he spoke aloud:—
"Woe to the wretch, who fails to rear
At this dread sign the ready spear!
For, as the flames this symbol sear,
His home, the refuge of his fear,
A kindred fate shall know;
Far o'er its roof the volumed flame
Clan-Alpine's vengeance shall proclaim,
While maids and matrons on his name
Shall call down wretchedness and shame,
And infamy and woe."—
Then rose the cry of females, shrill
As goss-hawk's whistle on the hill,
Denouncing misery and ill,
Mingled with childhood's babbling trill
Of curses stammered slow;
Answering, with imprecation dread,
"Sunk be his home in embers red!

And

And cursed be the meanest shed
That e'er shall hide the houseless head,
We doom to want and woe!"
A sharp and shrieking echo gave,
Coir-Uriskin, thy goblin cave!
And the grey pass where birches wave,
On Beala-nam-bo.

Then deeper paused the priest anew,
And hard his labouring breath he drew,
While with set teeth and clenched hand,
And eyes that glowed like fiery brand,
He meditated curse more dread,
And deadlier on the clans-man's head,
Who, summoned to his Chieftain's aid,
The signal saw and disobey'd.
The crosslet's points of sparkling wood,
He quenched among the bubbling blood,
And, as again the sign he reared,
Hollow and hoarse his voice was heard:
"When flits this Cross from man to man,
Vich-Alpine's summons to his clan,
Burst be the ear that fails to heed!
Palsied the foot that shuns to speed!
May ravens tear the careless eyes,
Wolves make the coward heart their prize
As sinks that blood-stream in the earth,
So may his heart's-blood drench his hearth!
As dies in hissing gore the spark,
Quench thou his light, Destruction dark!
And be the grace to him denied,
Bought by this sign to all beside!"—
He ceased: no echo gave agen
The murmur of the deep Amen.

NORMAN AND MARY.

[From the same.]

A BLITHESOME rout, that morning tide
Had sought the chapel of Saint Bride.
Her troth Tombea's Mary gave
To Norman, heir of Armandave,
And, issuing from the Gothic arch,
The bridal now resumed their march.
In rude, but glad procession, came
Bonnetted sire and coifeched dame;

And plaided youth, with jest and jeer,
Which snooded maiden would not hear;
And children, that, unwitting why,
Lent the gay shout their shrilly cry;
And minstrels, that in measures vied
Before the young and bonny bride,
Whose downcast eye and cheek disclose
The tear and blush of morning rose.
With virgin step, and bashful hand,
She held the kerchief's snowy band;
The gallant bridegroom, by her side,
Beheld his prize with victor's pride,
And the glad mother in her ear
Was closely whispering word of cheer.

Who meets them at the church-yard gate?
The messenger of fear and fate!
Haste in his hurried accent lies,
And grief is swimming in his eyes,
All dripping from the recent flood,
Panting and travel-soiled he stood,
The fatal sign of fire and sword
Held forth, and spoke the appointed word;
"The muster-place is Lanrick-mead.
Speed forth the signal! Norman, speed!"—
And must he change so soon the hand,
Just linked to his by holy band,
For the fell Cross of blood and brand?
And must the day, so blithe that rose,
And promised rapture in the close,
Before its setting hour, divide
The bridegroom from the plighted bride?
O fatal doom!—it must! it must!
Clan-Alpine' cause, her Chieftain's trust,
Her summons dread, brooks no delay;
Stretch to the race—away! away!

Yet slow he laid his plaid aside,
And, lingering, eyed his lovely bride,
Until he saw the starting tear
Speak woe he might not stop to cheer;
Then, trusting not a second look,
In haste he sped him up the brook,
Nor backward glanced till on the heath
Where Lubnaig's lake supplies the Teith.
—What in the racer's bosom stirred?
The sickening pang of hope deferred,
And memory, with a torturing train
Of all his morning visions vain.

Mingled

Mingled with love's impatience, came
The manly thirst for martial fame;
The stormy joy of mountaineers,
Ere yet they rush upon the spears;
And zeal for clan and chieftain burning,
And hope, from well-fought field returning
With war's red honours on his crest,
To clasp his Mary to his breast.
Stung by such thoughts, o'er bank and brae
Like fire from flint he glanced away,
While high resolve, and feeling strong,
Burst into voluntary song.

SONG.

The heath this night must be my bed,
The bracken* curtain for my head,
My lullaby the warder's tread;
Far, far, from love and thee, Mary;
To-morrow eve, more stilly laid,
My couch may be my bloody plaid,
My vesper song, thy wail, sweet maid!
It will not waken me, Mary!

I may not, dare not, fancy now
The grief that clouds thy lovely brow,
I dare not think upon thy vow,
And all it promised me, Mary.
No fond regret must Norman know;
When bursts Clan-Alpine on the foe,
His heart must be like bended bow,
His foot like arrow free, Mary.

A time will come with feeling fraught!
For, if I fall in battle fought,
Thy hapless lover's dying thought
Shall be a thought on thee, Mary.
And if returned from conquered foes,
How blithely will the evening close,
How sweet the linnet sing repose,
To my young bride and me, Mary!

* *Bracken.*—Fern.

ADIEU TO THE MINSTREL HARP.

[From the same.]

HARP of the North, farewell! The hills grow dark,
On purple peaks a deeper shade descending;
In twilight copse the glow-worm lights her spark,
The deer, half-seen, are to the covert wending.
Resume thy wizard elm! the fountain lending,
And the wild breeze, thy wilder minstrelsy;
Thy numbers sweet with Natur-'s vespers blending,
With distant echo from the fold and lea,
And herd-boy's evening pipe, and hum of housing bee.

Yet, once again, farewell, thou Minstrel Harp!
Yet once again, forgive my feeble sway,
And little reck I of the censure sharp
May idly cavil at an idle lay.
Much have I owed thy strains on life's long way,
Through secret woes the world has never known,
When on the weary night dawned wearier day,
And bitterer was the grief devoured alone,
That I o'erlive such woes, Enchantress! is thine own.

Hark! as my lingering footsteps slow retire,
Some Spirit of the Air has waked thy string!
'Tis now a Seraph bold, with touch of fire,
'Tis now the brush of Fairy's frolic wing.
Receding now, the dying numbers ring
Fainter and fainter down the rugged dell,
And now the mountain breezes scarcely bring
A wandering witch-note of the distant spell—
And now, tis silent all!—Enchantress, fare thee well!

THE FESTIVAL OF BOURDEAUX.

[From Mr. Sotheby's Constance de Castille.]

I.

"KNIGHTS, and fair dames, train after train,
Pass in their pomp to Aquitaine.
Through the wide world, wherever fame
Dwelt on the dark-mail'd Victor's name,

Wherever

Wherever minstrel at high feast
With monarchs sat, an honour'd guest,
Where'er before a nation's eyes
Beauty to valour gave the prize,
His Heralds far and wide around,
Had spread, from realm to realm, the sound
The voice went forth, to tow'r and hall,
That Bourdeaux' solemn festival,
Throughout the moon's whole course should
Day and night their sports renew;
Each day be tilt and banqueting,
Each night be mirth and caroling,
Mask and dance, and choral song,
And mysteries that delight prolong,
Till Aurora, blushing red,
Or bright suns, light the guests to bed.

II.

Tow'r rings to tow'r: the slow-pac'd sun
Sunk, ere the revel pomp begun.
Taper and cresset flaming bright
Flung on the rafter'd roof their light,
And show'd, throughout St. Andrew's hall,
Marshal'd at solemn festival,
Knight after knight, in due degree,
Flow'r of Christian chivalry:
Each, a lady at his side,
Radiant in pomp and beauty's pride.

III.

Hail! barons bold, who liege-men wait
On Aquitaine's superior state,
Lords of Guyenne and Gascony,
Of Poictou and fair Angoumois,
Saintonge, along whose pastures wide
Swift Charente's silver waters glide,
And fiefs, where Adour, winding down,
Joins distant Tarbe to fair Bayonne.
And ye! the pride of Albion's coast,
High chieftains of th' heroic host:
Warwick, whose far-fam'd puisance led
The van when routed Poictiers bled:
Fitzwalter, foremost in the field,
Spenser, unknowing how to yield,
Manny, who, wading deep in gore,
Onward the flag of conquest bore,
And terror of the northern bounds,
Earl Percy, grac'd with glorious wounds.

IV.

Brave Gallia's high-born chieftains came,
Free homagers to Edward's fame.
Proud Bourbon, Anjou there behold,
Young Burgundy, belov'd, and bold.
Tonnere, whose mail, of verdant stain,
Was died with blood on Auray's plain:
Lo! Chatillon, whose eagle shield
Marshals the bowmen to the field,
Heroic Vienne, whose deathless name
Thy sons, proud Calais, yet proclaim,
And Ribaumont, the bold, the brave,
Crown'd with the wreath that Edward gave,
When, thrice, the King, beneath his blow
Bow'd, ere his prowess fell'd the foe.
From Brittany brave Montfort led
Fam'd peers, who in his quarrel bled,
(His falchion flaming in the van)
Knight, Seneschal, and Castellan.

V.

I pass the gracious boons untold
That splendour shed on feasts of old;
Captives ransom'd, Virgins dow'r'd,
Gifts on the crowd profusely show'r'd,
Presents to each princely guest,
Armour, and steed, and ermine vest,
Girdles of silk and jewels rare,
And pearls, to braid their ladies' hair.

VI.

I pass unsung the pomp of state,
Huge ewers of embossed plate,
Flaggons with spiced wine o'erflowing,
Trumpets braying, clarions blowing,
Banners, that streaming round the hall
Deeds and adventures high recall,
And, trophies of the well-fought plain,
Shields of brave chiefs in battle slain,
That gleam before the Victor's eye,
And add fresh zest to revelry.

VII.

Leaders of note I pass unsung,
Audeley and Howard, heirs of fame,
And either Bohun, deathless name.
But who, the gallant guests among,

Who first in fame, in pomp, in pow'r,
Tow'r'd o'er each chief that grac'd the boar
'Tis Britain's boast, 'tis knighthood's flow'r,
'Tis Lancaster, high-honour'd lord,
In youth, in beauty's blooming prime,
Proud hope and glory of his time.

VIII.

Edward's brave race, a warrior band,
Were arrows in a giant's hand:
'Mid these, fam'd Lancaster uprose,
The terror of his father's foes,
And England rested on his sword,
As on thy prowess, dark-mail'd Lord.

IX.

Lord of the feast, in royal state
Edward, amid his barons bold,
Brothers of arms, by fame enroll'd,
With his fair bride, Joanna, sate.
From guest to guest flow'd gaily round
The cup, by youth and beauty crown'd:
And gay their converse; ladies' charms,
Love, and the chase, and tilt, and fight,
Adventures rare, and feats of arms,
And fame of each far-summon'd knight,
Who, on the Baptist's hallow'd morn,
To grace Joanna's elder born,
Should Arthur's warlike sports recall,
And crown and close the festival.

X.

"Long on that day shall minstrels dwell;
"The harp;"—heroic Edward cried,
"The harp to other times shall tell
"That mask'd in honour of my bride,
"Like peers and paladins renown'd
"Who Arthur's feast at Camelot crown'd,
"England and France in Edward's sight
"Rivals of glory, grac'd the fight.
"England shall Arthur's fame maintain,
"France the renown of Charlemagne.
"Strike, harpers—minstrels! tune the rhyi
"To Arthur's consecrated times."

XI.

Madoc, master of the choir
With lofty prelude swept the wire,
Silenc'd the sound of mirth and glee,
And shook the roof with minstrelsy.

XII.

Minstrel Song.

" Heard ye afar the storm of war?
" Saw ye Camlan's crimson plain?
" Fiercely the kindred squadrons met,
" Britain's sun in blood is set
" Beneath the western main.

" Chill'd is valour's glowing breath,
" Hush'd the traitor's yell:
" Slow sail'd on silent pinion Death,
" And over all the blasted heath
" His giant shadow fell.

" Ah! who the bleeding King shall bear
" From Camlan's fatal ground?
" No friend, no living man is there,
" Save one, his bosom's grief to share,
" Or staunch each welling wound.

" Lone Glo'ster gaz'd in speechless woe—
" Can friendship aid impart?
" The death-drops stand on Arthur's brow,
" And scarce the lingering currents flow
" That feed his lion heart.

" Bear thou my sword to yonder strand,
" And o'er the wild waves cast."
From ocean sprung a shadowy hand,
Thrice wav'd in air the charmed brand.
The wond'rous vision past.

The dying King was seen no more:
But airy harpings rung,
The winds, the waves, forgot to roar,
And Echo, from the ocean bore,
The note a fairy sung.

XIII.

Fairy Song.

" Softly blow the wreathed shell,
" Wind the ocean melody!
" Sea-gods! answering to my spell,
" Cleave the liquid canopy!
" Rise! with tuneful conch and song
" Lead the charmed bark along.

" Answer

" Answer from your coral cave,
" Sea-maids! who in season fair
" Warbling on the glassy wave,
" Braid with pearl your yellow hair!
" Nymphs! responsive to my lay
" Rise! and smooth with song the way.—

" Welcome to the fairy shore!
" Bear the King to charmed bowers,
" Crown'd with wreath of elfin flowers!
" Ocean-choir! your charge is o'er:
" Long as Echo holds the strain,
" Dance, like sun-beams, on the main,
" Or moon, in morris of the night
" Silvering the sea with gleams of light!"

XIV.

While thus in lulling cadence low
Soft fairy notes were heard to flow,
And the charm'd spirit, rapt on high,
Hung on the breath of melody:
The loud tramp of an iron hoof
Battering the flinty court below,
Burst the deep cloister's vaults along,
Flung its harsh discord on the roof,
And rudely drown'd the harp and song.

THE HERMIT'S PROPHETIC O

[From the same.]

" WAR blows the trump on Navaret.
" Like the vext sea in tempests ro
" The foemen, host on host, unfold.
" Advance! the battle ranks are set.
" Sparkling spears, and helmets bright
" Quiver in the golden light.
" Fix'd like rocks whose strength outbrave
" The deep with all its weight of waves,
" Stern, silent, still, the Britons stand.
" Why smile the chiefs in scornful mood?
" The sword that flam'd o'er Poictiers arms
" Pale Crecy's shadowy slain before them flo

" Like cat'racts from the mountain brow
" Clash the couch'd lances in their rest,
" Squadron on squadron, breast on breast.
" Who breaks the shield, the sword, the bow?
" Whose voice pours thunder on the gale?
" Whose war-hoofs, red with slaughter, crush the foe?
" Like Death, with terror crown'd, dark tow'rs the sable mail.

" Lone in his might the conqueror past.—
" They fly—the foes, thrice rallied, fly!
" Hark, hark!—St. George and victory!
" Chiefs on their bucklers breathe their last.
" Weave the wreath! the war is o'er,
" Najara's torrent foams with gore,
" And Fear o'er Gaul's tumultuous flight
" Wide waves his banner dark as night.
" Navaret! weave the laurel wreath!
" Glory's peerless course is run.
" Edward! repose!—the sword of victory sheathe.
" Rest! in thy splendour rest—so sets yon golden sun.

" Change the song and martial measure
" To notes of joy and nuptial pleasure:
" War's blood-stain'd path with flow'rets hide;
" Lead to Lancastria's lord the bride.
" Long o'er thy realms, exultant Spain!
" In peace their sceptred race shall reign.
" Yet—stay!"—
Why pause, prophetic Seer?
Why bursts th' involuntary tear?
The fire, that glow'd thy cheek, why flown,
Why silenc'd, joy's triumphant tone?
" Return"—he cried—" thou vision bright!
" Fall'n is the banner that, unfurl'd
" By conquest, claim'd another world;
" The flag that wav'd o'er Pavia's fight,
" Spaniard!—Iberia's glories fade.
" Ah!—what art thou,—gigantic shade!
" Terror of earth, enthron'd sublime,
" Who, crown'd by horror, fraud, and crime,
" O'erlook'st the world, an idol god?
" O'er Gaul, th' avenger lifts the rod,
" Shivering the sceptres of the globe,
" And dies in blood of kings his robe.
" Thou, too, my hapless country! thou
" Shalt at the idol's altar bow;
" Thou, by thy native sons betray'd,
" By scepter'd vice and folly sway'd:

" Thy

" Thy nobles slav'd, thy princes sold,
" Thy ruler under yoke of gold,
" Thy warriors on the frozen main
" Fetter'd beneath the Gallic chain.
" What now shall save a sinking land?
" I see in arms a people stand,
" Stand where their great fore-fathers bled,
" While Rome and all her legions fled,
" And o'er their consecrated grave
" The rescu'd flag of Freedom wave.
" Hark! 'tis the empress of the main
" Speaks, as she casts her shield o'er Spain:
" ' Beneath my trident strike the blow,
" ' And boldly grasp the Gallic prow.
" ' Beneath my trident free thy host,
" ' Unyoke their strength on Funen's coast,
" ' Assert the birth-right of the brave,
" ' Conquer, or claim a patriot's grave!
" ' With thee his sword the Briton draws:
" ' Freedom is thine and Britain's cause.
" ' Spain! though the ruthless fiend of wa
" ' Wheel o'er thy realm his scythed car,
" ' Level with iron mace thy tow'rs,
" ' And waste with flame thy peaceful bow'r
" ' Though smoke with blood thy untill'd gro
" ' Palace and altar blazing round,
" ' All is not lost: yet, yet remains
" ' Valour, that slavery's yoke disdains,
" ' Honour remains, that nurs'd thy sires,
" ' Vengeance that rous'd Saguntum's fires:
" ' To want, to woe, to death resign'd
" ' Remains th' unconquerable mind:
" ' The rocks, th' eternal rocks remain
" ' The bulwark of Pelayo's reign:
" ' The starry cope, the cold bleak sky
" ' Sheltering the sons of liberty.
" ' On every mount the weapon lies
" ' That gain'd the Gothic victories,
" ' Freedom!—to man in birth-right giv'n,
" ' Guard it—the rest confide to Heav'n.' "

TO THE REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN,

PRINCIPAL CHAPLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY'S TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES,

On his Return to that Colony.

Sic fortis Etruria crevit,
Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.

HEAVEN speed thee, MARSDEN! o'er the wat'ry plain;
And Heaven, that sped thee once, must speed again;
For, since the deep with canvas has been crown'd,
Was never man a nobler voyage bound;
Nor ever tide, from BRITAIN'S crowded shore,
Mid all her freights, a nobler freightage bore.

Kind to each various shape Misfortune wears,
Want, thraldom, sickness, and corroding cares;
Kind to a proverb—Britain bears alone
To Guilt, that needs most cure, a heart of stone.
Here only vengeful, all her efforts tend
The man to punish, not the mind amend.
Heedless of Heaven's more generous code, that wills
Th' offender's good by penalties and ills,
Her partial justice centers all in self,
Not to reclaim the pilferer, but the pelf.
Then, as though wrong with wrong resolv'd to pay,
Exiles or gibbets send him—where they may.

Such Britain's blot;—or rather such till now,
The blot that stain'd the lustre of her brow.
MARSDEN, if half that blot has lately flown,
Though ours the gain, the praise is all thy own:
Thou hast redeem'd thy country; as o'er woe,
Taught British tears o'er British guilt to flow;
Taught us to pity as we strike, and feel
A generous interest in the culprit's weal;
And, as we drive him from his native sky,
Leave him not wholly to despair and die.

Go, then, sublimely good! sublimely great!
Go—fill the dictates of benignant fate.
HOWARD, alas! and HANWAY, are no more:
Go—take their mantle, and their toils restore.

Inspired

Inspired by duty, and upheld by prayer,
Tempests, and storms and climes pestif'rous da
O'er utmost SYDNEY be thy sails unfurl'd,
And plunge amidst the outcasts of the world.
Proud of thy deeds (and she may well be proud
Thy love, thy labours, 'mid the refuse crowd,
Now ten-fold power to thee thy country yields,
Go—reap rich harvests 'mid rejected fields.
In wider, wilder track, while others pour
O'er IND and ORM the Gospel's living lore,
Climb the rude CAUCASUS, or, dauntless, spre
O'er LIBYA's sands the feast of heavenly bread;
More patriot thou, with equal courage, aim
Th' abandon'd hordes of Britain to reclaim:
Abandoned as they are, and most forlorn,
Whelm'd in pollution and their country's scorn,
To show that in the mind's most loathsome he
Some casual seed of virtue yet may sleep;
Some grain that waits th' appropriate breeze to
That Man, howe'er degenerate, still is Man.
Rous'd by thy warnings, by thy guidance led,
Lo! BARRINGTON hangs down his guilty head,
Repents, believes, now hopes, now sinks aghast
And by the future, half redeems the past.
Nor BARRINGTON alone;—a thousand such
Have felt, like him, thy penetrating touch;
Woke to new life from ruin and despair,
Fled VICE for VIRTUE, BLASPHEMY for PRAYER
Go, then; for thousands wait thee still—to pro
The mighty triumph of REDEEMING LOVE.
Thy mind robust, that earth can ne'er appal,
Firm as the pole, where truth and duty call,
Stern to th' obdurate caitiff, but his friend
When once compunctious pangs his bosom rend;
Thine ardent faith, thy zeal that nought can tire
Still countless brands may rescue from the fire:
And the fair clime, where bounteous Nature pou
Her sweetest beauties and her richest stores,
Laughs in young tepid gales, and proudly guides,
'Mid her green fields, a thousand playful tides;
A clime, till now, to barbarous life alone,
Or worse than barbarous, British outcasts, known
Freed from its darkness, and polluting leaven,
Shall wake to SCIENCE, INDUSTRY and HEAVEN.

Blow, then, ye favouring gales! each radiant si
That rules th' abyss, in fostering bond combine!
Heaven speed thee, MARSDEN! o'er the watry plai
And Heaven that sped thee once, must speed agai

For since the deep with canvas has been crown'd,
Was never man on nobler voyage bound;
Nor ever tide from BRITAIN's crowded shore,
Mid all her freights, a nobler freightage bore.

THE SWISS EMIGRANT.

FAREWELL, farewell, my native land,
A long farewell to joy and thee!
On thy last rock I lingering stand,
Thy last rude rock how dear to me!

Once more I view thy valleys fair,
But dimly view, with tearful eye;
Once more I breathe thy healthful air,
But breathe it in how deep a sigh!

Ye vales, with downy verdure spread,
Ye groves that drink the sparkling stream,
As bursting from the mountain's head
Its foaming waves in silver gleam;

Ye lakes, that catch the golden beam
That floods with fire yon peak of snow,
As evening vapours bluely steam
And dimly roll their volumes slow;

Scenes on this bursting heart imprest
By every thrill of joy, of woe,
The bliss of childhood's vacant breast,
Of warmer youth's impassion'd glow,

The tears by filial duty shed
Upon the low, the peaceful tomb,
Where sleep, too blest, the reverend dead
Unconscious of their country's doom;

Say, can Helvetia's patriot child
A wretched exile bear to roam,
Nor sink upon the lonely wild,
Nor die to leave his native home?

His native home? No home has he;
He scorns in servile yoke to bow;
He scorns the land no longer free;
Alas! he has no country now!

Ye

Ye snow-clad Alps, whose mighty mound,
Great Nature's adamantine wall,
In vain opposed its awful bound
To check the prone-descending Gaul.

What hunter now with daring leaps
Shall chase the ibex o'er your rocks?
Who clothe with vines your rugged steeps?
Who guard from wolves your rambling floc

While low the freeborn sons of toil
Lie sunk amid the slaughtered brave,
To freedom true the stubborn soil
Shall pine and starve the puny slave.

Spoilers, who poured your ravening bands
To gorge on Latium's fertile plains,
And filled your gold-rapacious hands
From regal domes and sculptured fanes,

What seek ye here?—Our niggard earth
Nor gold nor sculptured trophies owns;
Our wealth was peace and guileless mirth,
Our trophies are th' invader's bones!

Burst not, my heart, as dimly swell
Morat's proud glories on my view!
Heroic scenes, a long farewell!
I fly from madnesss and from you.

Beyond the dread Atlantic deep
One gleam of comfort shines for me;
There shall these bones untroubled sleep,
And press the earth of Liberty.

Wide, wide that waste of waters rolls,
And sadly smiles that stranger land;
Yet there I hail congenial souls,
And freemen give the brother's hand.

Columbia, hear the exile's prayer;
To him thy fostering love impart;
So shall he watch with patriot care,
So guard thee with a filial heart!

Yet O forgive, with anguish fraught
If sometimes start the unbidden tear,
As tyrant Memory wakes the thought,
"Still, still I am a stranger here!"

Thou vanquisht land, once proud and free,
Where first this fleeting breath I drew,
This heart must ever beat for thee,
In absence near... in misery true.

EARLY ATTACHMENT.

[From Miss STOCKDALE's POEMS.]

NEVER can I thine image dear forget,
For firmly graven it is on my heart;
When first in childhood's happy days we met,
And first in those sweet days were doom'd to part.

So much a child, I dare not name my age,
Too, too susceptible for early years;
'Twas thine at once the attention to engage
Of her who since has often dried thy tears.

I gazed with pleasure on thy noble face,
And mark'd thy full, thy blue soul-piercing eye;
Thy open countenance, thy manly grace,
Gold curling locks that on thy shoulders lie.

Of all the youths mine eyes had ever seen,
None was by me so interesting thought;
I look'd on thee, and deem'd all others mean;
That first impression ne'er can be forgot.

Too young for all disguise, with native ease
And innocent simplicity we talk'd;
No studied arts were needful each to please,
As through the nodding groves content we walk'd.

Unclouded yet by care, his face beam'd joy,
As erst he led me to each favourite spot;
Some sheltering tree, bank, bower, that pleased the boy,
Near his beloved paternal peaceful cot.

Pleasure is oft succeeded quick by pain;
With pure delight we had each other met,
In converse sweet the parting hour attain,
And climb the last long hill with deep regret.

As flying coursers bore me from thy sight,
We for the first time felt a parting pain;
Regret, as mutual as the past delight,
And sigh'd to think when we might meet again.

When

When far away, each recollection dear,
Was well preserv'd in memory's faithful st
We interchang'd each thought, each sigh, e
And with a pen retraced past pleasures o'e

Children of poesy we both were born,
From earliest years our fond pursuits the s
Deceived by Hope, he thought some future
Mary, for his, would yield her virgin nam

He long indulged his faithless dreams of joy,
Long ponder'd happiness that must not co
Long cherish'd, self-deluded hapless boy,
The favourite thought that I should bless

He loved to think the chosen of his breast
Some future day would live for him alone;
Illume his path, hush all his cares to rest,
And, by domestic bliss, past strokes atone.

Lull'd by these visions fair, again we met:
He came, he said, to offer me his hand!
But ah! too soon the Sun of Hope was set,
Too soon destroy'd the schemes so fondly

A deep despondency now seized his soul,
As persecution came in copious showers;
Round our devoted heads harsh thunders roll,
And blast at once fond fancy's choicest flo

Those eyes, so lately sparkling with delight,
Now melt with sorrow, and now beam de
His gloomy thoughts invoke death's endless
To finish all his grief, his woe, his care.

For her alone he lov'd, he cherish'd life,
For her he wish'd to live, for her would di
Refused his dearest Mary for a wife,
His bleeding heart would own none other

Dark meditations all his looks bespeak,
He ponders o'er the dank untimely grave;
While melancholy marks his youthful cheek,
And big cold dewy drops his temples lave.

But meek Religion takes the form he loves,
And, as his weeping Mary soothes his grief
That cherish'd form too much his heart appr
To banish from his soul the kind relief.

But hush, my muse, abruptly end the strain;
Why should the world be troubled with our woes?
O let us to ourselves alone complain,
But not to passers-by our griefs disclose!

Condemn'd to sorrow from our early years,
Our fond affection deem'd our greatest crime,
Sharers alike in bitterest sighs and tears,
We wait submissive for a happier clime;

Where persecution shall no more oppress,
Where proud Ambition shall no more destroy
The Hymeneal links of happiness,
Form'd by the pensive much-enduring boy.

THE SABINE FARM.

[From the Poem of this name, by ROBERT BRADSTREET, Esq. A.M.]

NOT from 'the wealth of Rome,' her 'smoke and noise,'
For these no more Earth's fallen queen enjoys,
But from the miracles of Art, that rise,
Endless, to tempt, and tire the dazzled eyes;
From glittering shows, and conversations gay—
A never-ceasing round—I steal away,
To where, 'behind Vacuna's mould'ring fane,'
The Sabine poet pour'd his moral strain:
And, in the very shades where he retir'd,
Echo th' immortal verse they once inspir'd:
Nor pass, unsung, each interesting scene.
Whose ruins mark the classic ground between.
But, as we leave Rome's less'ning towers behind,
How the past ages croud upon the mind!
As seen through History's inverted glass,
We mark the distant generations pass;
Till faint, and fainter still, the shadowy host,
Fade gradual on our sight, and all is lost.
In times, that 'scap'd the babbling tongue of Fame,
Ere Rome, or elder Ilion, was a name!
Times, that beheld this very soil aspire,
In awful burst of subterraneous fire!

Line 1. Fumum, et opes, strepitumque Romæ. Hor. B. 3. O. 29. V. 12.
Line 7. Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunæ. Hor. B. 1. E. 10.
Line 22. The whole country about Rome is evidently of volcanic origin, and there are many quarries of lava, which must have flowed before any date of Roman history, as fresh as if they had flowed but yesterday, while others are in an evident state of dissolution. So great have been the natural as well as political revolutions of this most interesting country!

A desart

A desart horrible, of molten stone,
Where Desolation, on her smoking throne,
Reign'd o'er th' inhospitable waste alone!
Till (after many an age had o'er it roll'd)
The crumbling lava turn'd to fertile mould:
While, emblematic of her future doom,
Fate, in th' extinct volcano, cradled Rome.
The rich Saturnian soil becoming then,
" The mighty mother both of fruits and men,"
Gave Valour, Wisdom, Arts, and Virtue birth,
And Rome arose, " fair wonder of the earth."
'Twas here, e'en here, the wide Tiburtine way
'Mid heroes' tombs, through arcs of triumph lay!
Still, Fancy views the nations swarm along,
Thro' the proud city-gates, a vast and various thro
Some guide the wheel, some, flying steeds contro
Some in luxurious litters idly roll:
Part seek the town, and part, the cooling rills,
That winding trickle round yon airy hills;
While in the pomp of peace, or pride of war,
Rome's laurell'd chiefs adorn the trophied car:
And monarch-slaves their various tribute bring,
To swell the triumph of the people-king.
How chang'd the scene!—where'er I turn my e
The very ruins, whelm'd in ruin lie!
Save where, fit archetype of mortal change,
The tomb's huge fragment, or the broken range
Of some far-stretching aqueduct, remain
The " sad historians" of the Roman plain:
Athwart whose widely desolated span,
" Lies, at full length, the nothingness of men."
Muse! check the swelling strain—nor dare reh
Themes that demand a Milton's mighty verse.

Line 29. Varro says, that when Rome was first built, was a marshy lake, the remains of an extinct volcano; whi the story of Curtius leaping into the gulph, &c. See " Des an elegant work, highly interesting to all lovers of classical

Line 30. Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,

Line 35. The modern road to Tivoli follows the ancient very little deviation.

Line 46. The " Campagna di Roma," an immense flat diameter, is almost wholly surrounded by the sea and t former is of course seldom visible, but the Sabine Hills, as present a very magnificent boundary, while to their left

" the blue Soracte spires
Wrapping his sides in tempest."

But (excepting occasional fragments of ruin) the painter seek in vain for a foreground; for he will not find even sc cottage; while the present scene of desolation is made to solate, by the recollection of its former populousness and f

Line 53. Ou, dans tout son etendu, git le Neant de l'h

Not thine to tell, how Time's destroying mace,
Smote the colossal empire's solid base—
Rome's giant image reel'd: then, headlong hurl'd,
Shakes, with its mighty fall, the liberated world.
Not even thine, O Muse, with fond regret,
To mourn the sun of Roman glory set:
No—sport, light insect! in the lingering gleam
Of splendor, which adorns his evening beam.
Yet, of that splendor, scarce a twilight ray
Remaining, gilds the solitary way—
Not e'en thy baths, Agrippa! the proud boast
Of Albula's once hospitable coast;
Whose self incrusting and sulphureous tide
At once the building and the stream supplied!
Still, on its milky breast, the traveller smiles
(Well-pleas'd) to view the sedge-concreted isles,
At anchor in their rushy moorings keep,
Or floating jostle in the stormy deep.
Thus, if we less compare to greater things
(For still the British heart to Britain springs),
Thus, on the queen of ocean's freighted tide,
In guardian state, her floating bulwarks ride:
Or, to the breath of Heav'n (their country's call)
Obedient, rush against th' affrighted Gaul,
And drive his batter'd vessel on the shore,
Or whelm him in the deep, to rise no more.
'Twas this "unfathomable, pale profound,
"That once Albunea's matchless forest crown'd;
"Whose high embowering woods, with shade divine,
"Wav'd o'er old Faunus' venerable shrine;
"Where Latium's anxious King enquir'd his doom,
"Big with the fate of yet unfounded Rome."
Now Rome, with all her pride, is past away,
Like the brief sunshine of a winter-day;
Still the pale stream (no longer sacred) roars
Between its self-form'd, melancholy shores;

Line 66. These baths, which were in such repute as to be frequented by Augustus (by whose name they are more generally known), were built of the stone formed by successive depositions from the inundations of this sulphureous gulph. The colosseum, and the principal buildings of Rome, both ancient and modern, are of the same materials. The quarries now working, being composed of an infinity of such strata, give a pleasing ocular demonstration of the mode of their formation.

Line 72. These exactly answer to Pliny's description of the Lacus Vadimonis,—innatant insulæ herbidæ, &c. The middle part of the lake is so deep, that all attempts to fathom it are said to have been hitherto unsuccessful

Line 82. Virgil could not have invented a more interesting scite for the oracle of Faunus (Æn. B. 9. v. 81) than this lake, when surrounded by a vast forest. Mr. Burke considered the words "sæva Mephitis" as so sublime an expression for an intolerable stink, that the author was almost tempted to retain it in his very close imitation of that fine passage, and read, "Breathes insupportable Mephitis round."

And,

But enter not, (or enter to upbraid
Its massy folly) the Tartarean shade—
For ev'n thy fairy footsteps slow appear,
To visit all that *merits* wonder here:
Weak, ev'n thy heav'n-taught pencil, to retrace
The sculptur'd forms of beauty, grandeur, grace,
That here, though sought for ages, buried lie,
Yet unreveal'd to Taste's enquiring eye:
Though, still of statues fertile, the just soil
With sure reward excites her classic toil.
Haste then, and while the idly-curious roam,
O'er Bath, and Theatre, and Hippodrome;
Seek *thou* the porch, adorn'd with patriot art,
To charm the eye, and meliorate the heart.
Where Polygnotus into figure wrought
Each Virtue Homer sang, and Zeno taught:
Where Marathon's bold chiefs this lesson give—
"The man who for his country dies, shall live
"For ever." On the wings of Plato rise,
From Academus' shade, to worlds above the skies:
Or the great Stagyrite's Lyceum view,
And look all sublunary nature through:
Then own—that nought beneath the moon out-weighs
The glorious breath of Prytanean praise.
This, Hadrian! had thy active soul not swerv'd
From such pure models, *thou* hadst well deserv'd!
But the world's master, (to himself a slave)
While he the reins to lawless passion gave,

pleasingly varied, yet there is nothing within the whole compass of the walls which deserves the name of a *Valley*, particularly when compared with that

——————— per quæ Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis. OVID.

Line 129. The two long vaulted subterraneous passages here probably led to the Elysian fields and *Tartarus* of Hadrian, which appear to have been an expensive absurdity unworthy of his good taste. There is however a modern instance of the same kind in the gardens of the prince of Hesse Cassel at Weissenstein.

Line 137. The number of statues, all excellent in their different kinds, that have been dug up here, is incredible; and even now they seldom make any considerable excavation without finding something. When these lines were written, they had just found an Antinous, for which Pius VI. was said to have given 200ol.

Line 140. There are remains of two theatres, besides immense baths, and a hippodrome, or course, for horse or chariot races, &c.

Line 141. An imitation of the celebrated porch at Athens, painted by Polygnotus which gave name to the Stoic Sect, as the *Academy* did to Pluto's disciples, and their walks in the gardens of the Lyceum to the Peripatetics. To the immortal honour of the artist, it is recorded that he painted it gratuitously.

Line 152. The *Prytaneum* was a tribunal of merit among the Athenians, and its praise accounted the highest possible honour.

To

Sees the proud monument he rais'd to Fame,
Half hidden in the mist of endless shame.
To these poor remnants of her palace gate,
How like was fair Zenobia's hapless fate,
Fall'n, fall'n for ever from her high estate!
Now, the proud empress of th' admiring East:
Now to adorn her Conqueror's triumph drest.
Ah! how couldst thou! whose soul outshone thy
Supreme in arts, victorious long in arms,—
Submit to bow thy yet unbended knee,
Beneath the shining load of misery!
And crouching at the foot of tyrant power,
Beg the precarious blessing of an hour.
Not thus, thy great, rever'd Longinus taught,
Alike sublime in action, as in thought.
When late posterity shall see decay,
And gradual crumble to its native clay,
Yon massy Plautian Monument—his name,
Shall gild the column of eternal fame:
Unchang'd with fortune, and in fetters free,
Who could, unmov'd, the lifted falchion see;
And to Aurelian's victor-footstool driven,
Unbending stand, nor ask to be forgiven.
"This World," he cried, with his expiring breath
"Is the Soul's prison—her deliverer, Death."
Muse! finish here the much excursive Rhyme!
And with the real scene delighted, climb
The swelling side of Tivoli supine,
With olive cloth'd, and intermingling vine:
While rocks of flow'ring alabaster, seen
At openings, chequer the embow'ring green.
'Twas on the precipice that bounds this wood,
The palace of the great Mæcenas stood:
And still fair Anio, with obsequious tides,
Beneath the proud o'er-arching ruin glides;
Then falls, in foamy beauty, to the plain,
Glad to rejoin his parted streams again.
How pleas'd, Imagination's spell recalls
Back to these wisely hospitable walls,
The Sabine bard, with all the choir sublime,
Whose song still charms the list'ning ear of Time:

Line 161. Zenobia was Queen of Palmyra, and maintai
the East for a long time against the power of Aurelian: at le
prisoner, she was led in triumph, and though a very strong
have stopped, declaring that she could not support the we
with which she was loaded. Aurelian spared her life, and g
Tivoli. Longinus, "himself the great sublime he drew,"
treatise on that subject, owned he had assisted her with
scorned to beg his life.

Pleasing, and pleas'd, while care-deserting Power
With Genius mingled in the social hour.
While thus, enchanted, I arround me see,
Objects, that ages past enchanted thee---
With rapture, Horace! I repeat thine ode,
That paints, with master-touch, this fair abode!
Nor wonder "Rhodes, and all the towery train
"Of Grecian cities, for thy praise in vain
"With high Albunea's echoing temple strove;
"With headlong Anio, and Tiburnus' grove;
"And orchards moisten'd with the ductile rills,
"Whose falling silver streaks yon tufted hills."
Such the wish'd seat of thy declining years!
And true to Nature the fair draught appears,
Its lovely tints unconscious of decay,
Now twice a thousand years have roll'd away.
Then why, sweet Poet, should the daring verse,
A scene, the subject of thy song, rehearse?
But let me---winding through the olive-shade,
Where once Catullus and Propertius stray'd---
Descend into the wild, and rocky glen;
That lur'd Vopiscus* from the haunts of men;
In the sweet shade of whose o'erhanging woods,
Fair Anio joys to stay his headlong floods;
Where the whole scene of leafy verdure seems
To plunge, and float upon his silver'd streams:
While Zephyr round, and dewy-feather'd Spray,
Sport in eternal cool, and mock Noon's envious ray.
Here then, in trance delicious, let me lie,
While the kind Muses, to the mental eye,
Bid every charm around me, rise, improv'd
To all their favour'd Statius saw, and lov'd---
And call'd yet unborn ages to admire!
Scenes, that to rapture wak'd his living lyre.
Do I behold---or does the cheated mind,
In its own wish the fair delusion find!
"Yon meeting ruins bridge anew the tide;
"And twin pavilions grace each steepy side,

Line 205. Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis. B. I. O. 7. V. 12.

* The villa which Vopiscus had here was at once so beautiful and singular, that Statius has made it the subject of an entire eclogue. Syl. B. 1. E 3.
This poem, which he boasts of having written in one day, exhibits, (as might be expected) the defects most frequent in that poet, with some lines of great beauty.

Line 235. Stat. Syl. B. 1. Ec. 3.

"With

" With a fair centre, and proportion'd wings,
" While the lov'd tree between, wide-shadowing
" (Fit object for its tasteful owner's care,)
" Through roofs, and columns, to the liquid air!"
O Paradise! O fortunate retreat!
Where Art and Nature, in communion sweet,
Embracing join, to bless th' unrivall'd spot!
Art's beauteous temple overlooks the grot,
By Nature hallow'd in the living stone,
Where Anio's secret fountains rise unknown;
And now in greater, now in less cascades,
In foamy thunder fall through pendant shades.
Meads, vineyards, fruitful gardens, groves, and fi
Of every growth the all-bearing mother yields;
Forming, in grateful change for ever new,
" One happy, rural seat, of various view."
Painting, fair younger sister of the Muse,
In vain brings hither her ten thousand hues,
To fix the headlong torrents, and imprint
Their dust-like spray, with its own rainbow tint;
While all the living graces of the scene,
Wave on her canvas, in immortal green:
Scene---not her lov'd Poussin, her darling Claud
Or bolder Rosa, could attempt, unaw'd!
What wonder then, that every Muse's son,
From smoke, and noise, and Rome---should hith
In scenes so fair, what wonder Beauty rov'd,
Till her tomb sadden'd the sweet shades she lov'
Breath'd for whose loss, Propertius' tuneful sighs
Still murmur " Here the golden Cynthia lies."
Nor these alone---in every age, the Good,
And Great, for thee, divinest Solitude!
Have left the pomp and care, the noise and strife
And all the dull impertinence of Life.

Line 265. The mistress of Propertius, who, as we learn, only lived, but died here.

Nox media est; dominæ mihi venit epistola nost
Tibure me missâ jussit adesse morâ;
Candida quâ geminas ostendunt culmina turres,
Et cadit in patulos lympha Aniena lacus.

'Tis midnight, and a letter from my fair,
Bids me my way to Tibur instant take;
Where two white turrets glitter in the air,
And Anio falls into the spreading lake. Eleg.

Hic Tiburtinâ jacet nuta Cynthia terrâ. Eleg.

Here Plancus* stole, from camps with banners bright,
To thick-wrought groves unpierc'd by garish light:
Here Varus † bade the hoarse war-clarion cease,
And harmoniz'd his soul to arts of peace.
Embower'd in silence here the musing sage
Scann'd with diviner thought the moral page:
School'd in these scenes, Ventidius, ‡ (once a groom,)
Rose the fit Consul of admiring Rome!
Augustus here, Mæcenas' guest and heir, §
Oft from his brows unbound the glitt'ring care;
And left the tasteless splendors of a throne,
To call one safe, Elyzian hour his own.
Here Trajan too the charms of Nature woo'd,
And learnt her godlike lesson---to be good!
Here too, ere Rome degenerate, base, and vain,
Kiss'd e'en a virtuous Despot's silken chain---
The last of Romans, truly Roman, plann'd
Recover'd freedom for his native land. ||
For here, on her lov'd Brutus' patriot eye,
Shone the fair, awful form of Liberty.
Warm in her honest cause she bade him rise,
And, in the glorious struggle, sacrifice
All private feeling to the public weal---
Exclaiming, as he shook his crimson'd steel,
"O Tully! Father of thy country! see
"The Tyrant falls, and Rome again is free."
Britain, like Rome, from Brutus' Trojan sire,
Drew the fair sparks of life, and Freedom's holy fire!
Thus Milton sung---nor lightly shall the Muse
To Milton's song her willing faith refuse.
Blest Albion! though less wond'rous fair the smile
Of Nature on thine ever-verdant isle:
Though on thy chilly Tiburs of the North,
Bleak Boreas sends his ruffian offspring forth,
To sweep their foliage, and with breath severe,
Nip the crude promise of the niggard year—

* ——— Seu de fulgentia signis
Castra tenent: seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. HOR. Ode 8. B. 1.

† The ruins of the villa of Quintilius Varus which still remain, prove it to have been very magnificent, and still give name to the neighbouring small church called Madonna di Quintiliolo.

‡ Ventidius Bassus served under and was promoted by Mark Antony. The senate decreed him a triumph for his victory over the Parthians, in which a man went before his car, exclaiming "He who was once a groom is now a consul."

§ Augustus frequently visited him here; and to him he bequeathed the villa mentioned before.

|| Both Brutus and Cassius had villas at Tibur, and it was there the death of Cæsar was determined on.

To

Enough of great and fair to thee is giv'n,
To charm the eye, and lift the thought to Heav'n
Thy colder, but thy not unkinder air,
Wakes and rewards fair culture's fruitful care:
Braces the nobler growth of public mind,
And fosters Freedom of perennial kind!
Whose goddess-form, in Tusculum's sweet shade,
Great Tully, with a prophet glance,* survey'd;
Ere the fair Triple Power had local birth,
And walk'd with man, on England's favour'd eart
Not yet her martyrs from their clouds complain
Nor mourn, with dying Brutus, Virtue vain.
Not vainly Hampden, Russell, Sidney bled—
Sweet is their rest on yon ethereal bed!
Britons are Britons still; and dare not yield
The charter which her patriot-blood has seal'd!
Britons are Britons still; revere the throne;
Guard all its rights—yet vindicate their own!
What though an honest, yet misguided few,
Would Anarchy, in Freedom's garb, pursue—
What though Corruption's foul and venal charms,
Allure infected numbers to her arms—
The general heart is sound: the general cry
Rings over ocean, "Death, or Liberty!"
Upon his steel-gift throne, with secret fear,
Gaul's bloody tyrant starts that shout to hear:
And Europe's crouching realms with envy see,
One Monarch reigning, and One People free!

* Statuo esse optimè constitutam rempublicam, quæ e illis, regali, optimo, et populari confusa modicè, &c.
Cicero, frag. de F

THE DUKE'S FEAST.

[From Mr. ELTON'S TALES OF ROMAN

THE moon had sunk in clouds; a storm w
And eddy leaves came scattering on the t
The merchant round him turn'd an anxious eye
As yet scarce half the forest length was past;
While mingling with the gloom a deeper dread,
The passing thunder roll'd in murmurs o'er his

The steed shook wild his ruffled mane; around
The oak-trees old rock'd roaring in the gale;
And pines their branches stoop'd with crashing sound;
Drear clos'd the darkness on the lightning pale;
When through the forest breaks a light from high
Shone distant, as it seem'd, a watch-tower in the sky.

With livelier cheer the traveller wound the glade,
Till climbing slow the dark hill's hanging steep,
Th' illuminated turrets he survey'd,
Whose light had glimmer'd thro' those forests deep;
Beneath a stately castle's walls he stood,
That, flank'd with lofty towers, o'ertopp'd th' inferior wood.

Beside the gate was hung a brazen horn;
The pediment was grav'd with golden scroll;
"Here food and shelter wait the wretch forlorn,
"Who owns the treasure of a grateful soul."
The merchant to his lips that horn applied,
The hollow mountain-glens re-echoed far and wide.

Straight quivering streaks illume the granite walls,
From many a gliding torch reflected bright;
Shrill ring the gates; expand the tapestried halls,
And blooming pages guide his steps aright;
With busy hands disrobe the way-worn guest,
And lave in tepid streams, and clothe in downy vest.

Thence o'er a smooth mosaic floor he treads,
Of greenest marble is the vast saloon;
A crystal lamp its chequering lustre sheds,
As o'er some valley shines the shadowy moon;
The figur'd arras waves, and on his sight
Sudden a presence-room bursts in a blaze of light.

His foot on cushion rais'd of cloth of gold,
One sate beneath a purple canopy:
His clustering locks in raven blackness roll'd,
Pale was his hollow cheek, like fire his eye;
In cloak of ermin'd crimson he was clad;
But rueful was his mien; his smile was sad.

Knights in gay green appear'd; and clad in rose
Sate ladies young with pearl-ybraided hair;
The duke Onulphus from his throne arose,
And plac'd the merchant in a golden chair;
Full opposite the duchess thron'd was seen;
Soft was her pensive smile, and chaste her modest mien.

But

But oh! how tempting fair; her hazel eye
Swam dark in beaming languishment of hue;
Her smooth and jetty brows were arch'd on hig
Her shading lashes lengthen'd on the view;
The crimson of her cheek rose mantling warm,
A lucid robe scarce veil'd her lightly rounded fo

None may that bosom's orb'd luxuriance tell,
As marble firm, and dazzling as the snow;
The gazer's heart, while soft it rose and fell,
Beat with a like pulsation to and fro;
And oh! the moisture of the scarlet lip,
That clos'd these pearly teeth, it had been heave

Apart she sat, distinguish'd from the rest,
A violet mantle from her shoulders flow'd;
A zone of diamonds grasp'd her throbbing breas
And on her tapering fingers rubies glow'd;
Gems quiver'd in her ears; and round her head
Gather'd in braiding gold the jetty tresses sprea

Here gaz'd Basilius; nor the lady's gaze
Disdain'd to melt and mingle with his own;
At once his blood was kindled in a blaze,
His pulses throbb'd with tumults yet unknow
Flush'd was his cheek, and humid were his eye
And every nerve was thrill'd with trembling ecs

But still, whene'er he turn'd his eyes aside,
The Duke's stern glance would seem to read h
Then through his heart would icy terrors glide,
Till once again her gaze electric stole
On his attracted gaze, and once again
The guilty flames were shot through every shiv

Now to the trumpet's silver sound behold
The banquet serv'd; the golden beakers shin
The viands rich are pil'd in massive gold,
Reddens in golden cups the sparkling wine;
The merchant swims in bliss; the duke deman
A health, and courteous gives the goblet to his

Then smiling bends the guest his wishful eyes
To that fair Duchess, when the goblet falls
From his slack grasp; what sudden horrors rise
What ghastly spectacle his sight appalls!
In her white hand she held a human skull,
A page stood by with wine, and fill'd it to the

She bows, and lifts it to her smiling lips,
But her smooth brow is ruffled by a frown;
Tears drop into the draught; and, while she sips,
O'er her high-heaving breast run trickling down.
The Merchant on Onulphus turn'd his look;
Again that eagle eye his breast with lightning strook.

Ill far'd the traveller through that horrid feast,
Tho' perfumes breath'd, and music warbled round:
Full glad was he when all the banquet ceas'd,
Fain would he fly from that enchanted ground;
But now those blooming boys the torches bear,
And his reluctant steps ascend the jasper stair.

The plumes of ostrich nodded o'er the bed,
That stood by silver eagles propp'd on high;
The velvet curtains glow'd with deepest red;
And wav'd the walls with pictur'd tapestry;
Large as the life appear'd those shadows bright,
Their stately forms mov'd slow to every breeze of night.

There from the book of Troy was wrought the tale,
Here Helen smil'd at Menelaus' side:
There look'd she back, while far the bellying sail
In flight convey'd her o'er the rolling tide:
Here her white arms enfold th' adulterous boy,
And there she wailing sees the gathering flames of Troy.

There too the mighty Agamemnon bled
Within the marble bath, by ruffian sword;
Here was the feast by Clytemnestra spread,
The gay adulterer grac'd the regal board:
There his good blade the stern Orestes drew,
And o'er a mother's corse his veiling mantle threw.

His arms in musing thought the Merchant folds,
And, touch'd with sadness, views the storied walls:
When sudden he a gilded niche beholds,
As with slant gleam the lamp reflected falls;
Within the niche two glooming tapers burn,
Whose flickering light shows dim an alabaster urn.

Who may the stranger's shuddering anguish paint,
When in that vase he look'd, and saw enclos'd
A human heart!—with rising horror's faint
He sought his couch; and lay, but not repos'd;
When clang'd the doors; and lo! the Duke—who led
That lovely dame, her locks dishevell'd from her head.

That heart, with myrrh and cassia balm'd, he to
And to her lips with courteous mockery rais'd
That heart she kiss'd, while he with searching lc
On her flush'd cheek unalterably gaz'd:
Then, while her sobbing breast rose heaving fas
The vase was clos'd, and they from forth the ch

Up sprang the trav'ller when the morning brok
And left the chamber with a beating breast;
The Duke encountering smil'd, and gracious sp
And ask'd if sweet his fare, if soft his rest;
Basilius bow'd the knee, but frankly said,
How that his breast was scar'd, and terrified his

Stern smil'd his host, and led him where a roon
Was rich with painting, gold, and ebony:
Without the casements roses wreath'd their blo
And woodbines droop'd in cluster'd canopy:
Its blossom'd boughs the myrtle green entwin'd,
And orange-trees with sweets impregnated the v

Rare needle-work the colour'd hangings wove,
The silken scene did loyal loves display:
Knights in their helmets wore the gage of love,
Or at the feet of damsels courteous lay:
But all was stilly gloom; what seem'd a bed
Rose underneath an arch, with sable pall o'ersp

Unseen the harp is touch'd; the whilst they tas
The luscious fruit, and drink metheglin swee
Slow to the Merchant's thought the moment's w
Till rose the Duke in silence from his seat;
That sable pall he rais'd, and pointing stood;
The azure couch blush'd red—it was the stain of

Then pray'd the trembling merchant to depart,
The gorgeous misery sicken'd on his brain;
The mystic drinking-skull; th' embalmed heart
The purple horror of the secret stain!—
"Lo! here," Onulphus cried, "my bridal bow
"And here my consort clasp'd her guilty param

"Like thee, my guest, he caught the roving gl
"Of Rosimund, and lur'd her to her shame;
"I saw; I found them in their sinful trance,
"And quench'd in blood the barb'rous ingrat
"It is the will of heaven that I should be
"The still-avenging scourge of her inconstancy.

" This carbuncle that on my finger glows
" Was once a living serpent's precious eye:
" Thus did an Arab sage his night's repose
" Requite, of necromantic potency:
" For still, when woman's faith would go astray,
" This modest jewel pales its bright and sanguine ray.

" And still, whene'er her thoughts to vice incline,
" That cup is brought to med'cine her offence;
" And tears of rage then mingle with her wine,
" Would they were chang'd to tears of penitence!
" I may not dare, till she be chaste and true,
" So warn'd by holy dreams, remit the penance due.

" Now go in peace!" he said, and clasp'd him round
With courteous arms; the gates unfolding rang;
A barb with golden bit there paw'd the ground,
The grateful Merchant to the saddle sprang:
Pensive he left the castle-walls; but thence
He bore a wiser heart, and firmer innocence.

RETROSPECTION.

[From the same.]

IS there who, when long years have past away,
Revisits in his manhood's prime the spot
Where stray'd his careless boyhood, nor in trance
Of recollection lost, feels silent joy
Flow in upon his heart? Whatever cares
Enthrall his weary spirit, let him feel
The gale upon his cheek, that whispering waves
The well-known tuft of trees, and dimples slow
The recollected stream, thought's busy train
Shall glance like pictur'd shadows o'er his mind:
Each airy castle of enthusiast youth
Shall dawn upon his fancy, like the towers
That sparkle in some forest of romance:
Each shade of circumstance that mark'd the scene
Of young existence, touch'd with fairy tint,
Sheds beauty not its own: that life of hope
And generous expectation, when the man
Was teeming in the boy, and the young mind,
Pleas'd with its own exertion, acted o'er
Each future impulse, and put forth the germs
Of native character. It cannot be—

Unless

Unless his heart is deaden'd by
Of that mere worldliness, whic
In a factitious apathy of soul;
Unless, in vain and vacant ign
He wondering smiles at those t
Those pure unworldly feelings,
Our nature o'er the sphere of a
Which lend the poet's gaze its
And bid the trembling note of
Tears down the listener's cheek
But his whole heart must softe
Amid these peaceful scenes; bu
Which time has stamp'd upon
Must for a moment smooth the
And e'en the long remorse wild
Rest from the goading of its se
Scene of my boyish years! I n
These natural feelings. Let m
Here on this grassy bank; ben
Whose high boughs murmur w
That sooth'd me when a child:
Of the dull chime that summor
Nought heeding, by the river-
Of liberty enamour'd, and the
As yon gray turrets rest in tren
On its transparent depth, the d
Press on awaken'd fancy; wher
From sport, I wander'd on its l
Where not a sound disturb'd th
But such as fitly blends with sil
The whispering sedge—the ripp
Or bird's faint note: and not a
Save of some hamlet-spire in w
Spake to the sight of earth's inh
Then have I rush'd, prone fron
And given my limbs to struggle
And midst those waters felt a k
How soft thy milky temperatur
Salubrious Thames! associate w
Thy stream to thrilling fancy fl
I languish in the sun-blaze; an
Ingenuous friendships, feats of
That reck'd not stern controul,
The toils of letter'd lore, and th
Of Him,* who, e'en upbraiding

* Of Mr. Savage, whose name must
tores of Horace, let me be permitted to
of tuition was calculated to exemplify
made instruction pleasant; and was th

On sooth'd remembrance throng. I would not feign
A fond repining which I did not feel;
I would not have the intermediate years
Roll back to second infancy, nor live
Again the life that haunts my memory thus
With sweet sensations: for the simple child
Is all unconscious of his pleasant lot;
His little world, like man's vast universe,
Is darken'd by its storms; and he, like man,
Creates his own disquietudes and fears;
And oft with murmurings vain of discontent,
Or bursts of idle passion, personates
His future part; the character of man.
No—'tis the cant of mock misanthropy
That dwells on childish pleasures; which the child
With light insensibility enjoys,
Or rather scorns; while on his eager view
The future prospect opens, still in sight,
Still ardently desir'd. The Power all-wise
Alike to manhood and to infancy
Has dealt the dole of pleasures and of pains;
And manhood has its toys; its happy dreams;
Its gay anticipations, e'en as youth.
Not with a sigh of mournful, vain regret
I visit these green haunts; this placid stream;
But, while the scene to memory's retrospect
Reflects th' illusive tint which fancy throws
Upon the distant past, Hope too expands
Her gilded prospects; and the future smile;
With colours indistinct, but beautiful
As the dim clouds by gleams of daybreak ting'd
Ere the red sun-rise paints the mountain's brow:
I so am fram'd, that no depressing gloom
Has power to damp my shaping energies;
But still, as when a child, my glance can dart
Bright o'er the illumin'd future, and create
Its own ideal world of hope and joy.

ciple of love. Should these insignificant pages ever meet his eye, he may not be displeased to find that

The muse attends him to the silent shade.

I trust I shall be forgiven the excusable egotism, of paying this tribute of gratitude and respect to an elegant scholar, and most amiable man.

SYBILLE.

SYBILLE.

[From Miss MITF

FAIR Wansbeck, when t
Is deck'd with May s
And thy clear waters circli
Round Mitford's mossy t

How lovely is the bloomin
By woody mountains bou
The spire high rises in the
The village smiles aroun

The modest mansion on th
Beams in the brightening
Mitford's proud turrets cro
And all the vale is gay.

But dark is thy tempestuo
When sad November lou
And through old Bothall's
The foaming torrent pou

Then e'en the oak's last li
The slippery path-way s
The long brown grass the
And mocks the uncertai

The lady's chapel rises the
Amid the darkening glo
Its mouldering walls still t
The maniac's lonely tom

No roof has crown'd thos
For many a wintry day
An aged ash high o'er the
With moss and lichens

The dreaded spot the pea
For in the torrent's swe
He hears fair Sybille's pie
Or the sad passing bell.

And in the raging of the
When the blue lightnin
He sees pale Sybille's sh
Swift flitting through

Gay summer smil'd on Bothall bowers;
The setting sun's resplendent beam
Illumin'd fair Mitford's mossy towers,
Tinging with gold the living stream.

High o'er the flood the castle steep
Rear'd its proud head in feudal state;
Wav'd the broad banner on the keep;
Frown'd darkly grim the arched gate.

No pleasant sound of wassel gay
Rung round Lord Bertram's splendid board;
Dark frowning, like his turrets grey,
Sate at the feast the haughty lord.

With Norman William Bertram came;
De Mitford's lovely heir he saw;
The conqueror own'd his favorite's claim;
And William's word was England's law.

Vainly the suppliant fair-one knelt,
Vainly she spurn'd a foreign yoke;
The King nor love nor pity felt—
She wept, but yielded to the stroke.

Not long she wept. Two lingering years
Two lovely smiling babes had given,
Still faster flow'd the mother's tears,
Till her soul sought its native heaven.

Goodly and brave, the youthful heir
To battle leads his father's power;
And gay, and innocent, and fair,
His Sybille blooms; a northern flower!

And now, the Baron leaves the hall;
His chieftains pass the goblet round,
When from the castle's outer wall
Arose a harp's melodious sound.

Dark brows and rugged breasts had they;
But, who the minstrel's power withstands?
Who loves not well the rapturous lay,
Or pleasant tales from distant lands?

Well pleas'd the stubborn warriors smil'd;
The iron gates were backward flung:
And soon the harper's descant wild
Through Mitford's echoing turrets rung.

In manly beauty's youthful glow
Was he, who touch'd the tuneful string,
Dark clustering o'er his polish'd brow,
Hung ringlets like the raven's wing.

Stately his form, and proud his mien;
High genius sparkled in his eye,
Soft'ning from glances wild and keen,
To smiles of cherub infancy.

They saw, they lov'd—The harp still rung
To airs of love in Mitford tow'r.
Of war, of fame, no more he sung,
But high-born beauty's gentle pow'r.

Nor wealth, nor rank on Albert smil'd;
He knew no father's fostering care,
A widow'd mother rear'd the child,
Deep in the wilds of Provence fair.

But far from his romantic home
He sought Italia's blissful strand,
For Albert long'd the world to roam,
To visit every distant land.

" O he had wander'd far and wide
" Through vales, where Arno's waters flow,
" Seen the bright dames, Iberia's pride,
" And Grecian nymphs with necks of snow!

" But not in Tempe's classic shade
" Had he so sweet a valley seen;
" Nor e'er beheld so fair a maid,
" As she who tripp'd o'er Mitford green."

The blushing girl, with accents mild
And gentle chidings, check'd his praise:
But still she listen'd, still she smil'd,
Whilst Albert pour'd his am'rous lays.

No hopes had they the Baron proud
Would e'er the minstrel's vows approve,
For noble youths to Sybille bow'd,
And sought the blue-ey'd maiden's love.

Gay summer now was fading fast;
The robin twitter'd from the wood,
And scatter'd by th' autumnal blast,
The yellow leaves sail'd down the flood.

Still the fond youth his pas
A smile half lit her dowr
" O! if of Sybille's heart p
" Albert can ev'ry care d

" Far from the scenes of p
" We'll seek some wood-
" Content, and innocence,
" With happy love, shall

" At morn these sinewy lir
" (How blest to labour,
" At ev'ning with the villa
" We'll join in rustic rev

" Haste then, my fair! a l
" E'en now at Mary's cl
" Thy father loiters at the
" The weary warder lea

" My Sybille, come!" He
Can scarce her slender fc
Hope, fear, and love, conte
Scarce can she cross the

" My Sybille, come!" Pro
The maiden's gentle bos
Her azure eyes are dimm'd
Tears soon dispell'd by r

No more she turns; to Mi
No more her ling'ring f
Lightly she trips through l
Ting'd by the parting b

There in the virgin's chap
By Wansbeck's swiftly-f
The holy father blest the
And Albert clasp'd his l

'Twas night, and darkness
Save where the silver m
Danc'd upon Wansbeck's
Or kiss'd the chapel's h

And nought the solemn s
Save the clear water's
The night-breeze murm'ri
Or the dark bat quick

But soon a thousand torches shine!
Wild shouts the sleeping echoes rouse!
And Sybille sinks by Mary's shrine,
Where late she pledg'd her stolen vows.

Soon, soon they pierce the holy walls!
The minstrel draws his trusty blade;
"Revenge!" the madden'd father calls,
And furious spurns the weeping maid.

They fight—the husband and the sire!
They fight—and desp'rate is the strife;
Still fiercer glows their mutual ire,
Nor heeds the daughter and the wife.

Frantic she darts between the foes—
The Baron's sword is dipp'd in gore,
O'er her fair form the life-blood flows,
And Sybille falls—to rise no more!

Who is that chief on Judah's strand,
Who, reckless of the mortal wound,
Hews desp'rate 'mid the Paynim band,
Strewing with mangled heaps the ground?

And who is he, whose raven hair
Is tann'd by sun and wet with rain,
Who lies on Mary's pavement bare,
Bathing with tears the bloody stain?

That chief—may Heaven its mercy shew!
That wretched youth in woe unmov'd—
That chief is he who gave the blow,
That youth is he whom Sybille lov'd.

THE SWERGA.

[From Mr. Southey's Kehama.]

THEN in the Ship of Heaven, Ereenia laid
The waking, wondering Maid;
The Ship of Heaven, instinct with thought, display'd
Its living sail, and glides along the sky.
On either side in wavy tide,
The clouds of morn along its path divide;
The Winds who swept in wild career on high,

Before

The Winds that loitering lagg'd along th
Around the living bark enamour'd
Swell underneath the sail, and sing befo
That Bark, in shape, was like the furro
Wherein the Sea-Nymphs to their par
On festal-day, their duteous offerings
Its hue?... Go watch the last green
Ere Evening yields the western sky to
Or fix upon the Sun thy strenuous
Till thou has reach'd its orb of chry
The sail from end to end display
Bent, like a rainbow, o'er the M
An Angel's head, with visual ey
Through trackless space, directs its cho
Nor aid of wing, nor foot, nor f
Requires to voyage o'er the obedien
Smooth as the swan, when not a breez
Disturbs the surface of the silver st
Through air and sunshine sails the Ship

Recumbent there the Maiden glides
On her aerial way,
How swift she feels not, though the sw
Had flagg'd in flight behind
Motionless as a sleeping babe she
An all serene in mind,
Feeling no fear; for that etherea
With such new life and joyance fill'd
Fear could not enter there;
For sure she deem'd her mortal part
And she was sailing to the heavenly
And that angelic form, who mov'd
Was some good Spirit sent to be he

Daughter of Earth! therein thou deem
And never yet did form more bea
In dreams of night descending from
Bless the religious Virgin's gifted
Nor, like a vision of delight
Rise on the raptur'd Poet's inwar
Of human form divine was h
The immortal Youth of Heaven who
Even such as that divinest form s
In those blest stages of our onwar
When no infirmity,
Low thought, nor base desire, nor wa
Deface the semblan of our heave
The wings of E le or of Cher
Had seem' worthy him

Angelic power and dignity and grace
Were in his glorious pennons; from the neck
Down to the ankle reach'd their swelling web,
Richer than robes of Tyrian dye, that deck
Imperial Majesty:
Their colour like the winter's moonless sky
When all the stars of midnight's canopy
Shine forth; or like the azure deep at noon,
Reflecting back to heaven a brighter blue.
Such was their tint when clos'd, but when outspread,
The permeating light
Shed through their substance thin a varying hue;
Now bright as when the Rose,
Beauteous as fragrant, gives to scent and sight
A like delight; now like the juice that flows
From Douro's generous vine,
Or ruby when with deepest red it glows;
Or as the morning clouds refulgent shine
When, at forthcoming of the Lord of Day,
The Orient, like a shrine,
Kindles as it receives the rising ray,
And heralding his way,
Proclaims the presence of the power divine.
Thus glorious were the wings
Of that celestial Spirit, as he went
Disporting through his native element.
Nor these alone
The gorgeous beauties that they gave to view;
Through the broad membrane branch'd a pliant bone,
Spreading like fibres from their parent stem;
Its veins like interwoven silver shone,
Or as the chaster hue
Of pearls that grace some Sultan's diadem.
Now with slow stroke and strong, behold him smite
The buoyant air, and now in gentler flight,
On motionless wing expanded, shoot along.

Through air and sunshine sails the Ship of Heaven.
Far far beneath them lies
The gross and heavy atmosphere of earth;
And with the Swerga gales,
The Maid of mortal birth,
At every breath, a new delight inhales.
And now towards its port the Ship of Heaven,
Swift as a falling meteor, shapes its flight,
Yet gently as the dews of night that gem,
And do not bend the hare-bell's slenderest stem.
Daughter of Earth, Ereenia cried, alight,
This is thy place of rest, the Swerga this,
Lo, here my bower of bliss!

He

He furl'd his azure wings, which round
Graceful as robes of Grecian chief of
The happy Kailyal knew not where to
Her eyes around in joyful wonder ro
Now turn'd upon the lovely Glendov
Now on his heavenly home.

MOUNT MERU.

[From the same.]

SWIFT through the sky the vessel of t
Sails up the fields of ether like an A
Rich is the freight, O Vessel, that thou
Beauty and Virtue;
Fatherly cares and filial veneratio
Hearts which are prov'd and strengthen'd by
Manly resentment, fortitude and ac
Womanly goodness;
All with which Nature halloweth her da
Tenderness, truth and purity and mee
Piety, patience, faith and resignati
Love and devotement.
Ship of the Gods! how richly art thou
Proud of the charge, thou voyagest rej
Clouds float around to honour thee, and
Lingers in heaven.

A stream descends on Meru mount
None hath seen its secret fountai
It had its birth, so Sages say,
Upon the memorable day
When Parvati presumed to lay,
In wanton play,
Her hands, too venturous Goddess, in h
On Seeva's eyes, the light and life of
Thereat the heart of the Universe stoc
The Elements ceas'd their influences; t
Stopt on the eternal round; Motion an
Time, Change, and Life and Dea
In sudden trance opprest, forgot their
A moment, and the dread eclipse was
But, at the thought of Nature thus su
The sweat on Seeva's forehead sto
And Ganges thence upon the World de
The Holy River, this Redeeming F

None hath seen its secret fountain;
But on the top of Meru mountain
Which rises o'er the hills of earth,
In light and clouds, it hath its mortal birth.
Earth seems that pinnacle to rear
Sublime above this wordly sphere,
Its cradle, and its altar, and its throne;
And there the new-born River lies
Outspread beneath its native skies,
As if it there would love to dwell
Alone and unapproachable.
Soon flowing forward, and resign'd
To the will of the Creating Mind,
It springs at once, with sudden leap,
Down from the immeasurable steep.
From rock to rock, with shivering force rebounding,
The mighty cataract rushes; Heaven around,
Like thunder, with the incessant roar resounding,
And Meru's summit shaking with the sound.
Wide spreads the snowy foam, the sparkling spray
Dances aloft; and ever there, at morning,
The earliest sun-beams haste to wing their way,
With rain-bow wreaths the holy flood adorning;
And duly the adoring Moon at night
Sheds her white glory there,
And in the watery air
Suspends her halo-crowns of silver light.

A mountain valley in its blessed breast
Receives the stream, which there delights to lie,
Untroubled and at rest,
Beneath the untainted sky.
There in a lovely lake it seems to sleep,
And thence, through many a channel dark and deep,
Their secret way the holy Waters wind,
Till, rising underneath the root
Of the Tree of Life on Hemakoot,
Majestic forth they flow to purify mankind.

Towards this Lake, above the nether sphere,
The living Bark, with angel eye,
Directs its course along the obedient sky.
Kehama hath not yet dominion here;
And till the dreaded hour,
When Indra by the Rajah shall be driven
Dethron'd from Heaven,
Here may Ladurlad rest beyond his power.
The living Bark alights; the Glendoveer

Here

Then lays Ladurlad by the blessed Lake;
O happy Sire, and yet more happy Daughter!
The ethereal gales his agony aslake,
His daughters's tears are on his cheek,
His hand is in the water;
The innocent man, the man opprest,
Oh joy!—hath found a place of rest
Beyond Kehama's sway,
His Curse extends not here; his pains have past away.

Oh happy Sire, and happy Daughter!
Ye on the banks of that celestial water
Your resting place and sanctuary have found,
What! hath not then their mortal taint defil'd
The sacred solitary ground?
Vain thought! the Holy Valley smil'd
Receiving such a sire and child;
Ganges, who seem'd asleep to lie,
Beheld them with benignant eye,
And rippled round melodiously,
And roll'd her little waves, to meet
And welcome their beloved feet.
The gales of Swerga thither fled,
And heavenly odours there were shed
About, below, and overhead;
And Earth rejoicing in their tread,
Hath built them up a blooming Bower,
Where every amaranthine flower
Its deathless blossom interweaves
With bright and undecaying leaves.

Three happy beings are there here,
The Sire, the Maid, the Glendoveer!
A fourth approaches,—who is this
That enters in the Bower of Bliss?
No form so fair might painter find
Among the daughters of mankind;
For Death her beauties hath refin'd,
And unto her a form hath given
Fram'd of the elements of Heaven;
Pure dwelling-place for perfect mind,
She stood and gaz'd on sire and child;
Her tongue not yet had power to speak,
The tears were streaming down her cheek;
And when those tears her sight beguil'd,
And still her faltering accents fail'd,

The Spirit, mute and motionless,
Spread out her arms for the caress,
Made still and silent with excess
Of love and painful happiness.

The Maid that lovely form survey'd;
Wistful she gaz'd, and knew her not;
But Nature to her heart convey'd
A sudden thrill, a startling thought,
A feeling many a year forgot,
Now like a dream anew recurring,
As if again in every vein
Her mother's milk was stirring.
With straining neck and earnest eye
She stretch'd her hands imploringly,
As if she fain would have her nigh,
Yet fear'd to meet the wish'd embrace,
At once with love and awe opprest.
Not so, Ladurlad; he could trace,
Though brighten'd with angelic grace,
His own Yedillian's earthly face:
He ran and held it to his breast!
Oh joy above all joys of Heaven,
By Death alone to others given,
This moment hath to him restor'd
The early-lost, the long-deplor'd.

They sin who tell us Love can die.
With life all other passions fly,
All others are but vanity.
In Heaven Ambition cannot dwell,
Nor Avarice in the vaults of Hell;
Earthly these passions of the Earth,
They perish where they have their birth;
But Love is indestructible.
Its holy flame for ever burneth,
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth;
Too oft on Earth a troubled guest,
At times deceiv'd, at times opprest,
It here is tried and purified,
Then hath in Heaven its perfect rest:
It soweth here with toil and care,
But the harvest-time of Love is there.
Oh! when a Mother meets on high
The Babe she lost in infancy,
Hath she not then, for pains and fears,
The day of woe, the watchful night,
For all her sorrow, all her tears,
An over-payment of delight!

A blessed family is this
Assembled in the Bower of Bliss!
Strange woe, Ladurlad, hath been thine,
And pangs beyond all human measure,
And thy reward is now divine,
A foretaste of eternal pleasure.
He knew indeed there was a day
When all these joys would pass away,
And he must quit this blest abode;
And, taking up again the spell,
Groan underneath the baleful load,
And wander o'er the world again
Most wretched of the sons of men:
Yet was this brief repose, as when
A traveller in the Arabian sands,
Half-fainting on his sultry road,
Hath reach'd the water-place at last;
And resting there beside the Well,
Thinks of the perils he has past,
And gazes o'er the unbounded plain,
The plain which must be travers'd still,
And drinks, . . yet cannot drink his fill;
Then girds his patient loins again.
So to Ladurlad now was given
New strength, and confidence in Heaven,
And hope, and faith invincible.
For often would Ereenia tell
Of what in elder days befell,
When other Tyrants, in their might,
Usurp'd dominion o'er the earth;
And Veeshnoo took a human birth,
Deliverer of the Sons of men;
And slew the huge Ermaccasen,
And piece-meal rent, with lion force,
Errenen's accursed corse,
And humbled Baly in his pride;
And when the Giant Ravanen
Had borne triumphant, from his side,
Sita, the earth-born God's beloved bride,
Then, from his island kingdom, laugh'd to scorn
The insulted husband, and his power defied;
How to revenge the wrong in wrath he hied,
Bridging the sea before his dreadful sway,
And met the hundred-headed foe,
And dealt him the unerring blow;
By Brama's hand the righteous lance was given,
And by that arm immortal driven,
It laid the mighty Tyrant low;
And Earth and Ocean, and high Heaven,
Rejoiced to see his overthrow.

Oh! doubt not thou, Yedillian cried,
Such fate Kehama will betide;
For there are Gods who look below,...
Seeva, the Avenger, is not blind,
Nor Veeshnóo careless for mankind.

Thus was Ladurlad's soul imbued
With hope and holy fortitude;
And Child and Sire, with pious mind
Alike resolv'd, alike resign'd,
Look'd onward to the evil day:
Faith was their comfort, Faith their stay;
They trusted woe would pass away,
And Tyranny would sink subdued,
And Evil yield to Good.

Lovely wert thou, O Flower of Earth!
Above all flowers of mortal birth;
But fostered in this blissful bower
From day to day, and hour to hour,
Lovelier grew the lovely flower.
O blessed, blessed company!
When men and heavenly spirits greet,
And they whom Death had severed meet,
And hold again communion sweet;...
O blessed, blessed company!
The Sun, careering round the sky,
Beheld them with rejoicing eye,
And bade his willing Charioteer
Relax their speed as they drew near;
Arounin check'd the rainbow reins,
The seven green coursers shook their manes,
And brighter rays around them threw;
The Car of glory in their view
More radiant, more resplendent grew;
And Surya, through his veil of light,
Beheld the Bower, and blest the sight.
The Lord of Night, as he sail'd by,
Stay'd his pearly boat on high;
And, while around the blissful Bower
He bade the softest moonlight flow,
Lingered to see that earthly flower,
Forgetful of his Dragon foe,
Who, mindful of their ancient feud,
With open jaws of rage pursued.
There all good Spirits of the air,
Suras and Devetas repair,
Aloft they love to hover there
And view the flower of mortal birth
Here, for her innocence and worth,

Transplanted

Transplanted from the fields of earth;...
And him who, on the dreadful day
When Heaven was filled with consternation,
And Indra trembled with dismay,
And, for the sounds of joy and mirth,
Woe was heard, and lamentation,
Defied the Rajah in his pride,
Though all in Heaven and Earth beside
Stood mute in dolorous expectation;
And rushing forward in that hour,
Saved the Swerga from his power.
Grateful for this they hover nigh,
And bless the blessed company.

One God alone, with wanton eye,
Beheld them in their Bower;
O ye, he cried, who have defied
The Rajah, will ye mock my power?
'Twas Camdeo riding on his lory,
'Twas the immortal youth of Love;
If men below and Gods above,
Subject alike, quoth he, have felt these darts,
Shall ye alone, of all in story,
Boast impenetrable hearts?
Hover here, my gentle lory,
Gently hover, while I see
To whom hath Fate decreed the glory,
To the Glendoveer or me.

Then in the dewy evening sky,
The bird of gorgeous plumery
Pois'd his wings and hover'd nigh.
It chanced at that delightful hour
Kailyal sate before the Bower,
On the green bank with amaranth sweet,
Where Ganges warbled at her feet.
Ereenia there, before the Maid,
His sails of ocean-blue displayed;
And sportive in her sight,
Mov'd slowly o'er the lake with gliding flight;
Anon, with sudden stroke and strong,
In rapid course careering, swept along;
Now shooting downward from his heavenly height,
Plunged in the deep below,
Then rising, soar'd again,
And shook the sparkling waters off like rain,
And hovering o'er the silver-surface hung.
At him young Camdeo bent the bow;
With living bees the bow was strung,
The fatal bow of sugar-cane,

And

And flowers which would inflame the heart,
With their petals barb'd the dart.

The shaft, unerringly addrest,
Unerring flew, and smote Ereenia's breast.
Ah, Wanton! cried the Glendoveer,
Go aim at idler hearts,
Thy skill is baffled here!
A deeper love I bear that Maid divine,
Sprung from a higher will,
A holier power than thine!
A second shaft, while thus Ereenia cried,
Had Camdeo aim'd at Kailyal's side,
But, lo! the Bees which strung his bow
Broke off, and took their flight.
that sweet Flower of earth they wing their way,
Around her raven tresses play,
And buzz about her with delight,
As if, with that melodious sound,
They strove to pay their willing duty
To mortal purity and beauty.
Ah, Wanton! cried the Glendoveer,
No power hast thou for mischief here!
Chuse thou some idler breast,
For these are proof, by nobler thoughts possest.
Go to thy plains of Matra go,
And string again thy broken bow!
Rightly Ereenia spake; and ill had thoughts
Of earthly love beseem'd the sanctuary
Where Kailyal had been wafted, that the Soul
Of her dead Mother there might strengthen her,
Feeding her with the milk of heavenly lore,
And influxes of Heaven imbue her heart
With hope and faith, and holy fortitude,
Against the evil day. Here rest awhile
In peace, O Father! mark'd for misery
Above all sons of men; O Daughter! doom'd
For sufferings and for trials above all
Of women;... yet both favour'd, both belov'd
By all good Powers, here rest awhile in peace.

DOMESTIC

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

BIBICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

THE year of which we are now about to take a retrospect has been richer in biblical criticism than many that have preceded it. We shall notice the works by which it has been distinguished in the order of their merits, and shall commence with the "Biblia Hebraica, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, without Points, after the text of Kennicott, with the chief various readings, selected from his collection of Hebrew MSS. from that of de Rossi, and from the ancient versions; accompanied with English notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, selected from the most approved ancient and modern English and foreign Biblical critics. Part I. comprising the book of Genesis. Royal Quarto, price 7s. Pontefract, for the Editor and Printer, B. Boothroyd."

We have copied the whole title-page of Mr. Boothroyd's work, as containing an epitome of the means by which he purposes to carry his important object into execution. We were not a little pleased with the novelty of seeing the different qualities of a printer, and of a good biblical critic, and apparently of a good general scholar, united in the same person: and a person, too, residing in a provincial town. The age of Erpenius and of the Stephenses, is so far returned, and we trust it will long continue; and that among the extensive fraternity of our typographists, there may never cease to be many who may be judges not only of the manner in which a book of ancient learning is worked off, but of the matter which it contains. It would give the fairest promise of immaculate editions; and furnish us with an extensive supply of the best literature at the cheapest rate. The received text is that selected on the present occasion; but the disputed readings are noticed in various ways according to the scale of their importance, sometimes by chasms, sometimes by brackets, sometimes by simple notation; and where they are of considerable consequence, by an inner margin and by notes. The inner margin is conducted upon the plan of that in Wetstein's Greek Testament, and is confined to the editor's selection of various readings: this selection including,

including, first, all the various readings which are found in any of the ancient versions, whether supported by the authority of MSS. or not; and, secondly, those readings from MSS. or editions which supply an acknowledged deficiency in the text; though when a various reading has no connexion with the context, and is not supported by the authority of any of the versions, it is deemed wholly inadmissible by the editor.

The text is neat and elegant, but without the points. We are not quite certain that Mr. Boothroyd has acted prudently in their rejection. For ourselves we hold them in little general estimation, though sometimes useful in deciding an early sense given to a controverted passage; but as great numbers of biblical scholars still continue of a different opinion, the edition now offered will lose the chance of being purchased by such persons; while, had the points been introduced, they would have formed no obstacle to as extensive a purchase by scholars who do not use them, as we trust the edition will experience in its present form. And on this view of the subject, and on no other, we lately advised a stereotype edition of Leusden's text, which we have reason to believe will soon be carried into execution.

The notes are both critical and explanatory; they form a running commentary, and occupy about half the work, so far as it has hitherto proceeded. They consist of original remarks by the editor himself, with extracts and abridgements from the ancient Jewish targumists, and commentators, as well as from an extensive body of Christian critics and divines; such as Buxtorf, Bochart, Dathe, Rosenmüller, Houbigant, Dimock, Pilkington, Shuckford, Kennicott, and Geddes. The notes are in English; but it is somewhat extraordinary, that in quoting from the Septuagint, the editor should give neither the Greek characters, nor the English rendering of the passages, but should transpose or translate them into Hebrew. We can see no other advantage from such a conduct, than that of proving himself to be a good Hebrew proficient. As a mere specimen of the manner in which the text is given, we shall observe that, in Gen. i. 6. the expression, "*and it was so*," (ויהי כן) is subjoined in brackets, upon the authority of the Septuagint, which contains *και εγενετο ουτως*. In like manner, in v. 8. and upon the same authority, the expression, "and God saw that it was good:" (וירא אלהים כי טוב) is introduced as a middle part of the verse, which is consequently made to consist of a triplet instead of a distich, or beit (بيت) as in the common reading. So again, at the close of v. 9, we have the following addition inserted in like manner in brackets, from the same ancient version, *και συνηχθη το υδωρ το υποκατω του ουρανου εις τας συναγωγας αυτων, και ωφθη η ξηρα*: "for the waters under the heavens were gathered together unto one place, and the dry land appeared." Whether these and similar passages existing in the Greek text, ever had an existence in the Hebrew, and have been accidentally dropped by the carelessness of transcription, it is not possible to determine accurately in the present day. But as no object could be proposed by originating them in the Greek, it is far more rational to suppose that they were actually found in the Hebrew copy, from which the Septuagint was rendered.

"The New Testament, translated from the Latin in the year 1380,

1380, by John Wiclif, D. D. to which are prefixed memoirs of the life, opinions, and writings of Dr. Wiclif; and an historical account of the Saxon and English versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the fifteenth century. By the Rev. R. H. Baber." Royal quarto. Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* This edition of Wiclif's translation professes to be a correct reprint of Mr. Lewis's, published in 1731: which was taken from two MSS. one of which was the property of Mr. Lewis, and the other of Sir Edward Dering. The manuscript was collated by the learned Dr. Daniel Waterland, with ten MSS. deposited in different libraries at Cambridge; and afterwards by Mr. Lewis, with six of the most curious MSS. at Oxford. This edition Mr. Baber, from his situation as assistant librarian at the British Museum, has enriched with a few communications, which enhances its value; and we agree with the learned editor, that the reader will here also "find a more correct statement than has yet appeared of the earliest translations of the whole or particular portions of the inspired writings;" and we may add, that he will probably find them considerably more numerous than he had previously any expectation of.

As an authority to the establishment of the original text, this book is of little or no value; for it professes to be nothing more than a translation at second hand, the mere shadow of a shade; but the shades are beautiful, and will be found to give a very exact profile. In another point of view, however, we hail most cordially the reprint before us, and regard it as a work of considerable importance. We behold in it the first full attempt to propagate a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in "*proper Ynglyshe,*" and as the ground-work of that noble monument of elegance and critical skill, which exists in the standard version of our own day:—an elegance which has shone with almost unabated splendour for nearly two centuries; and a critical skill which cannot be better described than by stating to the English reader, that though it was published nearly thirteen *years*, before the Greek text of the Elzivirs (or that in common use) was digested, and which was even assisted by king James's version, coincides more nearly with the Greek text, as settled by Griesbach, in our own day, after a life of forty years devoted to an adjustment of the disputed passages. Upon which subject we beg leave to refer the reader to the New Annual Register for 1809, part Domestic Literature, p. p. 307, 311.

Wiclif is well known to have been the morning star of the reformation; and the example he set by the present vernacular version, has proved of far more extensive influence than to our own country; for it infused a spirit for national translations over the whole theatre of Protestant Europe, and was the first means of enabling the Bible Societies of different countries, and especially of our own, to communicate the glad tidings, in their various and respective tongues, to the remotest nations of the earth.

To the philologist the present is also a work of considerable importance; and forms a good middle point in the changes by which our national language has been characterized, between the periods of Bede and James I. Upon the whole, these changes have been immeasurably for the better; but there are a few regulations which can scarcely be regarded as improvements;—such, for example, as the alteration of the old

old plural *ax*, which was in use among verbs, as well as among substantives to *s*, or *es*, among the latter, and which has chiefly given that hissing or sibilating character to our enunciation, so much complained of by foreigners: as also the disuse of the verb *nyl* or *nil*, as an opposite to *wyl* or *will*, a term often used with peculiar force in the translation before us, and for which we have now no fair synonym or substitute. Spenser was fond of this expression, and we occasionally find it in Ben Jonson, but we are not aware that it has passed beyond the æra of the latter. We give the following as a fair specimen of the style and orthography of the Wicklif version, Matt. v. 41, 42, 43. "But I seye to you, that ye aghen stonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, shewe to him also the other; and to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coote, leeve thou also to him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousynd pacis; go thou with him other tweyne: give thou to him that axith of thee; and turne not thou away fro him that wole borowe of thee. Ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and slaundren you."—Matt. iv. 3. "Command that these stones be made bread," is given better by Wiclif, "seye that these stones bee maad looves," *i. e.* "loaves:" in which the resemblance between the two ideas is admirably preserved. *Pearls* is here rendered, after the Latin, *margaritis*, baskets; *cofynes*, after the Greek, κοφινος; drachm, *dragme*, from δραχμε, and talents, *Besauntis*, i. e. coins of Byzantium. A portrait of Wiclif is prefixed to the work, but without any avouchment for its correctness. The accompanying life comprises as many particulars as the author could obtain, and they appear to be duly supported: subjoined is a catalogue of Dr. Wiclif's Works, more extensive than usual; discriminative remarks on various copies of them; and notices of the places where many of them are preserved. Of many of these we should rejoice to see a reprint, and in the present fashionable fondness for obsolete writings, we think a judicious undertaking of this kind would be sure to succeed.

"The Book of Job, translated from the Hebrew, by the late Miss Elizabeth Smith, &c with a Preface and Annotations, by the Rev. F. Randolph, D. D." 8vo.

This is a very extraordinary performance, from a very extraordinary character. A young lady who, in her prime, and in the midst of many family mortifications, and severe personal sickness, should be able to render herself an accomplished English scholar, a poet above mediocrity, a student in mathematics, a proficient in several modern languages, and a skilful labourer in the Oriental tongues, must be a phenomenon in all ages, and especially in one, which is peculiarly characterized, by becoming superficially wise upon the gleanings of others, rather than solidly informed by original study. There is very great and intrinsic merit in the work before us; we freely and unreservedly allow it this praise; and we are persuaded that if any thing can injure or depreciate it, it is the very injudicious and extravagant encomiums which the friends of Miss Smith, in the delirium of their partiality, have passed upon it, and by which they seem desirous of representing it as the very best translation that has ever appeared

appeared at any time, and in any language; as superseding the necessity of any other; and as second, in point of merit, to the bible original itself. "If I have no hesitation," observes Dr. Randolph, in his presence, "in saying that, *as a translation it fears no comparison*, I would also expressly state that (except with the context of the venerable book from which it was formed) *it calls for none*." And in another place, after stating that he had applied to his friend Dr. Magee for his opinion, he adds, "that judgment has been pronounced, and under the sanction of it I am authorised to produce this version of the Book of Job, *not as a work that claims indulgence*, from the youth or sex of the author, or which might plead the disavantages under which it was prosecuted, in extenuation of its faults and errors, but as a work of intrinsic and superior excellence, and 'conveying,' as my friend expresses himself, 'more of the true character and meaning of the Hebrew, with fewer departures from the idiom of *the English* than any other translation whatever *that we possess*.' As such I do produce it; and so far as a diligent and accurate comparison of this translation, partially or wholly, with almost every other extant (at least with all that I could procure or read) may entitle me to make the assertion, I scruple not to pronounce it to be, upon the whole, more clear and satisfactory, more grammatically accurate, more closely expressive of the literal meaning, and though preserving a native lustre of its own, more distinctly reflecting the brightness of its glorious original, *than any* which has fallen under my observation."

It is impossible not to observe the material difference which exists between the two opinions of these two learned friends. Dr. Magee limits his encomium to the superiority of the present work, compared with every other *English translation*. Dr. Randolph professes to build his own opinion upon this basis; "*as such*," says he, "*I do produce it*." But he immediately flies off from the restriction, and rapturously affirms it to be superior to every translation *in every language*, that has ever fallen under his observation. We cannot quite accede to the former encomium, for though in some points it excels our received version, it falls very far short of it in others, and has far less explicitly, and less critically given the genuine and undoubted sense: we readily acknowledge it, however, to be, on the whole, a superior version to Dr. Stock's; but we can by no means keep pace with the high-flown language of the editor, and admit its superiority to any thing of the kind that has ever been exhibited in any other part of the world: for we have no hesitation in saying, that in Latin we prefer St. Jerom, and A. Schultens; in Spanish Louis de Leon; in Italian Diodati; in German Michaelis.

In few words, it is impossible to translate the book of Job correctly, without a competent knowledge of Arabic. The language in which it is written is a language of its own: it is a language not to be met with in any other part of the Bible: it is a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic; and clearly proves that the writer, whoever he was, (and we do not think it is difficult to determine) must have been intimately acquainted with Idumæan, or ancient Arabic, which we have no reason to suppose differed very essentially from the Arabic of the present day. Dr. Randolph does not seem disposed to allow a knowledge of Arabic to be

of any essential consequence, in one or two parts of his preface, yet admits in others, that Miss Smith may have prepared herself for the version before us, by previous exercises both in Arabic and Persian. What her knowledge of these tongues may have been, we know not; from the respectable assertion of the present editor, that she was acquainted with them, we have no doubt of the fact; but we must freely confess, we have sought in vain for any proof of such acquaintance in the present translation. Miss Smith is perpetually proving herself to have been a pupil of Mr. Parkhurst's: his authorities are omnipotent to her; and her version is almost entirely founded upon the interpretations which, in the course of his lexicon, he has given to a very great multitude of passages in the book of Job, together with a few conjectures of Miss Smith's own, in many of which, however, she has by no means been successful: but, most assuredly, neither in Mr. Parkhurst nor in Miss Smith is there the smallest pretension to Arabic or even to Persian literature or criticism; and we may add, that both of them are, in many places, palpably erroneous, for want of such knowledge.

We must close this article with examining, as briefly as possible, a few of the renderings of the present version, where they differ from the received text, in order that the reader may be able to exercise his own judgment upon the subject. In chap. i. 5. our common lection gives us "for Job said," and so does the original, כי אמר איוב: and so does every preceding version we are acquainted with; but Miss Smith chuses to render it, "for HE said:" yet Dr. Randolph has asserted, that this translation is "more *closely* expressive of the literal meaning" of the Hebrew, than any other. It may perhaps be conceived, that this is not a point of any consequence: and we have selected it on this very account: it seems to shew more than any other instance would have done, the *loose*, instead of the *close*, manner in which this version is executed, where there is no assignable reason for being so.—In the very next verse, the common rendering "sons of God," is here given "sons of PERDITION:" which, so far as we are acquainted with, is a sense, not of Mr. Parkhurst's, but of the editor's alone; yet it is an ingraft upon a previous interpretation of Mr. Parkhurst. This excellent critic has chosen to translate the word God (אלהים) in the plural, and to understand by it the *false gods* of the country: on which account this close and faithful scholar chuses to regard Satan and his associates as the *false gods* alluded to; and hence, with a most unjustifiable contortion of the term השלהים, to understand it as importing *perdition*, from הלה "to be faint, languid, or diseased," in opposition to its usual, and peculiarly emphatic derivation from אלה in conjunction with the forcible prefix ה. Yet this translation is approved by Dr. Randolph, though in contradiction with that of every preceding translator and commentator, while he is sufficiently unguarded to speak in its justification, that "he does not know that the particle ה appears any where else, prefixed to Elohim, in regimine, except in the sixth chapter of Genesis, which perhaps might not be less intelligible thus translated, than as it now stands." It is unnecessary to point out other passages, for we are persuaded that this respectable character must have been sufficiently sensible of his error, long

long before this time. *Perdition* can in no sense be fairly deduced from תאלחיכם, and if it could, no possible advantage is obtained by such a disturbance of the common rendering.

ברך, which has proved a stumbling-block to most of the commentators, has miserably succeeded with Miss Smith. In i. 6. it is rendered *bless*; in i. 11. it is also translated *bless*, but with a quere whether it should not be *curse*; in ii. 5. it is roundly translated *curse*, without any quere, whatever, though the whole context is precisely the same; and in not more than four verses after, *viz.* v. 9. it is roundly, and without a quere again translated *bless*, "*blessing* God and dying;" which last is an elegant and correct rendering, brought immediately from Mr. Parkhurst. So much for *clearness, satisfactoriness*, and *accuracy*. It is absurd to suppose that the same word could ever have been employed in both senses; nor is the difficulty by any means gotten rid of, by conceiving it to have been sometimes used as a valedictory term, in the meaning of *farewell, take leave, renounce*, χαιρειν, which is the loop-hole adopted by Schultens, Dr. Stock, and various other translators: for we have no clear proof that it is ever thus used in the Hebrew Scriptures. *To bless* is its fair and unequivocal sense, and there is no necessity for wandering after any other; for with a little dexterous management, and occasionally an interrogatory cast to the passage, this single sense will be found sufficient in every instance.

Chap. xix. 22. for the common version, "why do ye persecute me as God;" our fair translator gives us, "why do ye pursue me *like a deer*," and here, we confess, we thought we perceived, for the first time, a glimpse of an Arabic term, for כמו אל is in direct Arabic كما ايل *ut cervum*, "as a hind, or deer:" but, upon turning to Mr. Parkhurst, we perceive that, under אל, xv. he has given his fair student the hint, by rendering אל, "a stag, hart, or deer." In chap. xxxiii. 23. מליץ commonly rendered *interpreter*, is here made to signify "a mediator:" we have no great objection to the term as a commentary, but it is a gross departure from verbal accuracy. Chap. xxxiv. 14. is well and correctly given;

> If he set his heart on it,
> He can recal his spirit and his breath;

though it might be rendered with equal correctness, "if he fix his purpose upon him, he can recal his spirit and his breath:" but perhaps the former is the better of the two. Chap. xxxv. 2.—"what should *I* profit," is in the original, "what should *it* profit." A deviation from the text by no means unfrequent. It occurs twice in chap. xxxv. 14.

In conclusion, we readily repeat that this version has great merit, and that it has intrinsic merit—merit independent of the author's sex or age: and if we have pursued it with any degree of severity, we have been stimulated by the hyperbolical encomiums passed upon it by her too partial friends, and in points to which it is less entitled to applause than in various others: for its chief praise by no means consists in verbal accuracy of rendering, or a critical knowledge of the original, but in the simplicity and elegant ease with which the rendering is conducted. As to the rest, a version is still wanting, and as much, or nearly as much, as before the present was offered to us.

"Revival

"Revival of the Roman and Greek Empires; being observations on the prophet Daniel's Metallic Image, the interpretation of whose form was to make known that which was to happen in the latter days. Also an investigation of those parts of the Apocalypse, which appear to be derived from an illustration of the prophecies of Daniel, and the ancient types of the Old Testament, many of which were, from the first, indicative of the present times." 2 vols. 8vo. We congratulate the anonymous author of this work upon the success of his recondite pursuits; well-intended, indeed, but certainly not to us, and we fear not to many others, either *illustrative* of the prophet Daniel, or *indicative* of the present times. In one or two respects the *present times* have already proved the error of his calculations: but he has still the satisfaction of failing where many a wise and good man has failed before him, and where success appears beyond the power of human accomplishment.

"Luther's Illustration of the Gospel History: by N. Nisbett, A. M. Rector of Tunstall." These letters are seven, and are devoted to the following subjects: "Our Lord's original language. On the sermon on the Mount. Upon Christ's commission to his apostles. Various instances of the controversy concerning the nature of the Messiah. Upon the destruction of Jerusalem. Upon the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Some remarks on St. John's Gospel." There is much good sense and candour in these letters; but in one or two instances an unnecessary display of apparent oppositions in the histories of the different Evangelists, with a view of removing them: in which the worthy epistolarian feels a contrariety and difficulty, of which few but himself will be sensible.

"A course of Lectures; containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity; accompanied with an account, both of the principal authors, and of the progress which has been made, at different periods, in theological learning: by Herbert Marsh, D.D. F.R.S. Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Part I." We rejoice to find that the course of study we have adverted to, is renewed under the auspices of so competent a lecturer: and the full attendance which has been bestowed upon his labours, while it cannot but be gratifying to himself, is what we expected, and ventured to foretel. The course opened in the spring of the preceding year (1809); and the professor having resolved upon publishing his studies as soon as possible after their delivery, has presented to us the first six of them in the part now before us. The first is entitled "Introductory Remarks on the Study of Theology." The second enumerates a variety of schemes which have been proposed for a plan of theological study, and closes with an epitome of his own method. The third and fourth contain a table of the principal works which profess to be introductions to a critical knowledge of the scriptural text; and are enriched with a judicious sketch of the history of sacred criticism, from the time of Origen to that of the revival of letters. In the fifth and sixth we have a critical history of the Greek text of the New Testament, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, to the formation of the Elzivir, or received edition, printed 1624. There is, throughout the whole of this volume, much sound learning, and perspicuous judgment; but

but the style is peculiarly jejune and scholastic. The plan proposed by Dr. Marsh, as the foundation of the present course, consists of the seven following branches of instruction: 1. The criticism of the Bible, or the mode of ascertaining its genuine text. 2. The interpretation of the Bible, or the means to be employed for the discovery of its true sense. 3. The authenticity of writings which compose the Bible, and the credibility of the facts which they relate. 4. The divine authority of the Bible, or the evidence for the divine authority of the religions recorded in it. 5. The inspiration of the Bible. 6. Its doctrines; and 7th, Ecclesiastical history.

"Ecclesiastical Biography; or Lives of Eminent Men, connected with the History of Religion in England, from the commencement of the Reformation to the Revolution; selected and illustrated with notes, by Christopher Wordsworth, M.A. dean and rector of Bocking, &c." 6 vols. 8vo. This valuable work is inscribed to the editor's patron, the primate; and a sensible preface explains the motives of the undertaking. Mr. (now Dr.) Wordsworth informs us, that during a protracted residence at the Cambridge university, he had indulged an inclination for such a kind of study, and had gradually projected the work now offered: but that he was ultimately confirmed in his intentions, by the advantages which at length fell into his hands, in consequence of his access to the Lambeth library, from his appointment to the office of chaplain to the archbishop. "It appeared," says Dr. Wordsworth, "that there were extant, among the literary productions of our country, many scattered narrations of the lives of men eminent for their piety, sufferings, learning, and such other virtues; or such vices as render their possessors interesting and profitable subjects for history, many of which were difficult to be procured, and some of them little known; and that, therefore, the benefit which might have been expected to result from their influence, was in a great degree lost. These I thought it might be a labour well bestowed to restore to a capacity of more extensive influence, and to republish them in one collection: not merely to afford to many readers an opportunity of what they could not otherwise enjoy, but also from the hopes that the serviceable effects of each might be increased from their union and juxta-position; and that, through the help of a chronological arrangement, a species of ecclesiastical history might result, which, though undoubtedly very imperfect, might yet answer even in that view several valuable purposes: while it would possess some particular charms and recommendations." The reader may form a tolerable estimate of the nature of this history, and of the zeal and industry with which it has been compiled, from the following succinct account of its contents. The articles concerning Wicliffe, (why is not this written as it ought to be, *Wiclif?*) Thorpe, Bilnay, Tindall (why not *Tyndall?*) Lord Cromwell, Rogers, Hooper, Rowland, Taylor, Latimer, and Cranmer, are compiled from Fox's Acts and Monuments. That concerning Lord Cobham is partly from Fox, and partly from Bale's Brief Chronicle. The account of Ridley is also partly from Fox, and partly from a life of the bishop, by Dr. Gloucester Ridley, published in 1763. The highly entertaining life of Wolsey, by the cardinal's gentleman-usher, Cavendish, is here, for the first time, faithfully printed from

from a manuscript in the Lambeth library, collated with another manuscript in the same library, and a third in the library of the dean and chapter of York cathedral. Cavendish's performance was, indeed, printed long since, and even reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, but so altered and injured in almost every sentence, from some cause or other, as to bear but little resemblance to the genuine exemplar. The long life of Sir Thomas More is now first published from a M.S. in the Lambeth library, written towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, by a zealous papist. Walton's Lives of Hooker, Donne, Herbert, Sir H. Wotton, and Bishop Sanderson, are reprinted entire, with additions by Strype to the life of Hooker. There are also reprinted entire, a life of Jewel, prefixed to an English edition in 1685, of his Apology to the Church of England: the translation published in 1629, of Bishop Carleton's life, in Latin, of Bernard Gilpin: Sir George Paule's life of Archbishop Whitgift: Bishop Fell's life of Dr. Hammond: Burnet's life of Sir Matthew Hale: Matthew Henry's life of his father, Philip Henry: and Burnet's "Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester!"---"The Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, by Dr. Heckford, published in 1798, and here reprinted, but not without some omissions." The account of this extraordinary man, and his most extraordinary nephew, is, in this republication, extended by the accession of some curious papers relating to them, found in the Lambeth library, though supposed by Dr. Peckard to have been lost. The life of Bishop Hall is "composed principally from a republication of two of his tracts."---"Observations of some Specialties of Divine Providence," and "Hard Measure." The account of Baxter is composed of extracts from his "Life and Times." The life of Tillotson is abridged from a memoir of him, by F. H. M.A. published in 1717, but which, nevertheless, Dr. Wordsworth professes to hold in no very high esteem.

"The Exposition of the Creed: by John Pearson, D.D.; abridged for the use of young persons; by the Rev. C. Burney, LL.D. &c." It was a just observation of a critic who almost always thought justly, and expressed himself justly, we mean Dr. Bentley, that "the very dust of Bishop Pearson's writings is gold." Time, it is true, that dims the lustre of gold, as well as of every other precious substance, has not a little obscured the very valuable work from which the present abridgment is derived. But the sterling metal has here fallen into excellent hands; and is worked up into a form most happily adapted to a very extensive usefulness. Dr. Burney is entitled to the thanks of all Christian parents, and, indeed, of the whole Christian community.

"Scripture Geography, in two parts, containing a description of the most distinguished countries and places, noticed in the Holy Scriptures, &c. by John Toy." 8vo. There is an inaccuracy in many of the verbal descriptions contained in this work, and in most of the plates, that prevents us from giving it the praise we should have wished. Dr. Wells's Geography is somewhat too long for general use: and something of the kind here offered is wanting for the use of the young, and those who have not time to enter into the detail of unsettled points: but the work before is not calculated to fill up the vacuity.

"Intimations and Evidences of a Future

Future State: by the Rev. Thomas Watson." 12mo. This is, upon the whole, a perspicuous little work, upon a most momentous subject. It is divided into two parts: in the first the author treats of the "Evidences from Reason and Natural Religion;" and, in the second, "on the Evidences from Revelation." There is one error, however, which we much wish to see corrected; the writer exhausts himself so completely in the former part of his subject, and brings forth so many proofs in favour of a future state, from "reason and natural religion," that he leaves but little for "revelation" to accomplish, as to a knowledge of this doctrine. The best acumen of the best schools of heathen philosophy, shews sufficiently how inaccurate the author has been in this respect, and how highly he has over-rated the natural powers of human induction.

"Paganism and Christianity compared, in a course of Lectures to the King's Scholars at Westminster, in 1806-7, and 8. By John Ireland, D.D. &c." 8vo. We suspect that the origin of this elaborate and valuable work was laid in the well-known dispute that occurred some few years ago, between Dr. Rennell, dean of Winchester, and Dr. Vincent, dean of Westminster, upon the expediency of a classical education. Dr. Ireland here follows up very closely, and with a vigorous tread, the steps of the late head-master of the Westminster school, and we have no hesitation in saying, to our full and thorough conviction of the value of classical learning, as at present taught in that celebrated seminary. At the same time he makes a far better estimate (with all his love of ancient lore, and his enthusiasm for the writings of Plato and Cicero,) than the author of the preceding publication has done, as to the real discoveries of the pagan theologues upon the subject of God and man, of the nature and power of the former, and of the origin and duration of the latter.

"The Duties of the Clerical Profession. Selected from various authors, and elucidated with notes on Sermons, Preaching, St. Paul's Charge to Timothy, Sin, Example, Infidelity, Unbelievers, Credit of a Clergyman, Holiness, Family Prayers, a Christian, Dissenters, Salvation, &c." 12mo. The anonymous writer of this serious medley seems to mean well, but, as it appears to us, he has some self-knowledge, and a great deal of knowledge of almost every other kind, to acquire, before he will become fitted to instruct the world at large.

The Sermons that have reached us since our last Retrospect have not been numerous, if we except those that have been published singly. We ought to begin with Dr. Browne's Bampton "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." 8vo. From the limitation of this course of lectures to a single subject, and more especially from the almost infinite variety in which this single subject has been antecedently, and, often-times, very admirably handled by earlier lecturers, there can be no doubt that a great difficulty must frequently be felt how to treat it in a new and impressive manner. Under this difficulty Dr. Browne appears to have laboured, and we wish we could add that he at length successfully extricated himself from it: but we cannot flatter him with a hope that this volume will run parallel in duration with those of White and Laurence. The topic at last chosen, is the uniformity of the Divine Government: this ground of argument is

opened in the first, and continued through seven succeeding sermons. Saurin is avowedly our author's model, and his discourses on the same subject our author's text-book. There is one of the discourses, however, of the "Pasteur a la Haye," which he does not appear to have read, and which might have been of more service to him, than his study of all the rest: it occurs in his fourth volume, and is entitled "Sur la Manière d'étudier la Religion." Had he founded himself upon the excellent system here developed, we should not have had to lament an equal want of the force of originality, and of the fidelity of translation.

"Sermons on several subjects from the Old Testament. By John Hampson, M.A. rector of Sunderland, &c." 8vo. This respectable writer informs us, in his preface, that his appearance before the public is "not from an itch for scribbling, nor for the vapour of popular applause, but from a desire of doing good, by stemming the torrent of impiety and infidelity, and by assailing with lawful weapons, and rebuking with just severity, by arguments from reason and revelation, the licentiousness that so deplorably prevails. It is my object, on this occasion, to join my efforts to those of my more able and experienced brethren in the best of all causes, the cause of piety and virtue; and to leave some testimony behind me, of *my unalterable conviction of the truth and authenticity of the* Gospel; which, however disregarded by many, is "the power of God unto salvation to them that believe." Now all this is excellent, and especially from a venerable pastor, who has been uniformly labouring among his flock, as he informs us in another place, for "nearly twenty-three years:" but how queerly does such a declaration sound, when compared with the *title-page*? — how truly extraordinary is it, that in the whole range of the sermons delivered by this conscientious and zealous priest, during a period of nearly twenty-three years, he should only be able to select a certain set, devoted to subjects belonging to the *Old Testament*, as a "proof of his unalterable *conviction of the truth and authenticity of the* Gospel!" For the rest we cannot speak very highly of them: they are neat and regular; but they are equally deficient in the form of originality, the fire of genius, and the pathos of impression.

"Twenty-four Select Discourses, from the works of eminent divines of the Church of England, and of others, never before published. By a Curate in the archdeaconry of Coventry." The discourses "never before published" are but few, and we are not informed of the authors' names to whom they belong; several of them possess something more than common merit. The rest are selected from the labours of Hubbard, Porteus, Bishop Bull, E. Weston, Farquhar, Hervey, Dr. James, Bishop Horne, Jortin, and Jones.

"Discourses on various Subjects, by Jeremy Taylor, D.D. chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I. &c. &c." 3 vols. 8vo. The taste for the *antique*, which even theologians, as well as poets, painters, musicians, medalists, and a thousand other professions, have lately evinced, is well worthy of being indulged, when such a gem of inestimable value is offered to our hands, as the writings of the Bishop of Down and Caron, all whose compositions, as well in style as in matter, are truly "apples of gold in pictures of silver." We congratulate the world, therefore, on this republication; as we do also, that

that independently of these discourses, we have likewise been favoured with a republication of those two choice productions of Bishop Taylor, his "Rule and Exercise of Holy Living and Dying;" and his "Golden Grove, a chosen Manual, containing what is to be believed, practised, and prayed for."

Of the single sermons, we can only give a catalogue of those that have attracted most attention, or appear to possess most merit. Dr. Buchanan's, preached before the Society for Missions to Africa and the East; the text, Matt. v. 14. "Ye are the light of the world." Dr. Middleton's, entitled, "Christ divided;" preached at the Triennial Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, at Grantham, in June 1809; being an appeal to dissenters, with a view of reclaiming them into the pale of the established church. Mr. Wrangham's sermon, preached at Scarborough, July 28, 1810, at the primary visitation of the most reverend Edward, Lord Archbishop of York, entitled "Earnest Contention for the true Faith," accompanied with an ample body of notes, many of which are equally pertinent and classical. Mr. Wilson's (vice-principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford,) preached before the university, and entitled, "Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge;" the text, John vii. 16, 17. Mr. Bathurst's visitation sermon, preached at Great Yarmouth, and entitled, "A Sketch of the Ecclesiastical Establishment." The Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Willwood's, preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; the text, Col. iii. 9, 10, 11. Mr. Hall's, preached at Herveylane, Leicester, for the benefit of a Sunday School, entitled, "The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes." Mr. Clayton's, preached at a monthly association of congregational ministers and churches, at the Meeting-house, Peckham, entitled, "The Traveller's Directory."

Among the theological controversies of the year, we regret exceedingly the disputation that has taken place between the supporters of those two valuable institutions, the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and the "British and Foreign Bible Society:" and which has already given birth to two publications from Dr. Wordsworth, and one from Mr. Spry, against the Bible Society, at least as at present constituted; in reality, we may call Dr. Wordsworth's publications *three*, with more propriety than *two*, the second edition of his "Reasons for declining to become a Subscriber to the British and Foreign Bible Society," being so considerably enlarged, and remodelled, as to be almost a new work. The defence of the Bible Society has been conducted chiefly by Lord Teignmouth, in a "Letter to Dr. Wordsworth," and by Mr. Dealtry, in two distinct letters to the same person, forming two distinct publications. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge commenced, *in fact*, though under another name, as early as 1698. Its object was, and has continued to be, to distribute Bibles, Common-prayer books, and religious tracts consonant with the doctrines and discipline of the established church. Its efforts have also been directed to the promotion of charity-schools at home, to the support of the Danish Missions in India, and to the assistance of the Greek church at Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. It only admits within its pale of contributors, members of the established church of England.

From some cause or other, this

ADIEU TO THE MINSTREL HARP.

[From the same.]

HARP of the North, farewell! The hills grow dark,
On purple peaks a deeper shade descending;
In twilight copse the glow-worm lights her spark,
The deer, half-seen, are to the covert wending.
Resume thy wizard elm! the fountain lending,
And the wild breeze, thy wilder minstrelsy;
Thy numbers sweet with Natur-'s vespers blending,
With distant echo from the fold and lea,
And herd-boy's evening pipe, and hum of housing bee.

Yet, once again, farewell, thou Minstrel Harp!
Yet once again, forgive my feeble sway,
And little reck I of the censure sharp
May idly cavil at an idle lay.
Much have I owed thy strains on life's long way,
Through secret woes the world has never known,
When on the weary night dawned wearier day,
And bitterer was the grief devoured alone,
That I o'erlive such woes, Enchantress! is thine own.

Hark! as my lingering footsteps slow retire,
Some Spirit of the Air has waked thy string!
'Tis now a Seraph bold, with touch of fire,
'Tis now the brush of Fairy's frolic wing.
Receding now, the dying numbers ring
Fainter and fainter down the rugged dell,
And now the mountain breezes scarcely bring
A wandering witch-note of the distant spell—
And now, tis silent all!—Enchantress, fare thee well!

THE FESTIVAL OF BOURDEAUX.

[From Mr. SOTHEBY'S CONSTANCE DE CASTILLE.]

I.

"KNIGHTS, and fair dames, train after train,
Pass in their pomp to Aquitaine.
Through the wide world, wherever fame
Dwelt on the dark-mail'd Victor's name,

Wherever

Wherever minstrel at high feast
With monarchs sat, an honour'd guest,
Where'er before a nation's eyes
Beauty to valour gave the prize,
His Heralds far and wide around,
Had spread, from realm to realm, the sound:
The voice went forth, to tow'r and hall,
That Bourdeaux' solemn festival,
Throughout the moon's whole course should view,
Day and night their sports renew;
Each day be tilt and banqueting,
Each night be mirth and caroling,
Mask and dance, and choral song,
And mysteries that delight prolong,
Till Aurora, blushing red,
Or bright suns, light the guests to bed.

II.

Tow'r rings to tow'r: the slow-pac'd sun
Sunk, ere the revel pomp begun.
Taper and cresset flaming bright
Flung on the rafter'd roof their light,
And show'd, throughout St. Andrew's hall,
Marshal'd at solemn festival,
Knight after knight, in due degree,
Flow'r of Christian chivalry:
Each, a lady at his side,
Radiant in pomp and beauty's pride.

III.

Hail! barons bold, who liege-men wait
On Aquitaine's superior state,
Lords of Guyenne and Gascony,
Of Poictou and fair Angoumois,
Saintonge, along whose pastures wide
Swift Charente's silver waters glide,
And fiefs, where Adour, winding down,
Joins distant Tarbe to fair Bayonne.
And ye! the pride of Albion's coast,
High chieftains of th' heroic host:
Warwick, whose far-fam'd puisance led
The van when routed Poictiers bled:
Fitzwalter, foremost in the field,
Spenser, unknowing how to yield,
Manny, who, wading deep in gore,
Onward the flag of conquest bore,
And terror of the northern bounds,
Earl Percy, grac'd with glorious wounds.

IV. Brave

IV.

Brave Gallia's high-born chieftains came,
Free homagers to Edward's fame.
Proud Bourbon, Anjou there behold,
Young Burgundy, belov'd, and bold.
Tonnere, whose mail, of verdant stain,
Was died with blood on Auray's plain:
Lo! Chatillon, whose eagle shield
Marshals the bowmen to the field,
Heroic Vienne, whose deathless name
Thy sons, proud Calais, yet proclaim,
And Ribaumont, the bold, the brave,
Crown'd with the wreath that Edward gave,
When, thrice, the King, beneath his blow
Bow'd, ere his prowess fell'd the foe.
From Brittany brave Montfort led
Fam'd peers, who in his quarrel bled,
(His falchion flaming in the van)
Knight, Seneschal, and Castellan.

V.

I pass the gracious boons untold
That splendour shed on feasts of old;
Captives ransom'd, Virgins dow'r'd,
Gifts on the crowd profusely show'r'd,
Presents to each princely guest,
Armour, and steed, and ermine vest,
Girdles of silk and jewels rare,
And pearls, to braid their ladies' hair.

VI.

I pass unsung the pomp of state,
Huge ewers of embossed plate,
Flaggons with spiced wine o'erflowing,
Trumpets braying, clarions blowing,
Banners, that streaming round the hall
Deeds and adventures high recall,
And, trophies of the well-fought plain,
Shields of brave chiefs in battle slain,
That gleam before the Victor's eye,
And add fresh zest to revelry.

VII.

Leaders of note I pass unsung,
Audeley and Howard, heirs of fame,
And either Bohun, deathless name.
But who, the gallant guests among,

Who

Who first in fame, in pomp, in pow'r,
Tow'r'd o'er each chief that grac'd the board?
'Tis Britain's boast, 'tis knighthood's flow'r,
'Tis Lancaster, high-honour'd lord,
In youth, in beauty's blooming prime,
Proud hope and glory of his time.

VIII.

Edward's brave race, a warrior band,
Were arrows in a giant's hand:
'Mid these, fam'd Lancaster uprose,
The terror of his father's foes,
And England rested on his sword,
As on thy prowess, dark-mail'd Lord.

IX.

Lord of the feast, in royal state
Edward, amid his barons bold,
Brothers of arms, by fame enroll'd,
With his fair bride, Joanna, sate.
From guest to guest flow'd gaily round
The cup, by youth and beauty crown'd:
And gay their converse; ladies' charms,
Love, and the chase, and tilt, and fight,
Adventures rare, and feats of arms,
And fame of each far-summon'd knight,
Who, on the Baptist's hallow'd morn,
To grace Joanna's elder born,
Should Arthur's warlike sports recall,
And crown and close the festival.

X.

"Long on that day shall minstrels dwell;
"The harp,"—heroic Edward cried,
"The harp to other times shall tell
"That mask'd in honour of my bride,
"Like peers and paladins renown'd
"Who Arthur's feast at Camelot crown'd,
"England and France in Edward's sight
"Rivals of glory, grac'd the fight.
"England shall Arthur's fame maintain,
"France the renown of Charlemagne.
"Strike, harpers—minstrels! tune the rhymes
"To Arthur's consecrated times."

XI.

Madoc, master of the choir
With lofty prelude swept the wire,
Silenc'd the sound of mirth and glee,
And shook the roof with minstrelsy.

XII.

Minstrel Song.

" Heard ye afar the storm of war?
" Saw ye Camlan's crimson plain?
" Fiercely the kindred squadrons met,
" Britain's sun in blood is set
" Beneath the western main.

" Chill'd is valour's glowing breath,
" Hush'd the traitor's yell:
" Slow sail'd on silent pinion Death,
" And over all the blasted heath
" His giant shadow fell.

" Ah! who the bleeding King shall bear
" From Camlan's fatal ground?
" No friend, no living man is there,
" Save one, his bosom's grief to share,
" Or staunch each welling wound.

" Lone Glo'ster gaz'd in speechless woe—
" Can friendship aid impart?
" The death-drops stand on Arthur's brow,
" And scarce the lingering currents flow
" That feed his lion heart.

" Bear thou my sword to yonder strand,
" And o'er the wild waves east."
From ocean sprung a shadowy hand,
Thrice wav'd in air the charmed brand.
The wond'rous vision past.

The dying King was seen no more:
But airy harpings rung,
The winds, the waves, forgot to roar,
And Echo, from the ocean bore,
The note a fairy sung.

XIII.

Fairy Song.

" Softly blow the wreathed shell,
" Wind the ocean melody!
" Sea-gods! answering to my spell,
" Cleave the liquid canopy!
" Rise! with tuneful conch and song
" Lead the charmed bark along.

" Answer

" Answer from your coral cave,
" Sea-maids! who in season fair
" Warbling on the glassy wave,
" Braid with pearl your yellow hair!
" Nymphs! responsive to my lay
" Rise! and smooth with song the way.—

" Welcome to the fairy shore!
" Bear the King to charmed bowers,
" Crown'd with wreath of elfin flowers!
" Ocean-choir! your charge is o'er:
" Long as Echo holds the strain,
" Dance, like sun-beams, on the main,
" Or moon, in morris of the night
" Silvering the sea with gleams of light!"

XIV.

While thus in lulling cadence low
Soft fairy notes were heard to flow,
And the charm'd spirit, rapt on high,
Hung on the breath of melody:
The loud tramp of an iron hoof
Battering the flinty court below,
Burst the deep cloister's vaults along,
Flung its harsh discord on the roof,
And rudely drown'd the harp and song.

THE HERMIT'S PROPHETIC ODE.

[From the same.]

" WAR blows the trump on Navaret.
" Like the vext sea in tempests roll'd
" The foemen, host on host, unfold.
" Advance! the battle ranks are set.
" Sparkling spears, and helmets bright
" Quiver in the golden light.
" Fix'd like rocks whose strength outbraves
" The deep with all its weight of waves,
" Stern, silent, still, the Britons stand.
" Why smile the chiefs in scornful mood?
" The sword that flam'd o'er Poictiers arms their hand,
" Pale Crecy's shadowy slain before them float in blood.

" Like

" Like cat'racts from the mountain brow
" Clash the couch'd lances in their rest,
" Squadron on squadron, breast on breast.
" Who breaks the shield, the sword, the bow?
" Whose voice pours thunder on the gale?
" Whose war-hoofs, red with slaughter, crush the foe?
" Like Death, with terror crown'd, dark tow'rs the sable mail.

" Lone in his might the conqueror past.—
" They fly—the foes, thrice rallied, fly!
" Hark, hark!—St. George and victory!
" Chiefs on their bucklers breathe their last.
" Weave the wreath! the war is o'er,
" Najara's torrent foams with gore,
" And Fear o'er Gaul's tumultuous flight
" Wide waves his banner dark as night.
" Navaret! weave the laurel wreath!
" Glory's peerless course is run.
" Edward! repose!—the sword of victory sheathe.
" Rest! in thy splendour rest—so sets yon golden sun.

" Change the song and martial measure
" To notes of joy and nuptial pleasure:
" War's blood-stain'd path with flow'rets hide;
" Lead to Lancastria's lord the bride.
" Long o'er thy realms, exultant Spain!
" In peace their sceptred race shall reign.
" Yet—stay!"—
Why pause, prophetic Seer?
Why bursts th' involuntary tear?
The fire, that glow'd thy cheek, why flown,
Why silenc'd, joy's triumphant tone?
" Return"—he cried—" thou vision bright!
" Fall'n is the banner that, unfurl'd
" By conquest, claim'd another world;
" The flag that wav'd o'er Pavia's fight,
" Spaniard!—Iberia's glories fade.
" Ah!—what art thou,—gigantic shade!
" Terror of earth, enthron'd sublime,
" Who, crown'd by horror, fraud, and crime,
" O'erlook'st the world, an idol god?
" O'er Gaul, th' avenger lifts the rod,
" Shivering the sceptres of the globe,
" And dies in blood of kings his robe.
" Thou, too, my hapless country! thou
" Shalt at the idol's altar bow;
" Thou, by thy native sons betray'd,
" By scepter'd vice and folly sway'd:

" Thy

" Thy nobles slav'd, thy princes sold,
" Thy ruler under yoke of gold,
" Thy warriors on the frozen main
" Fetter'd beneath the Gallic chain.
" What now shall save a sinking land?
" I see in arms a people stand,
" Stand where their great fore-fathers bled,
" While Rome and all her legions fled,
" And o'er their consecrated grave
" The rescu'd flag of Freedom wave.
" Hark! 'tis the empress of the main
" Speaks, as she casts her shield o'er Spain:
" ' Beneath my trident strike the blow,
" ' And boldly grasp the Gallic prow.
" ' Beneath my trident free thy host,
" ' Unyoke their strength on Funen's coast,
" ' Assert the birth-right of the brave,
" ' Conquer, or claim a patriot's grave!
" ' With thee his sword the Briton draws:
" ' Freedom is thine and Britain's cause.
" ' Spain! though the ruthless fiend of war
" ' Wheel o'er thy realm his scythed car,
" ' Level with iron mace thy tow'rs,
" ' And waste with flame thy peaceful bow'rs:
" ' Though smoke with blood thy untill'd ground,
" ' Palace and altar blazing round,
" ' All is not lost: yet, yet remains
" ' Valour, that slavery's yoke disdains,
" ' Honour remains, that nurs'd thy sires,
" ' Vengeance that rous'd Saguntum's fires:
" ' To want, to woe, to death resign'd
" ' Remains th' unconquerable mind:
" ' The rocks, th' eternal rocks remain
" ' The bulwark of Pelayo's reign:
" ' The starry cope, the cold bleak sky
" ' Sheltering the sons of liberty.
" ' On every mount the weapon lies
" ' That gain'd the Gothic victories,
" ' Freedom!—to man in birth-right giv'n,
" ' Guard it—the rest confide to Heav'n.' "

To

TO THE REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN,

PRINCIPAL CHAPLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY'S TERRITORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES,

On his Return to that Colony.

Sic fortis Etruria crevit,
Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.

HEAVEN speed thee, MARSDEN! o'er the wat'ry plain;
And Heaven, that sped thee once, must speed again;
For, since the deep with canvas has been crown'd,
Was never man a nobler voyage bound;
Nor ever tide, from BRITAIN'S crowded shore,
Mid all her freights, a nobler freightage bore.

Kind to each various shape Misfortune wears,
Want, thraldom, sickness, and corroding cares;
Kind to a proverb—Britain bears alone
To Guilt, that needs most cure, a heart of stone.
Here only vengeful, all her efforts tend
The man to punish, not the mind amend.
Heedless of Heaven's more generous code, that wills
Th' offender's good by penalties and ills,
Her partial justice centers all in self,
Not to reclaim the pilferer, but the pelf.
Then, as though wrong with wrong resolv'd to pay,
Exiles or gibbets send him—where they may.

Such Britain's blot;—or rather such till now,
The blot that stain'd the lustre of her brow.
MARSDEN, if half that blot has lately flown,
Though ours the gain, the praise is all thy own:
Thou hast redeem'd thy country; as o'er woe,
Taught British tears o'er British guilt to flow;
Taught us to pity as we strike, and feel
A generous interest in the culprit's weal;
And, as we drive him from his native sky,
Leave him not wholly to despair and die.

Go, then, sublimely good! sublimely great!
Go—fill the dictates of benignant fate.
HOWARD, alas! and HANWAY, are no more:
Go—take their mantle, and their toils restore.

Inspired

Inspired by duty, and upheld by prayer,
Tempests, and storms and climes pestif'rous dare;
O'er utmost SYDNEY be thy sails unfurl'd,
And plunge amidst the outcasts of the world.
Proud of thy deeds (and she may well be proud)
Thy love, thy labours, 'mid the refuse crowd,
Now ten-fold power to thee thy country yields,
Go—reap rich harvests 'mid rejected fields.
In wider, wilder track, while others pour
O'er IND and ORM the Gospel's living lore,
Climb the rude CAUCASUS, or, dauntless, spread
O'er LIBYA's sands the feast of heavenly bread;
More patriot thou, with equal courage, aim
Th' abandon'd hordes of Britain to reclaim:
Abandoned as they are, and most forlorn,
Whelm'd in pollution and their country's scorn,
To show that in the mind's most loathsome heap,
Some casual seed of virtue yet may sleep;
Some grain that waits th' appropriate breeze to fan,
That Man, howe'er degenerate, still is Man.
Rous'd by thy warnings, by thy guidance led,
Lo! BARRINGTON hangs down his guilty head,
Repents, believes, now hopes, now sinks aghast,
And by the future, half redeems the past.
Nor BARRINGTON alone;—a thousand such
Have felt, like him, thy penetrating touch;
Woke to new life from ruin and despair,
Fled VICE for VIRTUE, BLASPHEMY for PRAYER.
Go, then; for thousands wait thee still—to prove
The mighty triumph of REDEEMING LOVE.
Thy mind robust, that earth can ne'er appal,
Firm as the pole, where truth and duty call,
Stern to th' obdurate caitiff, but his friend
When once compunctious pangs his bosom rend;
Thine ardent faith, thy zeal that nought can tire,
Still countless brands may rescue from the fire:
And the fair clime, where bounteous Nature pours
Her sweetests beauties and her richest stores,
Laughs in young tepid gales, and proudly guides,
'Mid her green fields, a thousand playful tides;
A clime, till now, to barbarous life alone,
Or worse than barbarous, British outcasts, known,
Freed from its darkness, and polluting leaven,
Shall wake to SCIENCE, INDUSTRY and HEAVEN.

Blow, then, ye favouring gales! each radiant sign
That rules th' abyss, in fostering bond combine!
Heaven speed thee, MARSDEN! o'er the watry plain;
And Heaven that sped thee once, must speed again;

For since the deep with canvas has been crown'd,
Was never man on nobler voyage bound;
Nor ever tide from BRITAIN's crowded shore,
Mid all her freights, a nobler freightage bore.

THE SWISS EMIGRANT.

FAREWELL, farewell, my native land,
A long farewell to joy and thee!
On thy last rock I lingering stand,
Thy last rude rock how dear to me!

Once more I view thy valleys fair,
But dimly view, with tearful eye;
Once more I breathe thy healthful air,
But breathe it in how deep a sigh!

Ye vales, with downy verdure spread,
Ye groves that drink the sparkling stream,
As bursting from the mountain's head
Its foaming waves in silver gleam;

Ye lakes, that catch the golden beam
That floods with fire yon peak of snow,
As evening vapours bluely steam
And dimly roll their volumes slow;

Scenes on this bursting heart imprest
By every thrill of joy, of woe,
The bliss of childhood's vacant breast,
Of warmer youth's impassion'd glow,

The tears by filial duty shed
Upon the low, the peaceful tomb,
Where sleep, too blest, the reverend dead
Unconscious of their country's doom;

Say, can Helvetia's patriot child
A wretched exile bear to roam,
Nor sink upon the lonely wild,
Nor die to leave his native home?

His native home? No home has he;
He scorns in servile yoke to bow;
He scorns the land no longer free;
Alas! he has no country now!...

Ye

Ye snow-clad Alps, whose mighty mound,
Great Nature's adamantine wall,
In vain opposed its awful bound
To check the prone-descending Gaul.

What hunter now with daring leaps
Shall chase the ibex o'er your rocks?
Who clothe with vines your rugged steeps?
Who guard from wolves your rambling flocks;

While low the freeborn sons of toil
Lie sunk amid the slaughtered brave,
To freedom true the stubborn soil
Shall pine and starve the puny slave.

Spoilers, who poured your ravening bands
To gorge on Latium's fertile plains,
And filled your gold-rapacious hands
From regal domes and sculptured fanes,

What seek ye here?—Our niggard earth
Nor gold nor sculptured trophies owns;
Our wealth was peace and guileless mirth,
Our trophies are th' invader's bones!

Burst not, my heart, as dimly swell
Morat's proud glories on my view!
Heroic scenes, a long farewell!
I fly from madnesss and from you.

Beyond the dread Atlantic deep
One gleam of comfort shines for me;
There shall these bones untroubled sleep,
And press the earth of Liberty.

Wide, wide that waste of waters rolls,
And sadly smiles that stranger land;
Yet there I hail congenial souls,
And freemen give the brother's hand.

Columbia, hear the exile's prayer;
To him thy fostering love impart;
So shall he watch with patriot care,
So guard thee with a filial heart!

Yet O forgive, with anguish fraught
If sometimes starts the unbidden tear,
As tyrant Memory wakes the thought,
"Still, still I am a stranger here!"

Thou vanquisht land, once proud and free,
Where first this fleeting breath I drew,
This heart must ever beat for thee,
In absence near... in misery true.

EARLY ATTACHMENT.

[From Miss STOCKDALE's POEMS.]

NEVER can I thine image dear forget,
For firmly graven it is on my heart;
When first in childhood's happy days we met,
And first in those sweet days were doom'd to part.

So much a child, I dare not name my age,
Too, too susceptible for early years;
'Twas thine at once the attention to engage
Of her who since has often dried thy tears.

I gazed with pleasure on thy noble face,
And mark'd thy full, thy blue soul-piercing eye;
Thy open countenance, thy manly grace,
Gold curling locks that on thy shoulders lie.

Of all the youths mine eyes had ever seen,
None was by me so interesting thought;
I look'd on thee, and deem'd all others mean;
That first impression ne'er can be forgot.

Too young for all disguise, with native ease
And innocent simplicity we talk'd;
No studied arts were needful each to please,
As through the nodding groves content we walk'd.

Unclouded yet by care, his face beam'd joy,
As erst he led me to each favourite spot;
Some sheltering tree, bank, bower, that pleased the boy,
Near his beloved paternal peaceful cot.

Pleasure is oft succeeded quick by pain;
With pure delight we had each other met,
In converse sweet the parting hour attain,
And climb the last long hill with deep regret.

As flying coursers bore me from thy sight,
We for the first time felt a parting pain;
Regret, as mutual as the past delight,
And sigh'd to think when we might meet again.

When

When far away, each recollection dear,
Was well preserv'd in memory's faithful store,
We interchang'd each thought, each sigh, each tear,
And with a pen retraced past pleasures o'er.

Children of poesy we both were born,
From earliest years our fond pursuits the same;
Deceived by Hope, he thought some future morn
Mary, for his, would yield her virgin name.

He long indulged his faithless dreams of joy,
Long ponder'd happiness that must not come;
Long cherish'd, self-deluded hapless boy,
The favourite thought that I should bless his home.

He loved to think the chosen of his breast
Some future day would live for him alone;
Illume his path, hush all his cares to rest,
And, by domestic bliss, past strokes atone.

Lull'd by these visions fair, again we met:
He came, he said, to offer me his hand!
But ah! too soon the Sun of Hope was set,
Too soon destroy'd the schemes so fondly plann'd!

A deep despondency now seized his soul,
As persecution came in copious showers;
Round our devoted heads harsh thunders roll,
And blast at once fond fancy's choicest flowers.

Those eyes, so lately sparkling with delight,
Now melt with sorrow, and now beam despair;
His gloomy thoughts invoke death's endless night,
To finish all his grief, his woe, his care.

For her alone he lov'd, he cherish'd life,
For her he wish'd to live, for her would die;
Refused his dearest Mary for a wife,
His bleeding heart would own none other tie.

Dark meditations all his looks bespeak,
He ponders o'er the dank untimely grave;
While melancholy marks his youthful cheek,
And big cold dewy drops his temples lave.

But meek Religion takes the form he loves,
And, as his weeping Mary soothes his grief,
That cherish'd form too much his heart approves,
To banish from his soul the kind relief.

But

But hush, my muse, abruptly end the strain;
Why should the world be troubled with our woes?
O let us to ourselves alone complain,
But not to passers-by our griefs disclose!

Condemn'd to sorrow from our early years,
Our fond affection deem'd our greatest crime,
Sharers alike in bitterest sighs and tears,
We wait submissive for a happier clime;

Where persecution shall no more oppress,
Where proud Ambition shall no more destroy
The Hymeneal links of happiness,
Form'd by the pensive much-enduring boy.

THE SABINE FARM.

[From the Poem of this name, by ROBERT BRADSTREET, Esq. A.M.]

NOT from 'the wealth of Rome,' her 'smoke and noise,'
For these no more Earth's fallen queen enjoys,
But from the miracles of Art, that rise,
Endless, to tempt, and tire the dazzled eyes;
From glittering shows, and conversations gay—
A never-ceasing round—I steal away,
To where, 'behind Vacuna's mould'ring fane,'
The Sabine poet pour'd his moral strain:
And, in the very shades where he retir'd,
Echo th' immortal verse they once inspir'd:
Nor pass, unsung, each interesting scene,
Whose ruins mark the classic ground between.
But, as we leave Rome's less'ning towers behind,
How the past ages croud upon the mind!
As seen through History's inverted glass,
We mark the distant generations pass;
Till faint, and fainter still, the shadowy host,
Fade gradual on our sight, and all is lost.
In times, that 'scap'd the babbling tongue of Fame,
Ere Rome, or elder Ilion, was a name!
Times, that beheld this very soil aspire,
In awful burst of subterraneous fire!

Line 1. Fumum, et opes, strepitumque Romæ. Hor. B. 3. O. 29. V. 12.
Line 7. Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunæ. Hor. B. 1. E. 10.
Line 22. The whole country about Rome is evidently of volcanic origin, and there are many quarries of lava, which must have flowed before any date of Roman history, as fresh as if they had flowed but yesterday, while others are in an evident state of dissolution. So great have been the natural as well as political revolutions of this most interesting country!

A desart

A desart horrible, of molten stone,
Where Desolation, on her smoking throne,
Reign'd o'er th' inhospitable waste alone!
Till (after many an age had o'er it roll'd)
The crumbling lava turn'd to fertile mould:
While, emblematic of her future doom,
Fate, in th' extinct volcano, cradled Rome.
The rich Saturnian soil becoming then,
"The mighty mother both of fruits and men,"
Gave Valour, Wisdom, Arts, and Virtue birth,
And Rome arose, "fair wonder of the earth."
'Twas here, e'en here, the wide Tiburtine way,
'Mid heroes' tombs, through arcs of triumph lay!
Still, Fancy views the nations swarm along,
Thro' the proud city-gates, a vast and various throng!
Some guide the wheel, some, flying steeds control,
Some in luxurious litters idly roll:
Part seek the town, and part, the cooling rills,
That winding trickle round yon airy hills;
While in the pomp of peace, or pride of war,
Rome's laurell'd chiefs adorn the trophied car:
And monarch-slaves their various tribute bring,
To swell the triumph of the people-king.
How chang'd the scene!—where'er I turn my eye,
The very ruins, whelm'd in ruin lie!
Save where, fit archetype of mortal change,
The tomb's huge fragment, or the broken range
Of some far-stretching aqueduct, remain
The "sad historians" of the Roman plain:
Athwart whose widely desolated span,
"Lies, at full length, the nothingness of men."
Muse! check the swelling strain—nor dare rehearse
Themes that demand a Milton's mighty verse.

Line 29. Varro says, that when Rome was first built, the lower ground was a marshy lake, the remains of an extinct volcano; which may account for the story of Curtius leaping into the gulph, &c. See "Description of Latium," an elegant work, highly interesting to all lovers of classical antiquity.

Line 30. Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, Magna virum.

Line 35. The modern road to Tivoli follows the ancient Via Tiburtina with very little deviation.

Line 46. The "Campagna di Roma," an immense flat of about 40 miles in diameter, is almost wholly surrounded by the sea and the Appenines—the former is of course seldom visible, but the Sabine Hills, as we approach them, present a very magnificent boundary, while to their left

"..... the blue Soracte spires
Wrapping his sides in tempest." Dyer.

But (excepting occasional fragments of ruin) the painter will for many miles seek in vain for a foreground; for he will not find even so much as a tree, or cottage; while the present scene of desolation is made to appear still more desolate, by the recollection of its former populousness and fertility.

Line 53. Ou, dans tout son etendu, git le Neant de l'homme. De Lille.

Not

Not thine to tell, how Time's destroying mace,
Smote the colossal empire's solid base—
Rome's giant image reel'd: then, headlong hurl'd,
Shakes, with its mighty fall, the liberated world.
Not even thine, O Muse, with fond regret,
To mourn the sun of Roman glory set:
No—sport, light insect! in the lingering gleam
Of splendor, which adorns his evening beam.
Yet, of that splendor, scarce a twilight ray
Remaining, gilds the solitary way—
Not e'en thy baths, Agrippa! the proud boast
Of Albula's once hospitable coast;
Whose self incrusting and sulphureous tide
At once the building and the stream supplied!
Still, on its milky breast, the traveller smiles
(Well-pleas'd) to view the sedge-concreted isles,
At anchor in their rushy moorings keep,
Or floating jostle in the stormy deep.
Thus, if we less compare to greater things
(For still the British heart to Britain springs),
Thus, on the queen of ocean's freighted tide,
In guardian state, her floating bulwarks ride:
Or, to the breath of Heav'n (their country's call)
Obedient, rush against th' affrighted Gaul,
And drive his batter'd vessel on the shore,
Or whelm him in the deep, to rise no more.
'Twas this "unfathomable, pale profound,
"That once Albunea's matchless forest crown'd;
"Whose high embowering woods, with shade divine,
"Wav'd o'er old Faunus' venerable shrine;
"Where Latium's anxious King enquir'd his doom,
"Big with the fate of yet unfounded Rome."
Now Rome, with all her pride, is past away,
Like the brief sunshine of a winter-day;
Still the pale stream (no longer sacred) roars
Between its self-form'd, melancholy shores;

Line 66. These baths, which were in such repute as to be frequented by Augustus (by whose name they are more generally known), were built of the stone formed by successive depositions from the inundations of this sulphureous gulph. The colosseum, and the principal buildings of Rome, both ancient and modern, are of the same materials. The quarries now working, being composed of an infinity of such strata, give a pleasing ocular demonstration of the mode of their formation.

Line 72. These exactly answer to Pliny's description of the Lacus Vadimonis—innatant insulæ herbidæ, &c. The middle part of the lake is so deep, that all attempts to fathom it are said to have been hitherto unsuccessful

Line 82. Virgil could not have invented a more interesting scite for the oracle of Faunus (Æn. B. 9. v. 81) than this lake, when surrounded by a vast forest. Mr. Burke considered the words "sæva Mephitis" as so sublime an expression for an intolerable stink, that the author was almost tempted to retain it in his very close imitation of that fine passage, and read, "Breathes insupportable Mephitis round."

And,

And, with o'er-arching forests unin brown'd,
Still breathes intolerable vapour round.
So short the boast of transitory man,
While Nature, fix'd, pursues her everlasting plan.
Yet lo! where Hadrian's long drawn towers arise,
Whose giant ruins still invade the skies!
As Satan, blasted by th' Almighty frown,
And hurl'd to bottomless perdition down—
Still from the burning lake his bulk up-rear'd,
The wreck of heav'nly glory, not appear'd
Less than Archangel ruin'd—their sublime,
And batter'd grandeur braves the wrath of time.
Ye awful ruins! say, can Fancy view
Your grandeur, nor the palace build anew,
Such as when Earth's great Master bade it be,
Of his whole subject world, the proud epitome!
The closing vault of yonder rifted dome
The gods re-enter, and confess their home.
Here fruitful Isis, on Canopus' strand,
Osiris, and the horned Ammon stand;
And dog Anubis guards his sable throne,
Howling for ever in the well-wrought stone.
While every birth of monster-brooding Nile,
Th' ichneumon small, th' enormous crocodile;
With every idol shape that brain-sick fear
Made, and ador'd in Egypt, re-appear.
To the huge concave of yon massy walls,
The long-forgotten Naiads she recalls
From all their mountains: on whose treasur'd tide,
In hostile state, th' embattled navies ride.
The vanquish'd groan, the victors shout amain!
See *real* blood the *mimic* ocean stain—
While Rome's fierce senators, with rude delight,
And loud applause, enjoy the martial sight.
Quick, Fancy! let thy fairy footsteps rove
Thro' mimic Tempe's visionary grove;

Line 107. He built his Tiburtine Villa in a wonderful manner, and named its principal parts after the most celebrated places and provinces, as the Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Pœcile and Tempe: and that nothing might be omitted, even made an imitation of the infernal regions. Spart. in Hadrian.

Line 110. The Canopus. The four here mentioned were among the chief deities of the Egyptians, whose statues have been dug up in this place; Anubis is represented with the head of a dog. The mouth of the Nile at Canopus is supposed to have been imitated by a channel between the walls terminating in the dome here alluded to. Some are of opinion that Neptune was worshipped under the name of Canopus.

Line 111. *The Naumachia*; a favourite place of entertainment with the ancient Romans, who carried their representations of these naval combats so far, that the combatants were frequently wounded and even killed.

Line 127. The imitation of the Vale of *Tempe* must of course have borne a very distant resemblance to its archetype, for although the ground is not un-

But

But enter not, (or enter to upbraid
Its massy folly) the Tartarean shade—
For ev'n thy fairy footsteps slow appear,
To visit all that *merits* wonder here:
Weak, ev'n thy heav'n-taught pencil, to retrace
The sculptur'd forms of beauty, grandeur, grace,
That here, though sought for ages, buried lie,
Yet unreveal'd to Taste's enquiring eye:
Though, still of statues fertile, the just soil
With sure reward excites her classic toil.
Haste then, and while the idly-curious roam,
O'er Bath, and Theatre, and Hippodrome;
Seek *thou* the porch, adorn'd with patriot art,
To charm the eye, and meliorate the heart,
Where Polygnotus into figure wrought
Each Virtue Homer sang, and Zeno taught:
Where Marathon's bold chiefs this lesson give—
"The man who for his country dies, shall live
"For ever." On the wings of Plato rise,
From Academus' shade, to worlds above the skies:
Or the great Stagyrite's Lyceum view,
And look all sublunary nature through:
Then own—that nought beneath the moon out-weighs
The glorious breath of Prytanean praise.
This, Hadrian! had thy active soul not swerv'd
From such pure models, *thou* hadst well deserv'd!
But the world's master, (to himself a slave)
While he the reins to lawless passion gave,

pleasingly varied, yet there is nothing within the whole compass of the walls which deserves the name of a *Valley*, particularly when compared with that

———— per quæ Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis. OVID.

Line 129. The two long vaulted subterraneous passages here probably led to the Elysian fields and *Tartarus* of Hadrian, which appear to have been an expensive absurdity unworthy of his good taste. There is however a modern instance of the same kind in the gardens of the prince of Hesse Cassel at Weissenstein.

Line 137. The number of statues, all excellent in their different kinds, that have been dug up here, is incredible; and even now they seldom make any considerable excavation without finding something. When these lines were written, they had just found an Antinous, for which Pius VI. was said to have given 2000l.

Line 140. There are remains of two theatres, besides immense baths, and a hippodrome, or course, for horse or chariot races, &c.

Line 141. An imitation of the celebrated porch at Athens, painted by Polygnotus which gave name to the Stoic Sect, as the *Academy* did to Pluto's disciples, and their walks in the gardens of the Lyceum to the Peripatetics. To the immortal honour of the artist, it is recorded that he painted it gratuitously.

Line 152. The *Prytaneum* was a tribunal of merit among the Athenians, and its praise accounted the highest possible honour.

To

Sees the proud monument he rais'd to Fame,
Half hidden in the mist of endless shame.
To these poor remnants of her palace gate,
How like was fair Zenobia's hapless fate,
Fall'n, fall'n for ever from her high estate!
Now, the proud empress of th' admiring East:
Now to adorn her Conqueror's triumph drest.
Ah! how couldst thou! whose soul outshone thy charms,
Supreme in arts, victorious long in arms,—
Submit to bow thy yet unbended knee,
Beneath the shining load of misery!
And crouching at the foot of tyrant power,
Beg the precarious blessing of an hour.
Not thus, thy great, rever'd Longinus taught,
Alike sublime in action, as in thought.
When late posterity shall see decay,
And gradual crumble to its native clay,
Yon massy Plautian Monument—his name,
Shall gild the column of eternal fame:
Unchang'd with fortune, and in fetters free,
Who could, unmov'd, the lifted falchion see;
And to Aurelian's victor-footstool driven,
Unbending stand, nor ask to be forgiven.
"This World," he cried, with his expiring breath,
"Is the Soul's prison—her deliverer, Death."
Muse! finish here the much excursive Rhyme!
And with the real scene delighted, climb
The swelling side of Tivoli supine,
With olive cloth'd, and intermingling vine:
While rocks of flow'ring alabaster, seen
At openings, chequer the embow'ring green.
'Twas on the precipice that bounds this wood,
The palace of the great Mæcenas stood:
And still fair Anio, with obsequious tides,
Beneath the proud o'er-arching ruin glides;
Then falls, in foamy beauty, to the plain,
Glad to rejoin his parted streams again.
How pleas'd, Imagination's spell recalls
Back to these wisely hospitable walls,
The Sabine bard, with all the choir sublime,
Whose song still charms the list'ning ear of Time:

Line 161. Zenobia was Queen of Palmyra, and maintained the empire of the East for a long time against the power of Aurelian: at length, being taken prisoner, she was led in triumph, and though a very strong woman, is said to have stopped, declaring that she could not support the weight of the jewels with which she was loaded. Aurelian spared her life, and gave her a villa near Tivoli. Longinus, "himself the great sublime he drew," in the admirable treatise on that subject, owned he had assisted her with his counsel, and scorned to beg his life.

While

Pleasing, and pleas'd, while care-deserting Power
With Genius mingled in the social hour.
While thus, enchanted, I arround me see,
Objects, that ages past enchanted thee---
With rapture, Horace! I repeat thine ode,
That paints, with master-touch, this fair abode!
Nor wonder "Rhodes, and all the towery train
"Of Grecian cities, for thy praise in vain
"With high Albunea's echoing temple strove;
"With headlong Anio, and Tiburnus' grove;
"And orchards moisten'd with the ductile rills,
"Whose falling silver streaks yon tufted hills."
Such the wish'd seat of thy declining years!
And true to Nature the fair draught appears,
Its lovely tints unconscious of decay,
Now twice a thousand years have roll'd away.
Then why, sweet Poet, should the daring verse,
A scene, the subject of thy song, rehearse?
But let me---winding through the olive-shade,
Where once Catullus and Propertius stray'd---
Descend into the wild, and rocky glen,
That lur'd Vopiscus* from the haunts of men;
In the sweet shade of whose o'erhanging woods,
Fair Anio joys to stay his headlong floods;
Where the whole scene of leafy verdure seems
To plunge, and float upon his silver'd streams:
While Zephyr round, and dewy-feather'd Spray,
Sport in eternal cool, and mock Noon's envious ray.
Here then, in trance delicious, let me lie,
While the kind Muses, to the mental eye,
Bid every charm around me, rise, improv'd
To all their favour'd Statius saw, and lov'd---
And call'd yet unborn ages to admire!
Scenes, that to rapture wak'd his living lyre.
Do I behold---or does the cheated mind,
In its own wish the fair delusion find!
"You meeting ruins bridge anew the tide;
"And twin pavilions grace each steepy side,

Line 205. Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis. B. I. O. 7. V. 12.

* The villa which Vopiscus had here was at once so beautiful and singular, that Statius has made it the subject of an entire eclogue. Syl. B. 1. E 3.
This poem, which he boasts of having written in one day, exhibits, (as might be expected) the defects most frequent in that poet, with some lines of great beauty.

Line 235. Stat. Syl. B. 1. Ec. 3.

"With

" With a fair centre, and proportion'd wings,
" While the lov'd tree between, wide-shadowing springs,
" (Fit object for its tasteful owner's care,)
" Through roofs, and columns, to the liquid air!"
O Paradise! O fortunate retreat!
Where Art and Nature, in communion sweet,
Embracing join, to bless th' unrivall'd spot!
Art's beauteous temple overlooks the grot,
By Nature hallow'd in the living stone,
Where Anio's secret fountains rise unknown;
And now in greater, now in less cascades,
In foamy thunder fall through pendant shades.
Meads, vineyards, fruitful gardens, groves, and fields,
Of every growth the all-bearing mother yields;
Forming, in grateful change for ever new,
" One happy, rural seat, of various view."
Painting, fair younger sister of the Muse,
In vain brings hither her ten thousand hues,
To fix the headlong torrents, and imprint
Their dust-like spray, with its own rainbow tint;
While all the living graces of the scene,
Wave on her canvas, in immortal green:
Scene---not her lov'd Poussin, her darling Claude,
Or bolder Rosa, could attempt, unaw'd!
What wonder then, that every Muse's son,
From smoke, and noise, and Rome---should hither run!
In scenes so fair, what wonder Beauty rov'd,
Till her tomb sadden'd the sweet shades she lov'd?
Breath'd for whose loss, Propertius' tuneful sighs
Still murmur "Here the golden Cynthia lies."
Nor these alone---in every age, the Good,
And Great, for thee, divinest Solitude!
Have left the pomp and care, the noise and strife,
And all the dull impertinence of Life.

Line 265. The mistress of Propertius, who, as we learn from his works, not only lived, but died here.

Nox media est; dominæ mihi venit epistola nostræ;
Tibure me missâ jussit adesse morâ;
Candida quâ geminas ostendunt culmina turres,
Et cadit in patulos lympha Aniena lacus.

'Tis midnight, and a letter from my fair,
Bids me my way to Tibur instant take;
Where two white turrets glitter in the air,
And Anio falls into the spreading lake. Eleg. 14. lib. iii.

Hic Tiburtinâ jacet aurea Cynthia terrâ. Eleg. lib. iv. v. 990.

Here

Here Plancus* stole, from camps with banners bright,
To thick-wrought groves unpierc'd by garish light:
Here Varus † bade the hoarse war-clarion cease,
And harmoniz'd his soul to arts of peace.
Embower'd in silence here the musing sage
Scann'd with diviner thought the moral page:
School'd in these scenes, Ventidius, ‡ (once a groom,)
Rose the fit Consul of admiring Rome!
Augustus here, Mæcenas' guest and heir, §
Oft from his brows unbound the glitt'ring care;
And left the tasteless splendors of a throne,
To call one safe, Elyzian hour his own.
Here Trajan too the charms of Nature woo'd,
And learnt her godlike lesson---to be good!
Here too, ere Rome degenerate, base, and vain,
Kiss'd e'en a virtuous Despot's silken chain---
The last of Romans, truly Roman, plann'd
Recover'd freedom for his native land. ||
For here, on her lov'd Brutus' patriot eye,
Shone the fair, awful form of Liberty.
Warm in her honest cause she bade him rise,
And, in the glorious struggle, sacrifice
All private feeling to the public weal---
Exclaiming, as he shook his crimson'd steel,
"O Tully! Father of thy country! see
"The Tyrant falls, and Rome again is free."
Britain, like Rome, from Brutus' Trojan sire,
Drew the fair sparks of life, and Freedom's holy fire!
Thus Milton sung---nor lightly shall the Muse
To Milton's song her willing faith refuse.
Blest Albion! though less wond'rous fair the smile
Of Nature on thine ever-verdant isle:
Though on thy chilly Tiburs of the North,
Bleak Boreas sends his ruffian offspring forth,
To sweep their foliage, and with breath severe,
Nip the crude promise of the niggard year—

* ——— Seu de fulgentia signis
Castra tenent: seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Hor. Ode 8. B. 1.

† The ruins of the villa of Quintilius Varus which still remain, prove it to have been very magnificent, and still give name to the neighbouring small church called Madonna di Quintiliolo.

‡ Ventidius Bassus served under and was promoted by Mark Antony. The senate decreed him a triumph for his victory over the Parthians, in which a man went before his car, exclaiming "He who was once a groom is now a consul."

§ Augustus frequently visited him here; and to him he bequeathed the villa mentioned before.

|| Both Brutus and Cassius had villas at Tibur, and it was there the death of Cæsar was determined on.

To

Enough of great and fair to thee is giv'n,
To charm the eye, and lift the thought to Heav'n!
Thy colder, but thy not unkinder air,
Wakes and rewards fair culture's fruitful care:
Braces the nobler growth of public mind,
And fosters Freedom of perennial kind!
Whose goddess-form, in Tusculum's sweet shade,
Great Tully, with a prophet glance,* survey'd;
Ere the fair Triple Power had local birth,
And walk'd with man, on England's favour'd earth.
Not yet her martyrs from their clouds complain,
Nor mourn, with dying Brutus, Virtue vain.
Not vainly Hampden, Russell, Sidney bled—
Sweet is their rest on yon ethereal bed!
Britons are Britons still; and dare not yield
The charter which her patriot-blood has seal'd!
Britons are Britons still; revere the throne;
Guard all its rights—yet vindicate their own!
What though an honest, yet misguided few,
Would Anarchy, in Freedom's garb, pursue—
What though Corruption's foul and venal charms,
Allure infected numbers to her arms—
The general heart is sound: the general cry
Rings over ocean, "Death, or Liberty!"
Upon his steel-gift throne, with secret fear,
Gaul's bloody tyrant starts that shout to hear:
And Europe's crouching realms with envy see,
One Monarch reigning, and One People free!

* Statuo esse optimè constitutam rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari confusa modicè, &c.
Cicero, frag. de Republicâ, lib. 2.

THE DUKE'S FEAST.

[From Mr. ELTON'S TALES OF ROMANCE.]

THE moon had sunk in clouds; a storm was nigh,
And eddy leaves came scattering on the blast;
The merchant round him turn'd an anxious eye,
As yet scarce half the forest length was past;
While mingling with the gloom a deeper dread,
The passing thunder roll'd in murmurs o'er his head.

The

The steed shook wild his ruffled mane; around
The oak-trees old rock'd roaring in the gale;
And pines their branches stoop'd with crashing sound;
Drear clos'd the darkness on the lightning pale;
When through the forest breaks a light from high
Shone distant, as it seem'd, a watch-tower in the sky.

With livelier cheer the traveller wound the glade,
Till climbing slow the dark hill's hanging steep,
Th' illuminated turrets he survey'd,
Whose light had glimmer'd thro' those forests deep;
Beneath a stately castle's walls he stood,
That, flank'd with lofty towers, o'ertopp'd th' inferior wood.

Beside the gate was hung a brazen horn;
The pediment was grav'd with golden scroll;
"Here food and shelter wait the wretch forlorn,
"Who owns the treasure of a grateful soul."
The merchant to his lips that horn applied,
The hollow mountain-glens re-echoed far and wide.

Straight quivering streaks illume the granite walls,
From many a gliding torch reflected bright;
Shrill ring the gates; expand the tapestried halls,
And blooming pages guide his steps aright;
With busy hands disrobe the way-worn guest,
And lave in tepid streams, and clothe in downy vest.

Thence o'er a smooth mosaic floor he treads,
Of greenest marble is the vast saloon;
A crystal lamp its chequering lustre sheds,
As o'er some valley shines the shadowy moon;
The figur'd arras waves, and on his sight
Sudden a presence-room bursts in a blaze of light.

His foot on cushion rais'd of cloth of gold,
One sate beneath a purple canopy:
His clustering locks in raven blackness roll'd,
Pale was his hollow cheek, like fire his eye;
In cloak of ermin'd crimson he was clad;
But rueful was his mien; his smile was sad.

Knights in gay green appear'd; and clad in rose
Sate ladies young with pearl-ybraided hair;
The duke Onulphus from his throne arose,
And plac'd the merchant in a golden chair;
Full opposite the duchess thron'd was seen;
Soft was her pensive smile, and chaste her modest mien.

But

But oh! how tempting fair; her hazel eye
Swam dark in beaming languishment of hue;
Her smooth and jetty brows were arch'd on high,
Her shading lashes lengthen'd on the view;
The crimson of her cheek rose mantling warm,
A lucid robe scarce veil'd her lightly rounded form.

None may that bosom's orb'd luxuriance tell,
As marble firm, and dazzling as the snow;
The gazer's heart, while soft it rose and fell,
Beat with a like pulsation to and fro;
And oh! the moisture of the scarlet lip,
That clos'd these pearly teeth, it had been heaven to sip.

Apart she sat, distinguish'd from the rest,
A violet mantle from her shoulders flow'd;
A zone of diamonds grasp'd her throbbing breast,
And on her tapering fingers rubies glow'd;
Gems quiver'd in her ears; and round her head
Gather'd in braiding gold the jetty tresses spread.

Here gaz'd Basilius; nor the lady's gaze
Disdain'd to melt and mingle with his own;
At once his blood was kindled in a blaze,
His pulses throbb'd with tumults yet unknown;
Flush'd was his cheek, and humid were his eyes,
And every nerve was thrill'd with trembling ecstacies.

But still, whene'er he turn'd his eyes aside,
The Duke's stern glance would seem to read his soul;
Then through his heart would icy terrors glide,
Till once again her gaze electric stole
On his attracted gaze, and once again
The guilty flames were shot through every shivering vein.

Now to the trumpet's silver sound behold
The banquet serv'd; the golden beakers shine;
The viands rich are pil'd in massive gold,
Reddens in golden cups the sparkling wine;
The merchant swims in bliss; the duke demands
A health, and courteous gives the goblet to his hands.

Then smiling bends the guest his wishful eyes
To that fair Duchess, when the goblet falls
From his slack grasp; what sudden horrors rise!
What ghastly spectacle his sight appalls!
In her white hand she held a human skull,
A page stood by with wine, and fill'd it to the full.

She bows, and lifts it to her smiling lips,
But her smooth brow is ruffled by a frown;
Tears drop into the draught; and, while she sips,
O'er her high-heaving breast run trickling down.
The Merchant on Onulphus turn'd his look;
Again that eagle eye his breast with lightning strook.

Ill far'd the traveller through that horrid feast,
Tho' perfumes breath'd, and music warbled round:
Full glad was he when all the banquet ceas'd,
Fain would he fly from that enchanted ground;
But now those blooming boys the torches bear,
And his reluctant steps ascend the jasper stair.

The plumes of ostrich nodded o'er the bed,
That stood by silver eagles propp'd on high;
The velvet curtains glow'd with deepest red;
And wav'd the walls with pictur'd tapestry;
Large as the life appear'd those shadows bright,
Their stately forms mov'd slow to every breeze of night.

There from the book of Troy was wrought the tale,
Here Helen smil'd at Menelaus' side:
There look'd she back, while far the bellying sail
In flight convey'd her o'er the rolling tide:
Here her white arms enfold th' adulterous boy,
And there she wailing sees the gathering flames of Troy.

There too the mighty Agamemnon bled
Within the marble bath, by ruffian sword;
Here was the feast by Clytemnestra spread,
The gay adulterer grac'd the regal board:
There his good blade the stern Orestes drew,
And o'er a mother's corse his veiling mantle threw.

His arms in musing thought the Merchant folds,
And, touch'd with sadness, views the storied walls:
When sudden he a gilded niche beholds,
As with slant gleam the lamp reflected falls;
Within the niche two glooming tapers burn,
Whose flickering light shows dim an alabaster urn.

Who may the stranger's shuddering anguish paint,
When in that vase he look'd, and saw enclos'd
A human heart!—with rising horror's faint
He sought his couch; and lay, but not repos'd;
When clang'd the doors; and lo! the Duke—who led
That lovely dame, her locks dishevell'd from her head.

The

That heart, with myrrh and cassia balm'd, he took,
And to her lips with courteous mockery rais'd;
That heart she kiss'd, while he with searching look
On her flush'd cheek unalterably gaz'd:
Then, while her sobbing breast rose heaving fast,
The vase was clos'd, and they from forth the chamber pass'd.

Up sprang the trav'ller when the morning broke,
And left the chamber with a beating breast;
The Duke encountering smil'd, and gracious spoke,
And ask'd if sweet his fare, if soft his rest;
Basilius bow'd the knee, but frankly said,
How that his breast was scar'd, and terrified his bed.

Stern smil'd his host, and led him where a room
Was rich with painting, gold, and ebony:
Without the casements roses wreath'd their bloom,
And woodbines droop'd in cluster'd canopy:
Its blossom'd boughs the myrtle green entwin'd,
And orange-trees with sweets impregnated the wind.

Rare needle-work the colour'd hangings wove,
The silken scene did loyal loves display:
Knights in their helmets wore the gage of love,
Or at the feet of damsels courteous lay:
But all was stilly gloom; what seem'd a bed
Rose underneath an arch, with sable pall o'erspread.

Unseen the harp is touch'd; the whilst they taste
The luscious fruit, and drink metheglin sweet,
Slow to the Merchant's thought the moment's waste,
Till rose the Duke in silence from his seat;
That sable pall he rais'd, and pointing stood;
The azure couch blush'd red—it was the stain of blood!

Then pray'd the trembling merchant to depart,
The gorgeous misery sicken'd on his brain;
The mystic drinking-skull; th' embalmed heart,
The purple horror of the secret stain!—
"Lo! here," Onulphus cried, "my bridal bower!
"And here my consort clasp'd her guilty paramour.

"Like thee, my guest, he caught the roving glance
"Of Rosimund, and lur'd her to her shame;
"I saw; I found them in their sinful trance,
"And quench'd in blood the barb'rous ingrate's flame;
"It is the will of heaven that I should be
"The still-avenging scourge of her inconstancy.

" This carbuncle that on my finger glows
" Was once a living serpent's precious eye:
" Thus did an Arab sage his night's repose
" Requite, of necromantic potency:
" For still, when woman's faith would go astray,
" This modest jewel pales its bright and sanguine ray.

" And still, whene'er her thoughts to vice incline,
" That cup is brought to med'cine her offence;
" And tears of rage then mingle with her wine,
" Would they were chang'd to tears of penitence!
" I may not dare, till she be chaste and true,
" So warn'd by holy dreams, remit the penance due.

" Now go in peace!" he said, and clasp'd him round
With courteous arms; the gates unfolding rang;
A barb with golden bit there paw'd the ground,
The grateful Merchant to the saddle sprang:
Pensive he left the castle-walls; but thence
He bore a wiser heart, and firmer innocence.

RETROSPECTION.

[From the same.]

IS there who, when long years have past away,
Revisits in his manhood's prime the spot
Where stray'd his careless boyhood, nor in trance
Of recollection lost, feels silent joy
Flow in upon his heart? Whatever cares
Enthrall his weary spirit, let him feel
The gale upon his cheek, that whispering waves
The well-known tuft of trees, and dimples slow
The recollected stream, thought's busy train
Shall glance like pictur'd shadows o'er his mind:
Each airy castle of enthusiast youth
Shall dawn upon his fancy, like the towers
That sparkle in some forest of romance:
Each shade of circumstance that mark'd the scene
Of young existence, touch'd with fairy tint,
Sheds beauty not its own: that life of hope
And generous expectation, when the man
Was teeming in the boy, and the young mind,
Pleas'd with its own exertion, acted o'er
Each future impulse, and put forth the germs
Of native character. It cannot be—

Unless

Unless his heart is deaden'd by the touch
Of that mere worldliness, which hugs itself
In a factitious apathy of soul;
Unless, in vain and vacant ignorance,
He wondering smiles at those high sympathies,
Those pure unworldly feelings, which exalt
Our nature o'er the sphere of actual things;
Which lend the poet's gaze its ecstasy,
And bid the trembling note of music steal
Tears down the listener's cheek;—it cannot be
But his whole heart must soften and relent
Amid these peaceful scenes; but the deep griefs
Which time has stamp'd upon his furrow'd brow
Must for a moment smooth their thoughtful trace;
And e'en the long remorse wild passion leaves,
Rest from the goading of its secret sting.
Scene of my boyish years! I not disown
These natural feelings. Let me rest awhile
Here on this grassy bank; beneath these elms
Whose high boughs murmur with the leafy sound
That sooth'd me when a child: when, truant-like,
Of the dull chime that summon'd me afar
Nought heeding, by the river-wave I lay,
Of liberty enamour'd, and the Muse.
As yon gray turrets rest in trembling shade
On its transparent depth, the days long past
Press on awaken'd fancy; when, averse
From sport, I wander'd on its loneliest banks,
Where not a sound disturb'd the quiet air
But such as fitly blends with silentness;
The whispering sedge—the ripple of the stream,
Or bird's faint note: and not a human trace,
Save of some hamlet-spire in woods immerst,
Spake to the sight of earth's inhabiters.
Then have I rush'd, prone from the topmost bank,
And given my limbs to struggle with the stream,
And midst those waters felt a keener life.
How soft thy milky temperature of wave,
Salubrious Thames! associate with delight
Thy stream to thrilling fancy flows, when faint
I languish in the sun-blaze; and with thee
Ingenuous friendships, feats of liberty
That reck'd not stern controul, and gravely sweet
The toils of letter'd lore, and the kind smile
Of Him,* who, e'en upbraiding, could be kind,

On

* Of Mr. Savage, whose name must ever be associated with the *blandi doctores* of Horace, let me be permitted to indulge the remembrance. His system of tuition was calculated to exemplify the theory of the admirable Locke. He made instruction pleasant; and was therefore listened to and obeyed on a principle

On sooth'd remembrance throng. I would not feign
A fond repining which I did not feel;
I would not have the intermediate years
Roll back to second infancy, nor live
Again the life that haunts my memory thus
With sweet sensations: for the simple child
Is all unconscious of his pleasant lot;
His little world, like man's vast universe,
Is darken'd by its storms; and he, like man,
Creates his own disquietudes and fears;
And oft with murmurings vain of discontent,
Or bursts of idle passion, personates
His future part; the character of man.
No—'tis the cant of mock misanthropy
That dwells on childish pleasures; which the child
With light insensibility enjoys,
Or rather scorns; while on his eager view
The future prospect opens, still in sight,
Still ardently desir'd. The Power all-wise
Alike to manhood and to infancy
Has dealt the dole of pleasures and of pains;
And manhood has its toys; its happy dreams;
Its gay anticipations, e'en as youth.
Not with a sigh of mournful, vain regret
I visit these green haunts; this placid stream;
But, while the scene to memory's retrospect
Reflects th' illusive tint which fancy throws
Upon the distant past, Hope too expands
Her gilded prospects; and the future smile;
With colours indistinct, but beautiful
As the dim clouds by gleams of daybreak ting'd
Ere the red sun-rise paints the mountain's brow:
I so am fram'd, that no depressing gloom
Has power to damp my shaping energies;
But still, as when a child, my glance can dart
Bright o'er the illumin'd future, and create
Its own ideal world of hope and joy.

ciple of love. Should these insignificant pages ever meet his eye, he may not be displeased to find that

The muse attends him to the silent shade.

I trust I shall be forgiven the excusable egotism, of paying this tribute of gratitude and respect to an elegant scholar, and most amiable man.

SYBILLE.

SYBILLE. A TALE.

[From Miss MITFORD's POEMS.]

FAIR Wansbeck, when thy limpid stream
Is deck'd with May's bright flowers,
And thy clear waters circling gleam,
Round Mitford's mossy towers.

How lovely is the blooming vale,
By woody mountains bound!
The spire high rises in the dale,
The village smiles around.

The modest mansion on the hill
Beams in the brightening ray;
Mitford's proud turrets crown the rill,
And all the vale is gay.

But dark is thy tempestuous flood,
When sad November lours;
And through old Bothall's gloomy wood,
The foaming torrent pours.

Then e'en the oak's last lingering leaves
The slippery path-way spread;
The long brown grass the foot deceives,
And mocks the uncertain tread.

The lady's chapel rises there,
Amid the darkening gloom;
Its mouldering walls still brave the air;
The maniac's lonely tomb!

No roof has crown'd those mouldering walls,
For many a wintry day;
An aged ash high o'er them falls,
With moss and lichens grey.

The dreaded spot the peasant flies,
For in the torrent's swell,
He hears fair Sybille's piercing cries,
Or the sad passing bell.

And in the raging of the storm,
When the blue lightnings glare,
He sees pale Sybille's shrouded form,
Swift flitting through the air.

Gay

Gay summor smil'd on Bothall bowers;
The setting sun's resplendent beam
Illumin'd fair Mitford's mossy towers,
Tinging with gold the living stream.

High o'er the flood the castle steep
Rear'd its proud head in feudal state;
Wav'd the broad banner on the keep;
Frown'd darkly grim the arched gate.

No pleasant sound of wassel gay
Rung round Lord Bertram's splendid board;
Dark frowning, like his turrets grey,
Sate at the feast the haughty lord.

With Norman William Bertram came;
De Mitford's lovely heir he saw;
The conqueror own'd his favorite's claim;
And William's word was England's law.

Vainly the suppliant fair-one knelt,
Vainly she spurn'd a foreign yoke;
The King nor love nor pity felt—
She wept, but yielded to the stroke.

Not long she wept. Two lingering years
Two lovely smiling babes had given,
Still faster flow'd the mother's tears,
Till her soul sought its native heaven.

Goodly and brave, the youthful heir
To battle leads his father's power;
And gay, and innocent, and fair,
His Sybille blooms; a northern flower!

And now, the Baron leaves the hall;
His chieftains pass the goblet round,
When from the castle's outer wall
Arose a harp's melodious sound.

Dark brows and rugged breasts had they;
But, who the minstrel's power withstands?
Who loves not well the rapturous lay,
Or pleasant tales from distant lands?

Well pleas'd the stubborn warriors smil'd;
The iron gates were backward flung:
And soon the harper's descant wild
Through Mitford's echoing turrets rung.

And high and haughty was the lay,
That sweetly flow'd in Provence tongue;
Of tourneys, lords and ladies gay,
A wondrous tale the minstrel sung.

Boldly he struck the martial strain;
His manly voice was deep and clear;
And rapture fires the hardy train,
Again their native tongue to hear!

The polish'd accents as they fall,
(Long used to Saxon strains uncouth)
The fields of Normandy recall,
And renovate their lusty youth.

O then each well-remember'd cot,
Each blooming maid they lov'd so well,
Their earliest and their happiest lot!—
Again their steel-clad bosoms swell.

Sweet was the strain. Enchanting theme!
Of happy love the minstrel sung;
To the rapt poet's blissful dream
The magic chords responsive rung.

But soon they pause; and sad and low,
He touch'd a wildly plaintive air,
In thrilling tones of deepest woe
He told the hapless lover's care.

He ceas'd; and plaudits loud were made,
Grateful he rais'd his down-cast eye,
But scarce his modest thanks he paid
Ere the half-utter'd accents die.

For that dark eye had careless glanc'd
To the high throne of feudal state;
And hov'ring there, inspir'd, entranc'd,
A lovely vision speechless sate.

O ne'er was form so witching fair!
Sweetly through recent tears she smil'd,
Loose and unbound her sunny hair
Flow'd round her sylphid figure wild.

Soft was her eye of heav'nly blue;
Her cheek was like the opening rose,
Wet with the morning's pearly dew,
And pure her bosom's living snows.

In

In manly beauty's youthful glow
Was he, who touch'd the tuneful string,
Dark clustering o'er his polish'd brow,
Hung ringlets like the raven's wing.

Stately his form, and proud his mien;
High genius sparkled in his eye,
Soft'ning from glances wild and keen,
To smiles of cherub infancy.

They saw, they lov'd—The harp still rung
To airs of love in Mitford tow'r.
Of war, of fame, no more he sung,
But high-born beauty's gentle pow'r.

Nor wealth, nor rank on Albert smil'd;
He knew no father's fostering care,
A widow'd mother rear'd the child,
Deep in the wilds of Provence fair.

But far from his romantic home
He sought Italia's blissful strand,
For Albert long'd the world to roam,
To visit every distant land.

" O he had wander'd far and wide
" Through vales, where Arno's waters flow,
" Seen the bright dames, Iberia's pride,
" And Grecian nymphs with necks of snow!

" But not in Tempe's classic shade
" Had he so sweet a valley seen;
" Nor e'er beheld so fair a maid,
" As she who tripp'd o'er Mitford green."

The blushing girl, with accents mild
And gentle chidings, check'd his praise:
But still she listen'd, still she smil'd,
Whilst Albert pour'd his am'rous lays.

No hopes had they the Baron proud
Would e'er the minstrel's vows approve,
For noble youths to Sybille bow'd,
And sought the blue-ey'd maiden's love.

Gay summer now was fading fast;
The robin twitter'd from the wood,
And scatter'd by th' autumnal blast,
The yellow leaves sail'd down the flood.

Still the fond youth his passion prest,
A smile half lit her down-cast eye;
"O! if of Sybille's heart possest,
" Albert can ev'ry care defy!

" Far from the scenes of pride and wealth,
" We'll seek some wood-embosom'd cot,
" Content, and innocence, and health,
" With happy love, shall crown our lot.

" At morn these sinewy limbs I'll strain,
" (How blest to labour, love, for thee!)
" At ev'ning with the village train
" We'll join in rustic revelry.

" Haste then, my fair! a holy priest
" E'en now at Mary's chapel waits;
" Thy father loiters at the feast,
" The weary warder leaves the gates.

" My Sybille, come!" Her trembling feet
Can scarce her slender form support;
Hope, fear, and love, contending meet,
Scarce can she cross the echoing court.

" My Sybille, come!" Prophetic fears
The maiden's gentle bosom move;
Her azure eyes are dimm'd with tears,
Tears soon dispell'd by mighty love!

No more she turns; to Mitford's tow'rs
No more her ling'ring footsteps stray;
Lightly she trips through Bothall's bow'rs,
Ting'd by the parting beam of day.

There in the virgin's chapel fair,
By Wansbeck's swiftly-flowing tide,
The holy father blest the pair,
And Albert clasp'd his blushing bride.

'Twas night, and darkness veil'd the wood,
Save where the silver moon-beam shone,
Danc'd upon Wansbeck's rippling flood,
Or kiss'd the chapel's holy stone.

And nought the solemn stillness broke,
Save the clear water's rushing sound,
The night-breeze murm'ring through the oak,
Or the dark bat quick flitting round.

But

But soon a thousand torches shine!
Wild shouts the sleeping echoes rouse!
And Sybille sinks by Mary's shrine,
Where late she pledg'd her stolen vows.

Soon, soon they pierce the holy walls!
The minstrel draws his trusty blade;
"Revenge!" the madden'd father calls,
And furious spurns the weeping maid.

They fight—the husband and the sire!
They fight—and desp'rate is the strife;
Still fiercer glows their mutual ire,
Nor heeds the daughter and the wife.

Frantic she darts between the foes—
The Baron's sword is dipp'd in gore,
O'er her fair form the life-blood flows,
And Sybille falls—to rise no more!

Who is that chief on Judah's strand,
Who, reckless of the mortal wound,
Hews desp'rate 'mid the Paynim band,
Strewing with mangled heaps the ground?

And who is he, whose raven hair
Is tann'd by sun and wet with rain,
Who lies on Mary's pavement bare,
Bathing with tears the bloody stain?

That chief—may Heaven its mercy shew!
That wretched youth in woe unmov'd—
That chief is he who gave the blow,
That youth is he whom Sybille lov'd.

THE SWERGA.

[From Mr. Southey's Kehama.]

THEN in the Ship of Heaven, Ereenia laid
The waking, wondering Maid;
The Ship of Heaven, instinct with thought, display'd
Its living sail, and glides along the sky.
On either side in wavy tide,
The clouds of morn along its path divide;
The Winds who swept in wild career on high,

Before

Before its presence check their charmed force;
The Winds that loitering lagg'd along their course,
Around the living bark enamour'd play,
Swell underneath the sail, and sing before its way.
That Bark, in shape, was like the furrowed shell
Wherein the Sea-Nymphs to their parent-king,
On festal-day, their duteous offerings bring.
Its hue?... Go watch the last green light
Ere Evening yields the western sky to Night;
Or fix upon the Sun thy strenuous sight
Till thou has reach'd its orb of chrysolite.
The sail from end to end display'd
Bent, like a rainbow, o'er the Maid.
An Angel's head, with visual eye,
Through trackless space, directs its chosen way;
Nor aid of wing, nor foot, nor fin,
Requires to voyage o'er the obedient sky.
Smooth as the swan, when not a breeze at even
Disturbs the surface of the silver stream,
Through air and sunshine sails the Ship of Heaven.

Recumbent there the Maiden glides along
On her aerial way,
How swift she feels not, though the swiftest wind
Had flagg'd in flight behind.
Motionless as a sleeping babe she lay,
An all serene in mind,
Feeling no fear; for that ethereal air
With such new life and joyance fill'd her heart,
Fear could not enter there;
For sure she deem'd her mortal part was o'er,
And she was sailing to the heavenly shore;
And that angelic form, who mov'd beside,
Was some good Spirit sent to be her guide.

Daughter of Earth! therein thou deem'st aright,
And never yet did form more beautiful,
In dreams of night descending from on high,
Bless the religious Virgin's gifted sight,
Nor, like a vision of delight,
Rise on the raptur'd Poet's inward eye.
Of human form divine was he,
The immortal Youth of Heaven who floated by,
Even such as that divinest form shall be
In those blest stages of our onward race,
When no infirmity,
Low thought, nor base desire, nor wasting care,
Deface the semblance of our heavenly sire.
The wings of Eagle or of Cherubim
Had seem'd unworthy him:

Angelic

Angelic power and dignity and grace
Were in his glorious pennons; from the neck
Down to the ankle reach'd their swelling web,
Richer than robes of Tyrian dye, that deck
Imperial Majesty:
Their colour like the winter's moonless sky
When all the stars of midnight's canopy
Shine forth; or like the azure deep at noon,
Reflecting back to heaven a brighter blue.
Such was their tint when clos'd, but when outspread,
The permeating light
Shed through their substance thin a varying hue;
Now bright as when the Rose,
Beauteous as fragrant, gives to scent and sight
A like delight; now like the juice that flows
From Douro's generous vine,
Or ruby when with deepest red it glows;
Or as the morning clouds refulgent shine
When, at forthcoming of the Lord of Day,
The Orient, like a shrine,
Kindles as it receives the rising ray,
And heralding his way,
Proclaims the presence of the power divine.
Thus glorious were the wings
Of that celestial Spirit, as he went
Disporting through his native element.
Nor these alone
The gorgeous beauties that they gave to view;
Through the broad membrane branch'd a pliant bone,
Spreading like fibres from their parent stem;
Its veins like interwoven silver shone,
Or as the chaster hue
Of pearls that grace some Sultan's diadem.
Now with slow stroke and strong, behold him smite
The buoyant air, and now in gentler flight,
On motionless wing expanded, shoot along.

Through air and sunshine sails the Ship of Heaven.
Far far beneath them lies
The gross and heavy atmosphere of earth;
And with the Swerga gales,
The Maid of mortal birth,
At every breath, a new delight inhales.
And now towards its port the Ship of Heaven,
Swift as a falling meteor, shapes its flight,
Yet gently as the dews of night that gem,
And do not bend the hare-bell's slenderest stem.
Daughter of Earth, Ereenia cried, alight,
This is thy place of rest, the Swerga this,
Lo, here my bower of bliss!

He

He furl'd his azure wings, which round him fold
Graceful as robes of Grecian chief of old.
The happy Kailyal knew not where to gaze,
Her eyes around in joyful wonder roam,
Now turn'd upon the lovely Glendoveer,
Now on his heavenly home.

MOUNT MERU.

[From the same.]

SWIFT through the sky the vessel of the Suras
Sails up the fields of ether like an Angel,
Rich is the freight, O Vessel, that thou bearest!
Beauty and Virtue,
Fatherly cares and filial veneration,
Hearts which are prov'd and strengthen'd by affliction,
Manly resentment, fortitude and action,
Womanly goodness;
All with which Nature halloweth her daughters,
Tenderness, truth and purity and meekness,
Piety, patience, faith and resignation,
Love and devotement.
Ship of the Gods! how richly art thou laden!
Proud of the charge, thou voyagest rejoicing.
Clouds float around to honour thee, and Evening
Lingers in heaven.

A stream descends on Meru mountain;
None hath seen its secret fountain;
It had its birth, so Sages say,
Upon the memorable day
When Parvati presumed to lay,
In wanton play,
Her hands, too venturous Goddess, in her mirth,
On Seeva's eyes, the light and life of Earth.
Thereat the heart of the Universe stood still;
The Elements ceas'd their influences; the Hours
Stopt on the eternal round; Motion and Breath,
Time, Change, and Life and Death,
In sudden trance opprest, forgot their powers.
A moment, and the dread eclipse was ended;
But, at the thought of Nature thus suspended,
The sweat on Seeva's forehead stood,
And Ganges thence upon the World descended,
The Holy River, the Redeeming Flood.

None

None hath seen its secret fountain;
But on the top of Meru mountain
Which rises o'er the hills of earth,
In light and clouds, it hath its mortal birth.
Earth seems that pinnacle to rear
Sublime above this wordly sphere,
Its cradle, and its altar, and its throne;
And there the new-born River lies
Outspread beneath its native skies,
As if it there would love to dwell
Alone and unapproachable.
Soon flowing forward, and resign'd
To the will of the Creating Mind,
It springs at once, with sudden leap,
Down from the immeasurable steep.
From rock to rock, with shivering force rebounding,
The mighty cataract rushes; Heaven around,
Like thunder, with the incessant roar resounding,
And Meru's summit shaking with the sound.
Wide spreads the snowy foam, the sparkling spray
Dances aloft; and ever there, at morning,
The earliest sun-beams haste to wing their way,
With rain-bow wreaths the holy flood adorning;
And duly the adoring Moon at night
Sheds her white glory there,
And in the watery air
Suspends her halo-crowns of silver light.

A mountain valley in its blessed breast
Receives the stream, which there delights to lie,
Untroubled and at rest,
Beneath the untainted sky.
There in a lovely lake it seems to sleep,
And thence, through many a channel dark and deep,
Their secret way the holy Waters wind,
Till, rising underneath the root
Of the Tree of Life on Hemakoot,
Majestic forth they flow to purify mankind.

Towards this Lake, above the nether sphere,
The living Bark, with angel eye,
Directs its course along the obedient sky.
Kehama hath not yet dominion here;
And till the dreaded hour,
When Indra by the Rajah shall be driven
Dethron'd from Heaven,
Here may Ladurlad rest beyond his power.
The living Bark alights; the Glendoveer

Here

Then lays Ladurlad by the blessed Lake;
O happy Sire, and yet more happy Daughter!
The ethereal gales his agony aslake,
His daughters's tears are on his cheek,
His hand is in the water;
The innocent man, the man opprest,
Oh joy!—hath found a place of rest
Beyond Kehama's sway,
His Curse extends not here; his pains have past away.

Oh happy Sire, and happy Daughter!
Ye on the banks of that celestial water
Your resting place and sanctuary have found,
What! hath not then their mortal taint defil'd
The sacred solitary ground?
Vain thought! the Holy Valley smil'd
Receiving such a sire and child;
Ganges, who seem'd asleep to lie,
Beheld them with benignant eye,
And rippled round melodiously,
And roll'd her little waves, to meet
And welcome their beloved feet.
The gales of Swerga thither fled,
And heavenly odours there were shed
About, below, and overhead;
And Earth rejoicing in their tread,
Hath built them up a blooming Bower,
Where every amaranthine flower
Its deathless blossom interweaves
With bright and undecaying leaves.

Three happy beings are there here,
The Sire, the Maid, the Glendoveer!
A fourth approaches,—who is this
That enters in the Bower of Bliss?
No form so fair might painter find
Among the daughters of mankind;
For Death her beauties hath refin'd,
And unto her a form hath given
Fram'd of the elements of Heaven;
Pure dwelling-place for perfect mind,
She stood and gaz'd on sire and child;
Her tongue not yet had power to speak,
The tears were streaming down her cheek;
And when those tears her sight beguil'd,
And still her faltering accents fail'd,

The Spirit, mute and motionless,
Spread out her arms for the caress,
Made still and silent with excess
Of love and painful happiness.

The Maid that lovely form survey'd;
Wistful she gaz'd, and knew her not;
But Nature to her heart convey'd
A sudden thrill, a startling thought,
A feeling many a year forgot,
Now like a dream anew recurring,
As if again in every vein
Her mother's milk was stirring.
With straining neck and earnest eye
She stretch'd her hands imploringly,
As if she fain would have her nigh,
Yet fear'd to meet the wish'd embrace,
At once with love and awe opprest.
Not so, Ladurlad; he could trace,
Though brighten'd with angelic grace,
His own Yedillian's earthly face:
He ran and held it to his breast!
Oh joy above all joys of Heaven,
By Death alone to others given,
This moment hath to him restor'd
The early-lost, the long-deplor'd.

They sin who tell us Love can die.
With life all other passions fly,
All others are but vanity.
In Heaven Ambition cannot dwell,
Nor Avarice in the vaults of Hell;
Earthly these passions of the Earth,
They perish where they have their birth;
But Love is indestructible.
Its holy flame for ever burneth,
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth;
Too oft on Earth a troubled guest,
At times deceiv'd, at times opprest,
It here is tried and purified,
Then hath in Heaven its perfect rest:
It soweth here with toil and care,
But the harvest-time of Love is there.
Oh! when a Mother meets on high
The Babe she lost in infancy,
Hath she not then, for pains and fears,
The day of woe, the watchful night,
For all her sorrow, all her tears,
An over-payment of delight!

A blessed family is this
Assembled in the Bower of Bliss!
Strange woe, Ladurlad, hath been thine,
And pangs beyond all human measure,
And thy reward is now divine,
A foretaste of eternal pleasure.
He knew indeed there was a day
When all these joys would pass away,
And he must quit this blest abode;
And, taking up again the spell,
Groan underneath the baleful load,
And wander o'er the world again
Most wretched of the sons of men:
Yet was this brief repose, as when
A traveller in the Arabian sands,
Half-fainting on his sultry road,
Hath reach'd the water-place at last;
And resting there beside the Well,
Thinks of the perils he has past,
And gazes o'er the unbounded plain,
The plain which must be travers'd still,
And drinks, . . yet cannot drink his fill;
Then girds his patient loins again.
So to Ladurlad now was given
New strength, and confidence in Heaven,
And hope, and faith invincible.
For often would Ereenia tell
Of what in elder days befell,
When other Tyrants, in their might,
Usurp'd dominion o'er the earth;
And Yeeshnoo took a human birth,
Deliverer of the Sons of men;
And slew the huge Ermaccasen,
And piece-meal rent, with lion force,
Errenen's accursed corse,
And humbled Baly in his pride;
And when the Giant Ravanen
Had borne triumphant, from his side,
Sita, the earth-born God's beloved bride,
Then, from his island kingdom, laugh'd to scorn
The insulted husband, and his power defied;
How to revenge the wrong in wrath he hied,
Bridging the sea before his dreadful sway,
And met the hundred-headed foe,
And dealt him the unerring blow;
By Brama's hand the righteous lance was given,
And by that arm immortal driven,
It laid the mighty Tyrant low;
And Earth and Ocean, and high Heaven,
Rejoiced to see his overthrow.

Oh! doubt not thou, Yedillian cried,
Such fate Kehama will betide;
For there are Gods who look below,...
Seeva, the Avenger, is not blind,
Nor Veeshnóo careless for mankind.

Thus was Ladurlad's soul imbued
With hope and holy fortitude;
And Child and Sire, with pious mind
Alike resolv'd, alike resign'd,
Look'd onward to the evil day:
Faith was their comfort, Faith their stay;
They trusted woe would pass away,
And Tyranny would sink subdued,
And Evil yield to Good.

Lovely wert thou, O Flower of Earth!
Above all flowers of mortal birth;
But fostered in this blissful bower
From day to day, and hour to hour,
Lovelier grew the lovely flower.
O blessed, blessed company!
When men and heavenly spirits greet,
And they whom Death had severed meet,
And hold again communion sweet;...
O blessed, blessed company!
The Sun, careering round the sky,
Beheld them with rejoicing eye,
And bade his willing Charioteer
Relax their speed as they drew near;
Arounin check'd the rainbow reins,
The seven green coursers shook their manes,
And brighter rays around them threw;
The Car of glory in their view
More radiant, more resplendent grew;
And Surya, through his veil of light,
Beheld the Bower, and blest the sight.
The Lord of Night, as he sail'd by,
Stay'd his pearly boat on high;
And, while around the blissful Bower
He bade the softest moonlight flow,
Lingered to see that earthly flower,
Forgetful of his Dragon foe,
Who, mindful of their ancient feud,
With open jaws of rage pursued.
There all good Spirits of the air,
Suras and Devetas repair,
Aloft they love to hover there
And view the flower of mortal birth
Here, for her innocence and worth,

Transplanted

Transplanted from the fields of earth;...
And him who, on the dreadful day
When Heaven was filled with consternation,
And Indra trembled with dismay,
And, for the sounds of joy and mirth,
Woe was heard, and lamentation,
Defied the Rajah in his pride,
Though all in Heaven and Earth beside
Stood mute in dolorous expectation;
And rushing forward in that hour,
Saved the Swerga from his power.
Grateful for this they hover nigh,
And bless the blessed company.

One God alone, with wanton eye,
Beheld them in their Bower;
O ye, he cried, who have defied
The Rajah, will ye mock my power?
'Twas Camdeo riding on his lory,
'Twas the immortal youth of Love;
If men below and Gods above,
Subject alike, quoth he, have felt these darts,
Shall ye alone, of all in story,
Boast impenetrable hearts?
Hover here, my gentle lory,
Gently hover, while I see
To whom hath Fate decreed the glory,
To the Glendoveer or me.

Then in the dewy evening sky,
The bird of gorgeous plumery
Pois'd his wings and hover'd nigh.
It chanced at that delightful hour
Kailyal sate before the Bower,
On the green bank with amaranth sweet,
Where Ganges warbled at her feet.
Ereenia there, before the Maid,
His sails of ocean-blue displayed;
And sportive in her sight,
Mov'd slowly o'er the lake with gliding flight;
Anon, with sudden stroke and strong,
In rapid course careering, swept along;
Now shooting downward from his heavenly height,
Plunged in the deep below,
Then rising, soar'd again,
And shook the sparkling waters off like rain,
And hovering o'er the silver-surface hung.
At him young Camdeo bent the bow;
With living bees the bow was strung,
The fatal bow of sugar-cane,

And

And flowers which would inflame the heart,
With their petals barb'd the dart.

The shaft, unerringly addrest,
Unerring flew, and smote Ereenia's breast.
Ah, Wanton! cried the Glendoveer,
Go aim at idler hearts,
Thy skill is baffled here!
A deeper love I bear that Maid divine,
Sprung from a higher will,
A holier power than thine!
A second shaft, while thus Ereenia cried,
Had Camdeo aim'd at Kailyal's side,
But, lo! the Bees which strung his bow
Broke off, and took their flight.
that sweet Flower of earth they wing their way,
Around her raven tresses play,
And buzz about her with delight,
As if, with that melodious sound,
They strove to pay their willing duty
To mortal purity and beauty.
Ah, Wanton! cried the Glendoveer,
No power hast thou for mischief here!
Chuse thou some idler breast,
For these are proof, by nobler thoughts possest.
Go to thy plains of Matra go,
And string again thy broken bow!
Rightly Ereenia spake; and ill had thoughts
Of earthly love beseem'd the sanctuary
Where Kailyal had been wafted, that the Soul
Of her dead Mother there might strengthen her,
Feeding her with the milk of heavenly lore,
And influxes of Heaven imbue her heart
With hope and faith, and holy fortitude,
Against the evil day. Here rest awhile
In peace, O Father! mark'd for misery
Above all sons of men; O Daughter! doom'd
For sufferings and for trials above all
Of women;... yet both favour'd, both belov'd
By all good Powers, here rest awhile in peace.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

BIBICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

THE year of which we are now about to take a retrospect has been richer in biblical criticism than many that have preceded it. We shall notice the works by which it has been distinguished in the order of their merits, and shall commence with the "Biblia Hebraica, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, without Points, after the text of Kennicott, with the chief various readings, selected from his collection of Hebrew MSS. from that of de Rossi, and from the ancient versions; accompanied with English notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, selected from the most approved ancient and modern English and foreign Biblical critics. Part I. comprising the book of Genesis. Royal Quarto, price 7s. Pontefract, for the Editor and Printer, B. Boothroyd."

We have copied the whole title-page of Mr. Boothroyd's work, as containing an epitome of the means by which he purposes to carry his important object into execution. We were not a little pleased with the novelty of seeing the different qualities of a printer, and of a good biblical critic, and apparently of a good general scholar, united in the same person: and a person, too, residing in a provincial town. The age of Erpenius and of the Stephenses, is so far returned, and we trust it will long continue; and that among the extensive fraternity of our typographists, there may never cease to be many who may be judges not only of the manner in which a book of ancient learning is worked off, but of the matter which it contains. It would give the fairest promise of immaculate editions; and furnish us with an extensive supply of the best literature at the cheapest rate. The received text is that selected on the present occasion; but the disputed readings are noticed in various ways according to the scale of their importance, sometimes by chasms, sometimes by brackets, sometimes by simple notation; and where they are of considerable consequence, by an inner margin and by notes. The inner margin is conducted upon the plan of that in Wetstein's Greek Testament, and is confined to the editor's selection of various readings: this selection including,

including, first, all the various readings which are found in any of the ancient versions, whether supported by the authority of MSS. or not; and, secondly, those readings from MSS. or editions which supply an acknowledged deficiency in the text; though when a various reading has no connexion with the context, and is not supported by the authority of any of the versions, it is deemed wholly inadmissible by the editor.

The text is neat and elegant, but without the points. We are not quite certain that Mr. Boothroyd has acted prudently in their rejection. For ourselves we hold them in little general estimation, though sometimes useful in deciding an early sense given to a controverted passage; but as great numbers of biblical scholars still continue of a different opinion, the edition now offered will lose the chance of being purchased by such persons; while, had the points been introduced, they would have formed no obstacle to as extensive a purchase by scholars who do not use them, as we trust the edition will experience in its present form. And on this view of the subject, and on no other, we lately advised a stereotype edition of Leusden's text, which we have reason to believe will soon be carried into execution.

The notes are both critical and explanatory; they form a running commentary, and occupy about half the work, so far as it has hitherto proceeded. They consist of original remarks by the editor himself, with extracts and abridgements from the ancient Jewish targumists, and commentators, as well as from an extensive body of Christian critics and divines; such as Buxtorf, Bochart, Dathe, Rosenmüller, Houbigant, Dimock, Pilkington, Shuckford, Kennicott, and Geddes. The notes are in English; but it is somewhat extraordinary, that in quoting from the Septuagint, the editor should give neither the Greek characters, nor the English rendering of the passages, but should transpose or translate them into Hebrew. We can see no other advantage from such a conduct, than that of proving himself to be a good Hebrew proficient. As a mere specimen of the manner in which the text is given, we shall observe that, in Gen. i. 6. the expression, "*and it was so,*" (ויהי כן) is subjoined in brackets, upon the authority of the Septuagint, which contains *και εγενετο ουτως*. In like manner, in v. 8. and upon the same authority, the expression, "and God saw that it was good:" (וירא אלהים כי טוב) is introduced as a middle part of the verse, which is consequently made to consist of a triplet instead of a distich, or beit (بيت) as in the common reading. So again, at the close of v. 9, we have the following addition inserted in like manner in brackets, from the same ancient version, *και συνηχθη το υδωρ το υποκατω του ουρανου εις τας συναγωγας αυτων, και ωφθη η ξηρα*: "for the waters under the heavens were gathered together unto one place, and the dry land appeared." Whether these and similar passages existing in the Greek text, ever had an existence in the Hebrew, and have been accidentally dropped by the carelessness of transcription, it is not possible to determine accurately in the present day. But as no object could be proposed by originating them in the Greek, it is far more rational to suppose that they were actually found in the Hebrew copy, from which the Septuagint was rendered.

"The New Testament, translated from the Latin in the year 1380,

1380, by John Wiclif, D. D. to which are prefixed memoirs of the life, opinions, and writings of Dr. Wielif; and an historical account of the Saxon and English versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the fifteenth century. By the Rev. R. H. Baber." Royal quarto. Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* This edition of Wiclif's translation professes to be a correct reprint of Mr. Lewis's, published in 1731: which was taken from two MSS. one of which was the property of Mr. Lewis, and the other of Sir Edward Dering. The manuscript was collated by the learned Dr. Daniel Waterland, with ten MSS. deposited in different libraries at Cambridge; and afterwards by Mr. Lewis, with six of the most curious MSS. at Oxford. This edition Mr. Baber, from his situation as assistant librarian at the British Museum, has enriched with a few communications, which enhances its value; and we agree with the learned editor, that the reader will here also "find a more correct statement than has yet appeared of the earliest translations of the whole or particular portions of the inspired writings;" and we may add, that he will probably find them considerably more numerous than he had previously any expectation of.

As an authority to the establishment of the original text, this book is of little or no value; for it professes to be nothing more than a translation at second hand, the mere shadow of a shade; but the shades are beautiful, and will be found to give a very exact profile. In another point of view, however, we hail most cordially the reprint before us, and regard it as a work of considerable importance. We behold in it the first full attempt to propagate a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in "*proper Ynglyshe*," and as the ground-work of that noble monument of elegance and critical skill, which exists in the standard version of our own day:—an elegance which has shone with almost unabated splendour for nearly two centuries; and a critical skill which cannot be better described than by stating to the English reader, that though it was published nearly thirteen *years*, before the Greek text of the Elzivirs (or that in common use) was digested, and which was even assisted by king James's version, coincides more nearly with the Greek text, as settled by Griesbach, in our own day, after a life of forty years devoted to an adjustment of the disputed passages. Upon which subject we beg leave to refer the reader to the New Annual Register for 1809, part Domestic Literature, p. p. 307, 311.

Wiclif is well known to have been the morning star of the reformation; and the example he set by the present vernacular version, has proved of far more extensive influence than to our own country; for it infused a spirit for national translations over the whole theatre of Protestant Europe, and was the first means of enabling the Bible Societies of different countries, and especially of our own, to communicate the glad tidings, in their various and respective tongues, to the remotest nations of the earth.

To the philologist the present is also a work of considerable importance; and forms a good middle point in the changes by which our national language has been characterized, between the periods of Bede and James I. Upon the whole, these changes have been immeasurably for the better; but there are a few regulations which can scarcely be regarded as improvements;—such, for example, as the alteration of the old

old plural *ax*, which was in use among verbs, as well as among substantives to *s*, or *es*, among the latter, and which has chiefly given that hissing or sibilating character to our enunciation, so much complained of by foreigners: as also the disuse of the verb *nyl* or *nil*, as an opposite to *wyl* or *will*, a term often used with peculiar force in the translation before us, and for which we have now no fair synonym or substitute. Spenser was fond of this expression, and we occasionally find it in Ben Jonson, but we are not aware that it has passed beyond the æra of the latter. We give the following as a fair specimen of the style and orthography of the Wicklif version, Matt. v. 41, 42, 43. "But I seye to you, that ye aghen stonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, shewe to him also the other; and to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coote, leeve thou also to him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousynd pacis; go thou with him other tweyne: give thou to him that axith of thee; and turne not thou away fro him that wole borowe of thee. Ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and slaundren you."—Matt. iv. 3. "Command that these stones be made bread," is given better by Wiclif, "seye that these stones bee maad looves," *i. e.* "loaves:" in which the resemblance between the two ideas is admirably preserved. *Pearls* is here rendered, after the Latin, *margaritis*, baskets; *cofynes*, after the Greek, κοφινος; drachm, *dragme*, from δραχμε, and talents, *Besauntis*, i. e. coins of Byzantium. A portrait of Wiclif is prefixed to the work, but without any avouchment for its correctness. The accompanying life comprises as many particulars as the author could obtain, and they appear to be duly supported: subjoined is a catalogue of Dr. Wiclif's Works, more extensive than usual; discriminative remarks on various copies of them; and notices of the places where many of them are preserved. Of many of these we should rejoice to see a reprint, and in the present fashionable fondness for obsolete writings, we think a judicious undertaking of this kind would be sure to succeed.

"The Book of Job, translated from the Hebrew, by the late Miss Elizabeth Smith, &c with a Preface and Annotations, by the Rev. F. Randolph, D. D." 8vo.

This is a very extraordinary performance, from a very extraordinary character. A young lady who, in her prime, and in the midst of many family mortifications, and severe personal sickness, should be able to render herself an accomplished English scholar, a poet above mediocrity, a student in mathematics, a proficient in several modern languages, and a skilful labourer in the Oriental tongues, must be a phenomenon in all ages, and especially in one, which is peculiarly characterized, by becoming superficially wise upon the gleanings of others, rather than solidly informed by original study. There is very great and intrinsic merit in the work before us; we freely and unreservedly allow it this praise; and we are persuaded that if any thing can injure or depreciate it, it is the very injudicious and extravagant encomiums which the friends of Miss Smith, in the delirium of their partiality, have passed upon it, and by which they seem desirous of representing it as the very best translation that has ever appeared

appeared at any time, and in any language; as superseding the necessity of any other; and as second, in point of merit, to the bible original itself. "If I have no hesitation," observes Dr. Randolph, in his presence, "in saying that, *as a translation it fears no comparison*, I would also expressly state that (except with the context of the venerable book from which it was formed) *it calls for none*." And in another place, after stating that he had applied to his friend Dr. Magee for his opinion, he adds, "that judgment has been pronounced, and under the sanction of it I am authorised to produce this version of the Book of Job, *not as a work that claims indulgence*, from the youth or sex of the author, or which might plead the disavantages under which it was prosecuted, in extenuation of its faults and errors, but as a work of intrinsic and superior excellence, and 'conveying,' as my friend expresses himself, 'more of the true character and meaning of the Hebrew, with fewer departures from the idiom of *the English* than any other translation whatever *that we possess*.' As such I do produce it; and so far as a diligent and accurate comparison of this translation, partially or wholly, with almost every other extant (at least with all that I could procure or read) may entitle me to make the assertion, I scruple not to pronounce it to be, upon the whole, more clear and satisfactory, more grammatically accurate, more closely expressive of the literal meaning, and though preserving a native lustre of its own, more distinctly reflecting the brightness of its glorious original, *than any* which has fallen under my observation."

It is impossible not to observe the material difference which exists between the two opinions of these two learned friends. Dr. Magee limits his encomium to the superiority of the present work, compared with every other *English translation*. Dr. Randolph professes to build his own opinion upon this basis; "*as such*," says he, "*I do produce it*." But he immediately flies off from the restriction, and rapturously affirms it to be superior to every translation *in every language*, that has ever fallen under his observation. We cannot quite accede to the former encomium, for though in some points it excels our received version, it falls very far short of it in others, and has far less explicitly, and less critically given the genuine and undoubted sense: we readily acknowledge it, however, to be, on the whole, a superior version to Dr. Stock's; but we can by no means keep pace with the high-flown language of the editor, and admit its superiority to any thing of the kind that has ever been exhibited in any other part of the world: for we have no hesitation in saying, that in Latin we prefer St. Jerom, and A. Schultens; in Spanish Louis de Leon; in Italian Diodati; in German Michaelis.

In few words, it is impossible to translate the book of Job correctly, without a competent knowledge of Arabic. The language in which it is written is a language of its own: it is a language not to be met with in any other part of the Bible: it is a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic; and clearly proves that the writer, whoever he was, (and we do not think it is difficult to determine) must have been intimately acquainted with Idumæan, or ancient Arabic, which we have no reason to suppose differed very essentially from the Arabic of the present day. Dr. Randolph does not seem disposed to allow a knowledge of Arabic to be of

of any essential consequence, in one or two parts of his preface, yet admits in others, that Miss Smith may have prepared herself for the version before us, by previous exercises both in Arabic and Persian. What her knowledge of these tongues may have been, we know not; from the respectable assertion of the present editor, that she was acquainted with them, we have no doubt of the fact; but we must freely confess, we have sought in vain for any proof of such acquaintance in the present translation. Miss Smith is perpetually proving herself to have been a pupil of Mr. Parkhurst's: his authorities are omnipotent to her; and her version is almost entirely founded upon the interpretations which, in the course of his lexicon, he has given to a very great multitude of passages in the book of Job, together with a few conjectures of Miss Smith's own, in many of which, however, she has by no means been successful: but, most assuredly, neither in Mr. Parkhurst nor in Miss Smith is there the smallest pretension to Arabic or even to Persian literature or criticism; and we may add, that both of them are, in many places, palpably erroneous, for want of such knowledge.

We must close this article with examining, as briefly as possible, a few of the renderings of the present version, where they differ from the received text, in order that the reader may be able to exercise his own judgment upon the subject. In chap. i. 5. our common lection gives us "for Job said," and so does the original, כי אמר איוב: and so does every preceding version we are acquainted with; but Miss Smith chuses to render it, "for HE said:" yet Dr. Randolph has asserted, that this translation is "more *closely* expressive of the literal meaning" of the Hebrew, than any other. It may perhaps be conceived, that this is not a point of any consequence: and we have selected it on this very account: it seems to shew more than any other instance would have done, the *loose*, instead of the *close*, manner in which this version is executed, where there is no assignable reason for being so.—In the very next verse, the common rendering "sons of God," is here given "sons of PERDITION:" which, so far as we are acquainted with, is a sense, not of Mr. Parkhurst's, but of the editor's alone; yet it is an ingraft upon a previous interpretation of Mr. Parkhurst. This excellent critic has chosen to translate the word God (אלהים) in the plural, and to understand by it the *false gods* of the country: on which account this close and faithful scholar chuses to regard Satan and his associates as the *false gods* alluded to; and hence, with a most unjustifiable contortion of the term השלהים, to understand it as importing *perdition*, from חלה "to be faint, languid, or diseased," in opposition to its usual, and peculiarly emphatic derivation from אלה in conjunction with the forcible prefix ה. Yet this translation is approved by Dr. Randolph, though in contradiction with that of every preceding translator and commentator, while he is sufficiently unguarded to speak in its justification, that "he does not know that the particle ה appears any where else, prefixed to Elohim, in regimine, except in the sixth chapter of Genesis, which perhaps might not be less intelligible thus translated, than as it now stands." It is unnecessary to point out other passages, for we are persuaded that this respectable character must have been sufficiently sensible of his error, long

long before this time. *Perdition* can in no sense be fairly deduced from מאלהים, and if it could, no possible advantage is obtained by such a disturbance of the common rendering.

ברך, which has proved a stumbling-block to most of the commentators, has miserably succeeded with Miss Smith. In i. 6. it is rendered *bless*; in i. 11. it is also translated *bless*, but with a quere whether it should not be *curse*; in ii. 5. it is roundly translated *curse*, without any quere, whatever, though the whole context is precisely the same; and in not more than four verses after, *viz.* v. 9. it is roundly, and without a quere again translated *bless*, "*blessing* God and dying;" which last is an elegant and correct rendering, brought immediately from Mr. Parkhurst. So much for *clearness, satisfactoriness*, and *accuracy*. It is absurd to suppose that the same word could ever have been employed in both senses; nor is the difficulty by any means gotten rid of, by conceiving it to have been sometimes used as a valedictory term, in the meaning of *farewell, take leave, renounce*, χαιρειν, which is the loop-hole adopted by Schultens, Dr. Stock, and various other translators: for we have no clear proof that it is ever thus used in the Hebrew Scriptures. *To bless* is its fair and unequivocal sense, and there is no necessity for wandering after any other; for with a little dexterous management, and occasionally an interrogatory cast to the passage, this single sense will be found sufficient in every instance.

Chap. xix. 22. for the common version, "why do ye persecute me as God;" our fair translator gives us, "why do ye pursue me *like a deer*;" and here, we confess, we thought we perceived, for the first time, a glimpse of an Arabic term, for כמו אל is in direct Arabic كما ايل *ut cervum*, "as a hind, or deer:" but, upon turning to Mr. Parkhurst, we perceive that, under אל, xv. he has given his fair student the hint, by rendering אל, "a stag, hart, or deer." In chap. xxxiii. 23. מליץ commonly rendered *interpreter*, is here made to signify "a mediator:" we have no great objection to the term as a commentary, but it is a gross departure from verbal accuracy. Chap. xxxiv. 14. is well and correctly given;

> If he set his heart on it,
> He can recal his spirit and his breath;

though it might be rendered with equal correctness, "if he fix his purpose upon him, he can recal his spirit and his breath:" but perhaps the former is the better of the two. Chap. xxxv. 2.---"what should *I* profit," is in the original, "what should *it* profit." A deviation from the text by no means unfrequent. It occurs twice in chap. xxxv. 14.

In conclusion, we readily repeat that this version has great merit, and that it has intrinsic merit---merit independent of the author's sex or age: and if we have pursued it with any degree of severity, we have been stimulated by the hyperbolical encomiums passed upon it by her too partial friends, and in points to which it is less entitled to applause than in various others: for its chief praise by no means consists in verbal accuracy of rendering, or a critical knowledge of the original, but in the simplicity and elegant ease with which the rendering is conducted. As to the rest, a version is still wanting, and as much, or nearly as much, as before the present was offered to us.

"Revival

"Revival of the Roman and Greek Empires; being observations on the prophet Daniel's Metallic Image, the interpretation of whose form was to make known that which was to happen in the latter days. Also an investigation of those parts of the Apocalypse, which appear to be derived from an illustration of the prophecies of Daniel, and the ancient types of the Old Testament, many of which were, from the first, indicative of the present times." 2 vols. 8vo. We congratulate the anonymous author of this work upon the success of his recondite pursuits; well-intended, indeed, but certainly not to us, and we fear not to many others, either *illustrative* of the prophet Daniel, or *indicative* of the present times. In one or two respects the *present times* have already proved the error of his calculations: but he has still the satisfaction of failing where many a wise and good man has failed before him, and where success appears beyond the power of human accomplishment.

"Luther's Illustration of the Gospel History: by N. Nisbett, A. M. Rector of Tunstall." These letters are seven, and are devoted to the following subjects: "Our Lord's original language. On the sermon on the Mount. Upon Christ's commission to his apostles. Various instances of the controversy concerning the nature of the Messiah. Upon the destruction of Jerusalem. Upon the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Some remarks on St. John's Gospel." There is much good sense and candour in these letters; but in one or two instances an unnecessary display of apparent oppositions in the histories of the different Evangelists, with a view of removing them: in which the worthy epistolarian feels a contrariety and difficulty, of which few but himself will be sensible.

"A course of Lectures; containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity; accompanied with an account, both of the principal authors, and of the progress which has been made, at different periods, in theological learning: by Herbert Marsh, D.D. F.R.S. Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Part I." We rejoice to find that the course of study we have adverted to, is renewed under the auspices of so competent a lecturer: and the full attendance which has been bestowed upon his labours, while it cannot but be gratifying to himself, is what we expected, and ventured to foretel. The course opened in the spring of the preceding year (1809); and the professor having resolved upon publishing his studies as soon as possible after their delivery, has presented to us the first six of them in the part now before us. The first is entitled "Introductory Remarks on the Study of Theology." The second enumerates a variety of schemes which have been proposed for a plan of theological study, and closes with an epitome of his own method. The third and fourth contain a table of the principal works which profess to be introductions to a critical knowledge of the scriptural text; and are enriched with a judicious sketch of the history of sacred criticism, from the time of Origen to that of the revival of letters. In the fifth and sixth we have a critical history of the Greek text of the New Testament, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, to the formation of the Elzivir, or received edition, printed 1624. There is, throughout the whole of this volume, much sound learning, and perspicuous judgment; but

but the style is peculiarly jejune and scholastic. The plan proposed by Dr. Marsh, as the foundation of the present course, consists of the seven following branches of instruction: 1. The criticism of the Bible, or the mode of ascertaining its genuine text. 2. The interpretation of the Bible, or the means to be employed for the discovery of its true sense. 3. The authenticity of writings which compose the Bible, and the credibility of the facts which they relate. 4. The divine authority of the Bible, or the evidence for the divine authority of the religions recorded in it. 5. The inspiration of the Bible. 6. Its doctrines; and 7th, Ecclesiastical history.

"Ecclesiastical Biography; or Lives of Eminent Men, connected with the History of Religion in England, from the commencement of the Reformation to the Revolution; selected and illustrated with notes, by Christopher Wordsworth, M.A. dean and rector of Bocking, &c." 6 vols. 8vo. This valuable work is inscribed to the editor's patron, the primate; and a sensible preface explains the motives of the undertaking. Mr. (now Dr.) Wordsworth informs us, that during a protracted residence at the Cambridge university, he had indulged an inclination for such a kind of study, and had gradually projected the work now offered: but that he was ultimately confirmed in his intentions, by the advantages which at length fell into his hands, in consequence of his access to the Lambeth library, from his appointment to the office of chaplain to the archbishop. "It appeared," says Dr. Wordsworth, "that there were extant, among the literary productions of our country, many scattered narrations of the lives of men eminent for their piety, sufferings, learning, and such other virtues; or such vices as render their possessors interesting and profitable subjects for history, many of which were difficult to be procured, and some of them little known; and that, therefore, the benefit which might have been expected to result from their influence, was in a great degree lost. These I thought it might be a labour well bestowed to restore to a capacity of more extensive influence, and to republish them in one collection: not merely to afford to many readers an opportunity of what they could not otherwise enjoy, but also from the hopes that the serviceable effects of each might be increased from their union and juxta-position; and that, through the help of a chronological arrangement, a species of ecclesiastical history might result, which, though undoubtedly very imperfect, might yet answer even in that view several valuable purposes: while it would possess some particular charms and recommendations." The reader may form a tolerable estimate of the nature of this history, and of the zeal and industry with which it has been compiled, from the following succinct account of its contents. The articles concerning Wicliffe, (why is not this written as it ought to be, *Wiclif?*) Thorpe, Bilnay, Tindall (why not *Tyndall?*) Lord Cromwell, Rogers, Hooper, Rowland, Taylor, Latimer, and Cranmer, are compiled from Fox's Acts and Monuments. That concerning Lord Cobham is partly from Fox, and partly from Bale's Brief Chronicle. The account of Ridley is also partly from Fox, and partly from a life of the bishop, by Dr. Gloucester Ridley, published in 1763. The highly entertaining life of Wolsey, by the cardinal's gentleman-usher, Cavendish, is here, for the first time, faithfully printed from

from a manuscript in the Lambeth library, collated with another manuscript in the same library, and a third in the library of the dean and chapter of York cathedral. Cavendish's performance was, indeed, printed long since, and even reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, but so altered and injured in almost every sentence, from some cause or other, as to bear but little resemblance to the genuine exemplar. The long life of Sir Thomas More is now first published from a M.S. in the Lambeth library, written towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, by a zealous papist. Walton's Lives of Hooker, Donne, Herbert, Sir H. Wotton, and Bishop Sanderson, are reprinted entire, with additions by Strype to the life of Hooker. There are also reprinted entire, a life of Jewel, prefixed to an English edition in 1685, of his Apology to the Church of England: the translation published in 1629, of Bishop Carleton's life, in Latin, of Bernard Gilpin: Sir George Paule's life of Archbishop Whitgift: Bishop Fell's life of Dr. Hammond: Burnet's life of Sir Matthew Hale: Matthew Henry's life of his father, Philip Henry: and Burnet's "Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester!"---"The Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, by Dr. Heckford, published in 1798, and here reprinted, but not without some omissions." The account of this extraordinary man, and his most extraordinary nephew, is, in this republication, extended by the accession of some curious papers relating to them, found in the Lambeth library, though supposed by Dr. Peckard to have been lost. The life of Bishop Hall is "composed principally from a republication of two of his tracts."---"Observations of some Specialties of Divine Providence," and "Hard Measure." The account of Baxter is composed of extracts from his "Life and Times." The life of Tillotson is abridged from a memoir of him, by F. H. M.A. published in 1717, but which, nevertheless, Dr. Wordsworth professes to hold in no very high esteem.

"The Exposition of the Creed: by John Pearson, D.D.; abridged for the use of young persons; by the Rev. C. Burney, LL.D. &c." It was a just observation of a critic who almost always thought justly, and expressed himself justly, we mean Dr. Bentley, that "the very dust of Bishop Pearson's writings is gold." Time, it is true, that dims the lustre of gold, as well as of every other precious substance, has not a little obscured the very valuable work from which the present abridgment is derived. But the sterling metal has here fallen into excellent hands; and is worked up into a form most happily adapted to a very extensive usefulness. Dr. Burney is entitled to the thanks of all Christian parents, and, indeed, of the whole Christian community.

"Scripture Geography, in two parts, containing a description of the most distinguished countries and places, noticed in the Holy Scriptures, &c. by John Toy." 8vo. There is an inaccuracy in many of the verbal descriptions contained in this work, and in most of the plates, that prevents us from giving it the praise we should have wished. Dr. Wells's Geography is somewhat too long for general use: and something of the kind here offered is wanting for the use of the young, and those who have not time to enter into the detail of unsettled points: but the work before is not calculated to fill up the vacuity.

"Intimations and Evidences of a Future

Future State: by the Rev. Thomas Watson." 12mo. This is, upon the whole, a perspicuous little work, upon a most momentous subject. It is divided into two parts: in the first the author treats of the "Evidences from Reason and Natural Religion;" and, in the second, "on the Evidences from Revelation." There is one error, however, which we much wish to see corrected; the writer exhausts himself so completely in the former part of his subject, and brings forth so many proofs in favour of a future state, from "reason and natural religion," that he leaves but little for "revelation" to accomplish, as to a knowledge of this doctrine. The best acumen of the best schools of heathen philosophy, shews sufficiently how inaccurate the author has been in this respect, and how highly he has over-rated the natural powers of human induction.

"Paganism and Christianity compared, in a course of Lectures to the King's Scholars at Westminster, in 1806-7, and 8. By John Ireland, D.D. &c." 8vo. We suspect that the origin of this elaborate and valuable work was laid in the well-known dispute that occurred some few years ago, between Dr. Rennell, dean of Winchester, and Dr. Vincent, dean of Westminster, upon the expediency of a classical education. Dr. Ireland here follows up very closely, and with a vigorous tread, the steps of the late head-master of the Westminster school, and we have no hesitation in saying, to our full and thorough conviction of the value of classical learning, as at present taught in that celebrated seminary. At the same time he makes a far better estimate (with all his love of ancient lore, and his enthusiasm for the writings of Plato and Cicero,) than the author of the preceding publication has done, as to the real discoveries of the pagan theologues upon the subject of God and man, of the nature and power of the former, and of the origin and duration of the latter.

"The Duties of the Clerical Profession. Selected from various authors, and elucidated with notes on Sermons, Preaching, St. Paul's Charge to Timothy, Sin, Example, Infidelity, Unbelievers, Credit of a Clergyman, Holiness, Family Prayers, a Christian, Dissenters, Salvation, &c." 12mo. The anonymous writer of this serious medley seems to mean well, but, as it appears to us, he has some self-knowledge, and a great deal of knowledge of almost every other kind to acquire, before he will become fitted to instruct the world at large.

The Sermons that have reached us since our last Retrospect have not been numerous, if we except those that have been published singly. We ought to begin with Dr. Browne's Bampton "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." 8vo. From the limitation of this course of lectures to a single subject, and more especially from the almost infinite variety in which this single subject has been antecedently, and, often-times, very admirably handled by earlier lecturers, there can be no doubt that a great difficulty must frequently be felt how to treat it in a new and impressive manner. Under this difficulty Dr. Browne appears to have laboured, and we wish we could add that he at length successfully extricated himself from it: but we cannot flatter him with a hope that this volume will run parallel in duration with those of White and Laurence. The topic at last chosen, is the Uniformity of the Divine Government: this ground of argument is

opened in the first, and continued through seven succeeding sermons. Saurin is avowedly our author's model, and his discourses on the same subject our author's text-book. There is one of the discourses, however, of the "Pasteur a la Haye," which he does not appear to have read, and which might have been of more service to him, than his study of all the rest: it occurs in his fourth volume, and is entitled "Sur la Manière d'étudier la Religion." Had he founded himself upon the excellent system here developed, we should not have had to lament an equal want of the force of originality, and of the fidelity of translation.

"Sermons on several subjects from the Old Testament. By John Hampson, M.A. rector of Sunderland, &c." 8vo. This respectable writer informs us, in his preface, that his appearance before the public is "not from an itch for scribbling, nor for the vapour of popular applause, but from a desire of doing good, by stemming the torrent of impiety and infidelity, and by assailing with lawful weapons, and rebuking with just severity, by arguments from reason and revelation, the licentiousness that so deplorably prevails. It is my object, on this occasion, to join my efforts to those of my more able and experienced brethren in the best of all causes, the cause of piety and virtue; and to leave some testimony behind me, of *my unalterable conviction of the truth and authenticity of the* Gospel; which, however disregarded by many, is "the power of God unto salvation to them that believe." Now all this is excellent, and especially from a venerable pastor, who has been uniformly labouring among his flock, as he informs us in another place, for "nearly twenty-three years:" but how queerly does such a declaration sound, when compared with the *title-page?* --- how truly extraordinary is it, that in the whole range of the sermons delivered by this conscientious and zealous priest, during a period of nearly twenty-three years, he should only be able to select a certain set, devoted to subjects belonging to the *Old Testament*, as a "proof of his unalterable *conviction of the truth and authenticity of the* Gospel!" For the rest we cannot speak very highly of them: they are neat and regular; but they are equally deficient in the form of originality, the fire of genius, and the pathos of impression.

"Twenty-four Select Discourses, from the works of eminent divines of the Church of England, and of others, never before published. By a Curate in the archdeaconry of Coventry." The discourses "never before published" are but few, and we are not informed of the authors' names to whom they belong; several of them possess something more than common merit. The rest are selected from the labours of Hubbard, Porteus, Bishop Bull, E. Weston, Farquhar, Hervey, Dr. James, Bishop Horne, Jortin, and Jones.

"Discourses on various Subjects, by Jeremy Taylor, D.D. chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I. &c. &c." 3 vols. 8vo. The taste for the *antique*, which even theologians, as well as poets, painters, musicians, medalists, and a thousand other professions, have lately evinced, is well worthy of being indulged, when such a gem of inestimable value is offered to our hands, as the writings of the Bishop of Down and Caron, all whose compositions, as well in style as in matter, are truly "apples of gold in pictures of silver." We congratulate the world, therefore, on this republication; as we do also, that

that independently of these discourses, we have likewise been favoured with a republication of those two choice productions of Bishop Taylor, his "Rule and Exercise of Holy Living and Dying;" and his "Golden Grove, a chosen Manual, containing what is to be believed, practised, and prayed for."

Of the single sermons, we can only give a catalogue of those that have attracted most attention, or appear to possess most merit. Dr. Buchanan's, preached before the Society for Missions to Africa and the East; the text, Matt. v. 14. "Ye are the light of the world." Dr. Middleton's, entitled, "Christ divided;" preached at the Triennial Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, at Grantham, in June 1809; being an appeal to dissenters, with a view of reclaiming them into the pale of the established church. Mr. Wrangham's sermon, preached at Scarborough, July 28, 1810, at the primary visitation of the most reverend Edward, Lord Archbishop of York, entitled "Earnest Contention for the true Faith," accompanied with an ample body of notes, many of which are equally pertinent and classical. Mr. Wilson's (vice-principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford,) preached before the university, and entitled, "Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge;" the text, John vii. 16, 17. Mr. Bathurst's visitation sermon, preached at Great Yarmouth, and entitled, "A Sketch of the Ecclesiastical Establishment." The Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Willwood's, preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; the text, Col. iii. 9, 10, 11. Mr. Hall's, preached at Hervey-lane, Leicester, for the benefit of a Sunday School, entitled, "The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes." Mr. Clayton's, preached at a monthly association of congregational ministers and churches, at the Meeting-house, Peckham, entitled, "The Traveller's Directory."

Among the theological controversies of the year, we regret exceedingly the disputation that has taken place between the supporters of those two valuable institutions, the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and the "British and Foreign Bible Society:" and which has already given birth to two publications from Dr. Wordsworth, and one from Mr. Spry, against the Bible Society, at least as at present constituted; in reality, we may call Dr. Wordsworth's publications *three*, with more propriety than *two*, the second edition of his "Reasons for declining to become a Subscriber to the British and Foreign Bible Society," being so considerably enlarged, and remodelled, as to be almost a new work. The defence of the Bible Society has been conducted chiefly by Lord Teignmouth, in a "Letter to Dr. Wordsworth," and by Mr. Dealtry, in two distinct letters to the same person, forming two distinct publications. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge commenced, *in fact*, though under another name, as early as 1698. Its object was, and has continued to be, to distribute Bibles, Common-prayer books, and religious tracts consonant with the doctrines and discipline of the established church. Its efforts have also been directed to the promotion of charity-schools at home, to the support of the Danish Missions in India, and to the assistance of the Greek church at Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. It only admits within its pale of contributors, members of the established church of England. From some cause or other, this Society

Society has been progressively growing languid in its exertions, and consequently decreasing in its funds, which are chiefly supported by annual subscriptions; and, in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was instituted upon a more extensive scale, and regulated by a plan which appeared likely to carry into effect the high and common object of diffusing a knowledge of the Scriptures, almost infinitely beyond what the elder society could have any expectation of doing. By the new society, the *Bible alone* is circulated, and intended to be circulated, in every tongue and dialect of human speech; and membership is open to every one who chuses to subscribe, and thus shews his anxiety to promote the important end in view. The Bible Society has flourished to an extent beyond what could possibly have been conceived by the most sanguine of its promoters; it has received the countenance and active support of many of the most zealous prelates of the establishment, and its activity has been ardent and unintermitting. The elder society has felt some degree of jealousy, in consequence of the growing power and influence of this junior institution; and a variety of objections have been started against it by Dr. Wordsworth, who is the champion for the elder cause. He accuses it of infringing upon the object and efforts of the society to which he belongs, and of concealing certain sectarian views, under the pretence of Christian liberality. The defence consists in exposing the fallacy of these accusations: and the defendants appear to have the best of the argument.

The other controversies of the year are of subordinate consequence. Attempts to convert the Jews are prosecuting with great zeal, and apparently some encouragement, by two distinct societies for this purpose, the one founded by the established church, the other by the different persuasions of dissenters. The synagogue appears to be indignant at these benevolent efforts, and with a most intolerant spirit, and highly incongruous with the liberty which itself possesses by mere toleration, has fulminated anathemas against every Israelite who may attend on any religious service of the kind before us. We lament to see, however, that a little sort of animosity has broken out between the two proselyting societies, concerning the converted Jew, Mr. Frey; who, after having assumed the Christian faith, was first prepared and introduced into notice among the dissenting society, which he has now quitted for that of the church, under the idea that the establishment being upon a larger scale, he can here employ his services more successfully. The chief works published upon this subject in the course of the present year, are "Remarks upon David Levi's Dissertations on the Prophecies relative to the Jews, and upon the Evidence of the Divine Character of Jesus Christ, addressed to the Consideration of the Jews, by an Inquirer." Mr. Fuller's "Jesus the true Messiah, a sermon delivered in the Jews' Chapel, Spitalfields." "Narrative of the Rev. S. C. F. Frey, Minister of the Gospel to the Jews." Mr. Witherby's "Vindication of the Jews;" and "The Obligations of Christians to attempt the Conversion of the Jews: by a Presbyter of the Church of England."

We have next to glance at a variety of pamphlets which have lately appeared, upon a cause of some considerable importance, lately determined

mined by Sir John Nicholl, knight, &c. official principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, upon the compulsory duty of clergymen of the established church to bury protestant dissenters. This last act of Christian charity was refused by Mr. Wicks, rector of Wardley cum Belton, in Rutlandshire, upon an application to him to inter an infant and baptized daughter of John and Martha Swingler. There was a degree of obstinacy on the part of the rector of Wardley, that we are astonished at; he pleaded his conscience against performing the ceremony, but this same conscience, it seems, had no scruple in receiving the fees for a rite actually refused to be performed. The judgment of Sir John Nicholl is a master-piece of legal argument, and Christian liberality: it was unreservedly in favour of the promoter, or plaintiff, as he would be called in the King's Bench.

CHAPTER

CHAP. II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprehending Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Agriculture, Chemistry, Experimental Philosophy, Mechanics, Mathematics, Tactics, and Life Annuities.

WE are glad to have an opportunity of commencing this chapter with a resumption of the literary labours of the oldest medical institution of the metropolis, by having received Vol. I. Part I. of "Transactions of the Medical Society of London." 8vo. In a brief preface we find the Society has introduced various alterations into its mode of attending to the papers it receives, which promise a more frequent and regular continuation of its communications in future: and on this account it has commenced a new Series, and has exchanged its title from "Memoirs" to "Transactions." We trust also, from the fascicle now before us, somewhat more attention will be paid to the *merit* as well as to the frequency of the communications. The present volume consists of fourteen articles, besides an appendix.

I. "On Medical Technology, by John Mason Good, F. R. S." The general aspect of this paper is calculated to excite in the mind a high esteem for the erudition of its author, who is well known in the literary world by a poetical translation of Lucretius. The expediency of a reform in medical nomenclature the author considers as indicated by its advantage in chemistry and natural history; and its necessity he states to be principally dependent on that "jumble of terms" of which it consists, terms which are derived "from almost every language and every system, whether dead or living, founded upon no common principle, and equally destitute of precision and simplicity." "We have," continues he, "Hebrew and Arabic terms, Greek and Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, English, and even Indian, African and Mexican; often barbarously and illegitimately compounded, fanciful in their origin, cacophanous in pronunciation, and for want of a determinate signification, formed, as one would think, rather for the purpose of supplying the place of ideas, than of communicating them." The sources of the impurity and perplexity of medical language he refers to the following heads:—1st. The intermixture of different tongues that have no family or dialectic union.—2. The want of a common principle in the origin or appropriation of terms.—3. The introduction of a variety of useless synonyms, or the adoption of different words by different writers to express the same idea.—4. Inprecision in the use of the same terms.—5. An unnecessary coinage of new terms upon the coinage of a new system. The principal part of his essay (consisting of

50 pages) he employs in illustrating these heads. This he does with neatness and success. The discarding equivocal terms, and the accurately defining such as are in use; the creation of as few words as are possible; and the confining nomenclature, as far as it can be done, to one language, which the author thinks should be Greek, on the principles which he recommends for the reformation and improvement of medical language. He gives a good and interesting view of the origin of various terms, and concludes with pointing out some regulations by which he is of opinion that medical language will be improved in simplicity, elegance, and precision. He annexes a table for the purpose of giving examples of the application of those principles.

II. "Memoirs of the late William Hewson, F.R.S. F.M.S." &c. by J. C. Lettsome, M.D.S. Pres. M.S. Mr. Hewson has been long entitled to this respect from his connexion with the Society. The article is neatly drawn up. III. "History of fatal effects from an accidental use of White Lead, in a letter to the President, by John Deering, Surgeon, F.M.S. with additional remarks by W. Shearman, M.D. F.M.S." This is a very useful paper. A whole family long suffered very severely from a mischief altogether occult: it was at length discovered to be from the use of sugar in a vessel that had formerly held white-lead. IV. "History of a case resembling Hydrophobia, from the bite of a cat. By Joshua Dixon, M.D.C.M.S." This case had some resemblance to the disease, but was not the disease itself. It nevertheless proved fatal upon the very irritable habit of the patient, who was an unmarried lady of eighteen. V. "Reflections on the indiscriminate use of mercurial preparations in medicine: by W. Falconer, M.D. F.R.S." Art. VI. "On the Staphyloma, Hydrophthalmia, and Carcinoma of the Eye: by James Ware, Esq. F.R.S. G.V.P.M.S." A detailed and valuable account of diseases often difficult to be treated. VII. "Case of extensive Suppuration of the Liver, &c. by M. J. Burns, C.M.S." There is nothing of great interest in this case: it terminated favourably. VIII. "Observations on the Hare-lip: by Isaac Rand, A.M.C.M.S." Containing nothing of great importance. IX. "Histories of two extraordinary cases: by W. Norris, Esq. Surgeon to the Charter House, and V.P.M.S." The first a case of extraordinary virile power; the next an extraordinary case of progressive exfoliation and destruction of the cranium. X. "On the Medicinal Properties of Sanguinaria Canadensis, or Bloodwort: by Dr. R. Smith," Hanover, North America. XI. "Case of Tic Doloreux: by Anthony Fothergill, M.D. C.M.S." — a case neatly drawn up. XII. "Remarks on the Land-winds and their Causes: by W. Roxburgh, M.D." XIII. "Cases illustrating the effects of oil of turpentine in expelling the Tape-worm," well worth attending to: the cases are six. XIV. "Account of the Life and Writings of Nathl. Hulme, M.D. F.M.S. by H. Clutterbuck, M.D. F.M.S."

"The Elements of the Practice of Medicine, &c. by G. Hoggart Toulmin, M.D." 8vo. This is intended as an elementary work for Students, and a book of reference for practitioners. It consists of three parts. I. Principles of Medicine. II. Diseases. III. General Treatment. There is also "an Appendix containing formulæ, together with preparations and compounds. The

The theory here developed is the Brunonian, with an exception or two, that shew the author has studied it, and is acquainted with its weak parts; but when he asserts, that this volume "will be found elementary, comprehensive, practical, popular, and professional, and which, as the laws of nature do not vary, promises a salutary and lasting protection to the human race"—he discovers a degree of quackery and arrogance that are equally intolerable. In our opinion the book is not fairly entitled to any one of these laudatory epithets.

"Facts and Opinions concerning Diabetes, by John Latham, M.D. F. R. S." &c. 8vo. This volume is dedicated to Dr. Reynolds, and contains the matured opinions of a very excellent and successful practitioner, who tells us (and we receive the information with pleasure) that he has acquired wealth enough to be desirous of contracting the circle of his professional engagements, and that he has hereby acquired leisure enough to examine his loose papers, re-arrange them, and fit them for the public eye. He opens with an account of the opinion of the ancient physicians, especially of Aretæus and Galen, pursues his course to the present times, and then offers his own theory, in which he conceives that "some of the elements composing the blood may be in such a state of lax condition with respect to the rest as to become easily separable by the immediate action of the kidneys; for the blood, under the circumstances of such its unhealthy crasis, is more readily, as I conceive, acted upon by the kidneys (whose action in diabetes I always, with Dr. Rollo, must consider as sound), and its elements being loosely connected, are again dismembered with facility, and saccharine or serous, or possibly other matters which should naturally contribute to its firm and proper crasis, are then separated by the kidneys as excrementitious." The mode of treatment consists in Dr. Rollo's plan of animal diet; the common mixture of myrrh and iron, and from ten to twenty drops of phosphoric acid, two or three times a day; the last medicine being intended to replenish the phosphoric salts, which are said to be deficient in diabetic urine. Mr. Watts's system of bleeding does not appear to obtain the present author's sanction; nor does he seem, indeed, to have made trial of it.

"An Enquiry into the Nature, Cause, and Cure of Hydrothorax, &c. by L. Maclean, M. D." This enquiry is the production of the leisure hours of a sensible and intelligent practitioner, who has been hitherto silently attending to the progress of the disease before us, and suffering his papers to accumulate upon the subject for a great number of years. We do not perceive any great novelty in his observations: but the work contains a good actual account of a very distressing malady, and a fair epitome of the best practice of the day.

"An Account of the Remarkable Effects of the Eau Medicinale d'Husson: by Edwin Godden Jones, M. D." &c. 8vo. This medicine is now known to every one by name, and to great numbers of our readers, we doubt not, by personal trial. Its success appears to have been considerable in a variety of cases: but by no means in all that have come to our knowledge: and, from some cause or other, it has, like every other empirical medicine, had not only its origin, and acmè, but has already begun to experience its decline. It is less coveted at this moment by many martyrs to the gout, than

than it was a few months ago. It is said, indeed, to be less active in curing repetitions of gouty paroxysms in proportion to its number of trials: and the writer of this article is acquainted with one or two gouty patients, who are at this moment suffering severely and without relief from the E u Medicinale, who thought themselves peculiarly benefited by it in the first instance. The ingredients are still kept a secret. Dr. Jones avows himself to have no personal interest in his very sanguine recommendation. He has, however, been openly accused of the contrary; but we cannot enter into this subject.

Two octavo works have reached us on the subject of the Walcheren fever: one by Dr. Davis, the other by Mr Dawson. Both these gentlemen describe from *actual observation*; but it appears to be observation not made on the spot, but after the troops had returned home. Each treatise has some sensible remarks, but, excepting in a disputed case or two by the former, we meet with little novelty.

"Essay on the Nature of Scrophula, &c. by R. Carmichael," 8vo. The writer attempts to prove its origin in a derangement of the digestive organs. He reasons correctly, and advises judiciously: the work, however, is rather fitted for the public than for the profession.

"Description of an Affection of the Tibia, induced by fever, with observations on the treatment of this complaint; by Thomas Whately." In this case, as in various others, the author recommends the application of the kali purum; but we do not see on what ground this plan is to be preferred to the trephine.

"A New Family Herbal; or Popular Account of the Natures and Properties of the various Plants used in Medicine, Diet, and the Arts: by R. J. Thornton, M. D." This work is accompanied by about 260 wooden engravings by Bewick, most of them well executed. We cannot say so much for the descriptions: which are too confined, in many respects incorrect, and without synonyms.

In the department of natural history, more properly so called, the current year will be found peculiarly deficient. We are not acquainted with any work upon Zoology that is entitled to our attention. We shall, therefore, proceed to notice "Interesting Discoveries in Horticulture, &c. by Thomas Haynes," Oundle, Northamptonshire; royal 8vo. pp. 190, £3. 13s. 6d. Mr. Haynes appears to be an experienced and highly successful horticulturist: and the result of his discoveries is here presented to the public, which if true to the extent stated, (and we have no reason to doubt the assertion) is unquestionably a most desirable and important fact in physical philosophy. "To those unacquainted with horticultural pursuits," observes our author, "the idea of propagating trees, shrubs and plants of general description, by planting cuttings," may appear an extravagant pretension: probably, because a conjecture of the practicability of such system may not have been generally formed; but the candid mind will consider this as no substantial objection.—A knowledge of this peculiar system having been acquired only by the most sedulous attention, during a series of several successive years principally devoted to these pursuits, it is presumed that the various processes, on being fully explained and understood, will not only appear rational in theory, but be found to terminate in full conviction of

of their efficacy." We have no personal knowledge of the success of the method here proposed, but we have understood it to answer in a variety of cases by those who have tried it. We had lately occasion to speak of the very ingenious method of inarching performed by the Chinese, and we can aver, from personal knowledge, its easy applicability in our own country. Should the method now proposed fail, the Chinese may still be had recourse to, for the stock will at least answer for this last purpose. Mr. H. applies his method to fruit trees of all descriptions, to hardy American, and bog-soil plants, to ever-green, and ornamental deciduous shrubs and trees; to green-house plants of every kind; as also to herbaceous plants, and, but chiefly in the Summer and autumnal months, without the aid of artificial heat.

"Cheap and Profitable Manure, &c.—Plain and easy Directions for preparing, and method of using, an excellent compost for manuring arable, meadow, and pasture lands." By John Morley. The author recommends to collect all the earth that can be obtained from the headlands, from beneath the fences, &c. of a field, to mix lime with it, to cover it up with mould in the form of a ridge, and to let it lie two, three, or four months, then to cut it down in slices by a mattock, and to incorporate the whole together by working it very carefully. All this is quite in the plodding way; the writer applies the same compost or manure to every soil, and supposes every soil will be equally benefited by it, as the *eau medicinale* we have just noticed, though chiefly known as a preparation for the gout, is also puffed off in its recommendatory pamphlets as good for almost every other complaint. The science of manures requires even in the present day to be very carefully studied, both theoretically and practically:—it is a science of very great importance, and though modern chemistry has thrown some light upon it, the light is at present merely crepuscular.

"The Rudiments of Chemistry, illustrated by experiments, and eight copper-plate engravings of chemical apparatus." By Samuel Parks, 8vo. Mr. Parks is well known for the familiar manner in which he has illustrated the elementary parts of chemistry in several preceding publications. The work before us is distinguished by the same easy and popular manner, and is well adapted for the use of the uninitiated. "The principal chemical facts," observes the writer, "are here printed in a larger type, and numbered progressively." These should be considered as axioms to be treasured up in the mind of the student, as a foundation for the superstructure of all his future chemical attainments. They should, therefore, be read first without any attention to the smaller type; for as one position frequently arises as it were from others that precede it, the connexion of the whole will be more readily perceived by this method, and the facts remembered with more certainty. All the illustrations and experiments are given in a smaller letter, which distinguishes those sufficiently from the axioms. They are printed immediately under the respective axioms which they serve to elucidate; and being thus connected, the rationale of each example will be at once understood by the student. It is in this part of the plan that the work before us chiefly differs from the Chemical Catechism, published by the same author about three years ago, in which the experiments are

are given without any regular connexion with the great body of the work. This little volume will, therefore, be found an improvement upon the preceding, and peculiarly useful to young persons; who are encouraged by their instructor to perform the experiments alone, and to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the principles on which they are founded.

" Rudiments of Chemical Philosophy, in which the first principles of that useful and entertaining science are familiarly explained and illustrated." By N. Meredith, 8vo. We cannot pay the same compliment to this as to the preceding work. Mr. Meredith is very probably acquainted with the science, (if *science* it may yet be called): he professes to teach, but he is certainly not acquainted with teaching it easily and familiarly. In speaking of the magistery of bismuth, he dispatches its mode of preparation too abruptly, for the communication of any clear idea to the student; and then tells the noviciate, that " its beautiful white has occasioned its use by the ladies, as a paint for the skin: but not to mention the bad effects of almost every substance rubbed on the skin, in stopping up its pores, a lady should be very cautious in using this beautifier, lest by exposure to any *effluvia*, or *sulphurated hydrogen*, such as Hartow-gate water abounds with, or even by sitting too near the fire, her *lovely white complexion* should be suddenly turned to a *copper brown*." In another place we meet with the following lamentation: " Who can reflect on the inconveniencies which ladies often suffer for the want of proper water for domestic purposes, and not wish that they were so far chemists themselves as to know how easily hard waters, as they are called, may be rendered soft, and thus fitted for *the use of the kitchen*, the laundry, or the brewery?" Now this is one of those unmeaning nothings which are so often met with in the professions of superficial men, and the books of sciolists. It is an affectation of knowledge which does not exist. Certainly " hard waters may be easily rendered soft" in the laboratory of the chemist, or for the purpose of experiment: but certainly, also, it is not easy to render them soft in such quantities as would supply " the kitchens, laundries, and breweries of families." It is, in truth, not only not *easy*, but we may venture to say there is no practicable method of doing it. There are many parishes in this metropolis who are so amply supplied with spring-water, that a small expence would enable them to obtain reservoirs adequate to the purpose of every house, and which might be furnished at a tenth part of the sum now payable to some one of our public river-water companies; but the spring water which could be thus circulated would be hard, and consequently unfit for most domestic purposes. What now is the " easy" method which Mr. Meredith can propose for converting such reservoirs of hard into soft waters? let him state his method, and he will be conferring a very great public benefit on the metropolis. But we can go beyond this: we can tell him that this very question has been long proposed by several very intelligent parochial boards, who have received no satisfactory answer; and that if he be in possession of so *easy* a method as he pretends to be, he may make an ample fortune by a disclosure of it from parish to parish,

rish, for we can answer for several that would rejoice in purchasing the secret at a very high price.

"Essay on the History, Practice, and Theory of Electricity." By John Bywater, 8vo. This performance is divided into three parts, which are sufficiently indicated by the title. The historical division is avowedly drawn up from Priestley. The practical division explains with sufficient clearness the common electrical apparatus; and the usual experiments with the machines, the Leyden jar, and the electrical battery. On the theory of electricity the author is more diffuse: he first states at sufficient length, and with adequate clearness, that of Dr. Franklin, which is still very generally adhered to; he next offers various objections to the French linear hypothesis, and closes with suggesting a new theory of his own, which is founded on the three following positions. I. There are two electric fluids which are composed of caloric, and the constituent parts of the atmosphere. In the excitation of electricity by the electrical machine, the air is decomposed, its two gasses are more closely united to caloric or matter of heat, and constitute two distinct fluids. II. These fluids can pass through the best electric bodies, but cannot pervade the interior of good conducting substances, though they can pass along the surface of the latter with inconceivable ease and velocity. III. When an electric body is charged, for example, a pane of glass or a Leyden phial, a small portion of electric fluid is retained on one side of the charged electric; which, in the act of discharging, excites a considerable portion of fresh electricity, and gives birth to the most singular part of the Leyden phænomena." We cannot congratulate the author either on the genius by which this new theory is conceived, or the perspicuity with which it is described. The complicated nature here assigned to the electric fluid is completely disproved, not only by a multitude of experiments on the common machine, but by almost every one that has been made with the Voltaic trough: more especially those in which potasium and sodium have been the substances essayed. We are astonished at this time of day, that a work professing to give an entire history and theory of electricity, should have been so silent upon this most striking branch of electric science: and that it should have taken no notice of the most important discoveries in natural philosophy, by which the preceding century has been signalized.

The very important science of trigonometry has been copiously treated of in the course of the period before us. We have to notice not less than three distinct performances upon this subject. This we the more rejoice at, because, hitherto, the French mathematicians, though avowedly inferior to our own in a variety of correlative branches, as arithmetic, geometry, and mensuration, in the practical applications of mechanical theory, and on life annuities and assurances, have decidedly had the advantage of us in treatises on trigonometry. It will be sufficient to establish this last position, to mention the names of Bertrand, Legendre, Lacroix, and Lagrange, with whose aggregate labours it will be difficult to find any that can stand in competition among the mathematicians of our own country. But let us return to the subject immediately before

us. Among the works that have a direct claim to our attention, we have first to notice—

"Elements of Geometry, Geometrical Analysis, and Plane Trigonometry." By John Leslie, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, 8vo. There has of late years been a strange *unhinging* of the men of talents of the Edinburgh school from the posts for which their own natural genius appears to have designed them, and an appropriation of them to purposes for which they by no means appear to be duly gifted. Mr. Leslie was first introduced before the world in the character of an adept in natural philosophy, through the medium of his "Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat." Mr. Playfair was at that time well known, and we may add only known, in the character of a mathematician, and as filling the mathematical chair at Edinburgh with great credit to himself, and, in many respects, with advantage to the world. The death of Dr. Robison made a vacancy in a chair for which the previous studies and apparent inclinations of Mr. Leslie had amply fitted him; but as this was a superior professorship to that of the mathematics, Mr. Playfair proposed himself as a successor to Dr. Robison, and at the same time offered all his interest to Mr. Leslie to seat him in the chair, from which he would consequently remove. The whole city, and, indeed, the whole of North Britain, was thrown into a violent commotion upon this subject; not so much, however, from comparison of the respective abilities of the two candidates for respective offices to which aspired, as from certain broad which Mr. Leslie had thrown the "Inquiry" we have just adverted to, that he was in his heart attached to the deistical, perhaps the atheistical principles of Mr. Hume, and his open recommendation of one of his most dangerous publications. The philosophers, however, at length succeeded in obtaining a triumph over the Scotch church and its adherents, Professor Playfair was elected to succeed Dr. Robison, and Mr. Leslie installed in the mathematical chair. The consequence of which has hitherto been, that the former instead of beginning to teach, had to begin to learn, and has unfortunately, even from the first, attached himself to an erroneous theory; and the latter has given sufficient proof in the work now before us, that he is just as little qualified to succeed Professor Playfair, as Professor Playfair is to succeed Professor Robison. The author's language in the work before us, (in which correctness and simplicity of style is peculiarly requisite) is, at least, as loose as his religious principles. In regard to plan, Professor Leslie does not "consider the Elements of Euclid, with all *its* merits, as a finished production." And he has hence endeavoured to deviate from Euclid as widely as possible, omitting the axioms as unnecessary, and giving us what he calls *ideas* of a right line and angle, instead of definitions of them.

"A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry." By Robert Woodhouse, A. M. F. R. S. 8vo. This is a work simpler in its pretensions, and smaller in its size; but we hesitate not to assert, superior in its merit to the preceding of Professor Leslie. Mr W. commences with proving, though not very elegantly, that arcs are the measures of angles. He then exhibits definitions of the principal linear-

linear-angular quantities, as sine, tangent, secant, cosine, cotangent, &c. and explains the modern manner of representing them symbolically. The mutual relations and dependencies of these quantities are next traced, and analytical expressions for the sines, cosines, tangents, &c. of the angles of plane triangles are deduced, in connexion with those for the sines and cosines of the sums of different arcs. Spherical trigonometry next engages the author's attention, and is treated in a similar method to the preceding part of the work on plane trigonometry, except that we meet with a preliminary disquisition on spherical geometry, the areas of spherical triangles, and spherical polygons. Subjoined is an appendix, for the purpose of receiving a variety of topics, either of more difficult acquirement, or of doubtful classification in the science. Upon the whole Mr. Woodhouse appears not only to have aimed at, but actually to have accomplished, more than many of his predecessors in the same region of inquiry: several of his deviations from the beaten path are masterly and successful, and not a few of his demonstrations peculiarly apposite and happy.

"Six Lectures on the Elements of Plane Trigonometry, with the method of constructing tables of natural and logarithmic sines, cosines, tangents," &c. This little work does great credit to the East India college, in which the author holds the mathematical chair. It evinces great neatness and perspicuity of language, and considerable judgment in selection. The lectures are, indeed, limited to the subject of *plane* trigonometry: but in this branch of the science, we have no doubt that they will prove highly serviceable to the students for whom they are immediately intended.

Before we quit this department altogether, we cannot but congratulate the world on the appearance of a new edition of the translation of Euler's Elements of Algebra, in two volumes, octavo—the most perspicuous treatise of this science extant. The new edition, like the preceding of 1797, is derived through the medium of the French: but on the present occasion we do not lament this, because it gives us the advantage of Lagrange's notes. We perceive, however, with great pleasure, that many of the very numerous errors that were suffered to creep both into the French, and the prior English version, are here carefully corrected, and that the anonymous editor has subjoined several important additions and alterations of his own.

In naval and military tactics, the only work that has reached us of any extent or importance, is "The Tactical Regulator." By John Russel, Lieut. and Adjutant, Nottingham Staff, &c. 8vo. 1l. 1s. This work is divided into three parts; the first consists of definitions or necessary recollections, in which the length of step, and time taken in the different cadences of march, and in the several kinds of wheeling, are minutely marked. The second part consists of what is called the Inspection, or Review, &c.; the time, &c. of which are calculated, with the several wheelings; and the manual exercise as now ordered. The third consists of the nineteen manœuvres, with calculations of time, &c. occupied in their performance. The author tells us, that "besides the great advantage which the British officer may receive by the study of this work, the gentleman

gentleman who reads the history of the present times for improvement or amusement, or views with any anxiety the operations of the armies of Europe, may, by a perusal of it, be enabled to calculate, or form some correct notions of the marches and evolutions of the armies, and the time in which they can move the columns from one situation to another." The work before us will have its advantage we have no doubt, and will be found serviceable in a variety of points; but, without many allowances, will rather confuse and mislead in the object to which the author here directs his attention. For all the calculations are made in reference to the drilling ground alone, and when occupied by a single battalion. In this situation there can be no doubt, that "stepping out in quick time" may be estimated as equal to three miles and three furlongs per hour: but such an estimation can never be applied to any spot out of the drilling ground; such a rapidity never could be practised on the field, and never has been attempted: for in the first place, it would be impossible to maintain the distinct lines in any degree of regularity; and next, if the most perfect order could be maintained, under such unexampled speed, the troops would be too much exhausted by it, for the ultimate and more important object they must ever have in view. The work, however, upon the whole, is well entitled to our commendation. It is dedicated, by permission, to Sir David Dundas, and is illustrated by thirty-five well-engraved copper-plates.

"The Doctrine of Life Annuities and Assurances analytically investigated and explained. Together with several useful Tables connected with the subject; and a variety of practical rules for the illustration of the same." By Fracis Baily, of the Stock Exchange, 8vo. 1l. 4s. 6d.

"An Account of the several Life Assurance Companies established in London, containing a view of their respective merits and advantages." By Francis Baily. The subject to which these publications allude, is of very high consequence to mankind in general, in a political, financial, and commercial view, but especially so to so populous and speculative a metropolis as our own. The latter of the two, however, is only a small part of the former, published as a separate tract, for the greater facility of purchase and reference by those who have no leisure or inclination to pursue the inquiry into its more recondite ramifications. We are glad this subject has fallen into such able hands. Mr. Baily gives ample proof of having studied it with close attention, both theoretically and practically, and we do not think it possible to peruse this result of his studies without gaining some portion of very valuable information. In a well-arranged preface, the author enters into the history of Life Annuities and Reversions, both in our own country and abroad: with the first, he seems far best acquainted, and has traced it with sufficient accuracy. There is a meagerness in the last which we shall hope to see filled up in another edition. His principal domestic range is from Sir William Petty's observations to those published at different times, and in different forms, by Dr. Price, Baron Masseres, and Mr. Morgan. The body of the work is divided into fourteen chapters. The first contains a few elementary principles of the Laws of Chance: some Remarks on the Probabilities of Life, and an account of the several Tables of

of Observations made at different parts of the world This chapter is altogether preliminary. The second shews the method of determining the value of annuities on any *single* or *joint* lives; on the *longest* of any number of lives, &c. Chapter III. the four necessary problems for the solution of all cases of absolute reversionary annuities; and at the termination are introduced formulæ of two or three lives, extending to almost every possible case. Chapter IV. contains various cases of annuities depending on survivorships between two and three lives. These cases might have been augmented; and, in our opinion, with advantage to the subject. Chap. V. relates to such cases of *Contingent Reversionary Annuities*, as could not, for want of some previous information, be inserted in the two preceding chapters. The sixth treats of Assurances; a subject of great importance and extensive utility in the present day. A full explanation of the doctrine is given in the problems introduced into this section of the work. Chap. VII. contains the method of determining the value of annuities on *successive lives*; the value of *fines* in Copyhold estates held on lives; the value of *presentations*, *advowsons*, and things of a like kind. The eighth chapter is devoted to an investigation of the value of *Contingent Assurances*. This appears to be one of the best written parts of the work, and replete with most original matter. It is, indeed, almost a new field, Mr. Morgan being the only writer who has preceded the present in the same precise line. The three ensuing chapters complete the *analysis* of the science, and relate to such subjects as could not conveniently be introduced into either of the preceding ones. Chap. XII. comprehends a variety of very useful *questions* connected with the subject, to which are added rules for their solution, and a numerous collection of examples. Chap. XIII. applies several of the more important questions contained in the preceding chapter to some of the most useful and momentous concerns of life; especially to the method of forming the best *schemes* for providing annuities for the benefit of *old age*, and for *widows*. The last chapter takes a view of the various Companies or Societies that have been formed in our own metropolis, for the purpose of granting Annuities, Assurances, and Endowments. In prosecuting which the writer observes, that "uninterested in, and unconnected with, any of these Societies, I have been anxious only to give a clear and unprejudiced account, deduced from their own plans and proposals, as submitted by them to the public." At the end of this chapter we find also a brief account of the recent plan adopted by government, for converting the three per cent. Stocks into life annuities. The Tables of Observations, and of Life Annuities, deduced from the main inquiry, form a collection of all that has been hitherto published on the subject in *our own* country; and they appear carefully drawn up. We also meet with tables of the value of assurances for single and joint lives, according to the observations made officially in Sweden, as well as by M. de Parcieux; and these tables, Mr. Baily informs us, have been caculated expressly for the present work. We admit the general merit of this work: the notation equally avoids circumlocution and ambiguity: some of the author's affirmations, however, are advanced too much upon hazard; he is somewhat too

too brief in his explication of the laws of chance, and the application of those laws to the probabilities of human existence, upon which subject he might have been more luminous and useful, had he thought proper to have followed somewhat more closely than he has done the fulness, and at the same time the circumspection of Baron Masseres: nor can we altogether acquit him of a desire of pursuing and exposing Mr. Morgan's negligencies and occasional inaccuracies, more from a spirit of personal triumph than a generous love of truth, and an unmixt longing to benefit the world by his corrections.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Topography, Politics, Laws, Ethics, and Education.

IT is impossible for us to commence this rich and important chapter, with a richer or more important article, than the "Fourth Report of the Directors of the African Institution; read at the Annual General Meeting, on the 28th of March, 1810," 8vo. Some years ago a commercial society was embodied, under the name of the Sierra Leone Company, whose views were as immaculate and disinterested, speaking of the company as a whole, as ever proceeded from the heart of man. The chief object of the commerce it proposed to institute between the African continent and the mother country, was that of public advantage on both sides. This company burthened itself with the expense of keeping up an establishment on the African coast, of making commercial inquiries into the interior of Africa, and of importing into it whatever had the greatest chance of proving beneficial to the natives, on the score of exciting them to habits of industry and general information, without demanding, or pretending to, any exclusive privileges. The scheme was somewhat too Utopian; the expenses were enormous, the casual losses were very heavy, and there being no chartered benefits to assist in defraying them, it eventually failed, and its failure was deplored by every good and benevolent heart.

This society commenced its career at the period when the people of our own country began to wax warm for the abolition of the Slave Trade; when Mr. Wilberforce first introduced it before the legislature, and there was every fair prospect of success. We shall not enter into the causes by which the public expectation was deceived. It is now very well known that the anticipated success did not take place. Yet the question will still be kept alive both before the public and in parliament, by the laudable ardour of individuals whose names we trust will never be forgotten, either in our own national annals, or in those of human nature; and, upon the introduction of Mr. Fox into the ministry, that great statesman and genuine philanthropist, made it a point to renew the question in a legislative form, and the sacred rights of mankind obtained a triumph in the British Senate. The traffic in slaves was declared illegal and abolished, *so far as very heavy penalties could enforce its abolition.* But the profits of the trade were enormous: no other countries, except America and Denmark, had concurred with the British legislature in delegalizing it, and it was hence still covertly carried on even by British merchants, either stealthily, or under the pretended protection of foreign flags.

A new aspect of things now presented itself: and, notwithstanding the failure of the Sierra Leone Company, an institution of a kind somewhat similar seemed loudly called for: and it was conceived, that by avoiding certain points which seemed to be most palpably fatal to the preceding establishment, such an institution might not only be formed with a rational prospect of advantage, but of an advantage infinitely superior to what could have been expected under the most favourable issue of the prior attempt. The failure of this last as a colony, the proposers of the new undertaking regarded as no just cause of discouragement, for it formed no part of their plan to purchase territory in Africa, to found a colony, or even to carry on commerce: while the experience already before them, from the antecedent efforts, sufficiently demonstrated that negroes, in a state of freedom, may be induced to labour in the field: that the native chiefs may be made to understand such views as they were desirous of impressing upon them; and, above all, that the grand obstacle to their heartily embracing those views, was a continuance of the Slave Trade. In consequence of such general feeling, the promoters of this plan formed themselves into an establishment, in 1807, under the name of the "African Institution," the immediate objects of which were detailed in the following scheme.

"1. To collect and diffuse throughout this country accurate information respecting the natural productions of Africa, and, in general, respecting the agricultural and commercial capacities of the African continent, and the intellectual, moral, and political condition of its inhabitants. 2. To promote the cultivation of the Africans in letters and useful knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives of that continent. 3. To endeavour to enlighten the minds of the Africans with respect to their true interests; and to diffuse information among them, respecting the means whereby they may improve the present opportunity of substituting a beneficial commerce in place of the slave trade. 4. To introduce among them such of the improvements and useful arts of Europe, as are suited to their condition. 5. To promote the cultivation of the African soil, not only by exciting and directing the industry of the natives, but by furnishing, where it may appear advantageous to do so, useful seeds and plants, and implements of husbandry. 6. To introduce among the inhabitants useful medical discoveries. 7. To obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa, and, as has already been found to be practicable, to reduce them to writing, with a view to facilitate the diffusion of information among the natives of that country. 8. To employ suitable agents, and to establish correspondences, as shall appear advisable; and to encourage and reward individual enterprize and exertion, in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution."

We have been the more full upon this subject, because we are anxious to diffuse, as widely as possible, a knowledge of the benevolent principles upon which this institution is built, and the important objects it has in view. We have now to observe, that the report before us gives evident proof of the activity with which a variety of these valuable objects have been followed up, and especially in the departments of foreign inquiry and in a jealous vigilance over the still-existing hordes of slave-dealers, and traders in human flesh. In

In the first of these departments, we find that a considerable degree of scrutiny has been made concerning our valuable countryman, Mr. Mungo Park, but we lament to add, at present without any satisfactory information. We perceive also, that the capture of Senegal, effected in last July, has furnished an important inlet to interior communications with the country, and has induced the directors to try how far the silk-worm may be conveniently propagated; how far the common variety of African rice may be improved, and the African palm-leaves be advantageously employed in the manufacture of cordage. There is also, in this report, some valuable information communicated from Lord Caledon, governor of the Cape, concerning the progress of Dr. Cavan, in an inland course from the Cape to the coast of Mozambique: and from Mr. Meredith, dated Winnebah, on the Gold Coast, concerning the Agoona country, situated between 5° and 5° 30′ north latitude.

Upon the subject of co-operating with the intention of the British legislature, in prohibiting the iniquity of the slave trade, the information communicated is very important, and the activity manifested by the Institution highly praiseworthy. The following general survey of the present state of this detestable traffic is of too much consequence to be omitted, confined, as we are, in our critical department. "The directors were sanguine in hoping that, ere this time, something effectual would have been done to limit the range of this destructive traffic, which has hitherto impeded the success of every attempt to do good to Africa. But this expectation has not been realized—no foreign states have hitherto followed the example set them by the legislatures of Great Britain, and the United States of America: while the flags of Spain and of Sweden (which, till the last two years, had scarcely ever visited the African coast) have of late been extensively employed in covering and protecting a trade in slaves, in which it is believed that the subjects of these countries have little or no interest. Nor is this all. It has been discovered that, in defiance of all the penalties imposed by act of parliament, vessels, under foreign flags, have been fitted out in the ports of Liverpool and London, for the purpose of carrying slaves from the coast of Africa to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in America; and that several adventures of this description have actually been completed. The persons, however, who are by far the most deeply engaged in this nefarious traffic, appear to be citizens of the United States of America. These shelter themselves from the penal consequences of their criminal conduct, by means of a nominal sale both of ship and cargo, at some Spanish or Swedish port; (the Havannah, for example, or the island of Bartholomew.) They are thus put in a capacity to use the flags of these states; and, so disguised, have carried on their slave-trading speculations, during the last year, to an enormous extent." We find from the Report, that a large vessel, the Commercio de Rio, was actually fitted out on our own coasts for a slave adventure: that the ship and cargo were, in consequence, seized and proceeded against in the court of Exchequer, and judgment suffered to go by default last Hilary Term: we find also, by the record of condemnation, lately printed by order of the House of Commons, that this vessel was provided

vided with all the infernal apparatus of chains, padlocks, manacles, foot-irons, bad provisions, and miserable accommodation for above *eight hundred* Africans. It appears that the captain of a Portuguese ship had eight or nine prime African sailors on board, at the period of reaching the port of Liverpool, and well aware that these slaves of his would instantly become emancipate on touching the British shore, he endeavoured to evade the law, and still keep them in a state of slavery for his future purposes, by swearing a debt against each of them, and having the whole, in consequence of such affidavit, lodged in prison, till he quitted the country. Mr. Roscoe, on this occasion, benevolently interfered, offered bail for the men, who were in consequence set at liberty, with a severe reprimand and pecuniary mulct by the magistrates, on the part of the Portuguese captain, in consequence of his having riotously attempted to seize the men on their liberation from prison. All these men instantly volunteered their services on board His Majesty's fleet, except one, who was in a state of ill-health, and was, in consequence, accommodated on board a private ship. We rejoice, however, to find, that the legislature, which pledged itself during the last session to take some still more effectual step upon the subject, in the course of the present, has redeemed its pledge, and that Mr. Brougham has obtained an act, with the consent of the ministry, to render the slave traffic felony. This gentleman, in adverting to the preceding case of the Commercio de Rio, openly asserted that six other vessels had at that time been fitted out in a similar manner, and by a similar course of base frauds. Nothing, therefore, short of the punishment of felony can put a stop to this detestable traffic; and especially now that, in consequence of the greater difficulties with which it is accompanied, the profits of a slave adventure are prodigiously augmented, by sinking the price given on the African coast, and doubling that demanded in the West India islands. The net profit upon that single speculation of the Commercio de Rio, had it succeeded, would have amounted to not less than 60,000*l.* as was obvious from an inspection of her seized papers.

"Historical Sketches of the South of India, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor: from the Origin of the Hindoo Gogernment of that State, to the Extinction of the Mohamedan Dynasty, in 1799, &c. By Lieutenant-colonel Mark Wilks." vol. i. 4to. A sketch of Indian history founded chiefly on Indian authorities, locally collected by the writer himself, as especially while officiating in a high public capacity, must ever experience a just share of our attention. Independently, however, of this external claim, the work before us has also a claim from no small portion of internal excellence. Lieutenant-colonel Wilks appears to hold very cheap, and, in our opinion, somewhat too cheap, the civilization and learning of India in former times. "The golden age of India," he observes, "like that of other regions, belongs exclusively to the poet. In the sober investigation of facts, this imaginary era recedes still further and further at every stage of the inquiry; and all that we find is still the empty praise of the ages which have passed."—This, however, is not quite all; for it so happens, that in many cases, we possess authentic documents of the fact itself, in detached fragments, or more regular histories: we

we also possess coins, and medals, and mouldering, but still magnificent ruins. Such an assertion betrays great want of knowledge in ancient history; and before it had been broadly advanced, that all the accounts of more learned or more civilized eras of all nations whatever belong exclusively to the poet, he should have bethought himself where the poet, who, to make his description impressive and acoredited, usually finds it necessary to paint from nature, could himself have acquired such an idea. He should have recollected that Egypt, Syria, the Archepelago, and Italy, all have had their golden age, or more flourishing and learned, and probably a more vistuous epoch than the present. He should have recollected that there had been such cities as ancient Rome, as Athens, as Lacedæmon, perhaps as Troy; as Jerusalem, as Ecbatana, as Persepolis, as Palmyra: and he might have known that, even in the back settlements of the United States, they have been for several years turning up from beneath the soil admirably executed busts and statues, sometimes a rich profusion of figures, that have no national resemblance to the present indigenous natives, to Mexicans, Peruvians, or Spaniards; and that very extensive ruins of at least one large city, have also been uncovered, evidently proving, that in a period at present involved in an antiquity too remote to be traced, there has existed even here, a golden age, an epoch far more cultivated and polished than the barbarous inhabitants of the country in the present day could in any way lead us to suppose: and offering a new and curious research to the antiquary of Europe, as well as of America. In regard to the actual state of the Deccan, and of the powers and countries adjoining it, the work before us, however, appears to be of real value, and filled with much intrinsic as well as original information. And we most sincerely hope that the author, who writes for "an opportunity of being governed by public opinion," whether he "shall prosecute the work with spirit, or abandon it without severe reluctance," will meet with sufficient encouragement to complete his undertaking.

"Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, L.L.D. Part I. Russia, Tartary, and Turkey," 4to. This work has been long expected, and appears in a very considerable degree to have answered the expectation that was formed of it. At the moment of writing this account, it has been published only about seven months, and the whole of the edition, consisting of a thousand common, and a hundred fine copies, has passed off, and a new edition is in the hands of the printer. The general style of Dr. Clarke is plain, sometimes, perhaps, rather too little ornamented; and he appears to us to write occasionally under the influence of considerable personal prejudice, or to found his opinions on insufficient authorities: but these failings are abundantly countervailed, by the artless simplicity, good sense, and judicious comments with which, for the most part, he describes the passing scenes before him. We feel his honesty, even when we have reason to believe he is mistaken. He has made a long and laborious progress through countries little visited, or much misrepresented by other travellers: he has had the enterprize to encounter both hardships and dangers in the pursuit of useful and interesting knowledge; he has simply related his

his adventures; he has observed carefully, and often wisely; and he has exhibited an extensive acquaintance with various branches of science of high importance to most travellers, and especially botany, and ancient history. We need add nothing farther, either in praise or illustration of this work, as we have already quoted from it so largely in a preceding department of the Register.

"Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (commonly called the Persian Prince), in Asia, Africa, and Europe, during the Years 1799—1802, written by himself, in the Persian language, and translatated by Charles Stewart, Esq." 2 vols. 8vo. This work is more curious than important. It is always entertaining to hear the remarks of an intelligent stranger, upon the customs, and manners, and geography, and buildings, and manufactures, and other pursuits of a country which is new to him: and the warm feelings, different views, and luxuriant language of the Orientalist double the entertainment which would be produced by a native of any other quarter. Abu Taleb was admirably qualified for travelling; for misfortunes had reconciled him to inconveniences which would otherwise have proved intolerable, and nature had given to him an inquisitive mind, and great courteousness of temper. Few inhabitants, either of the eastern or western hemisphere, have gone over so large or so interesting a tract of land and sea. Reduced in his circumstances, by events which he himself very modestly and briefly relates, and deprived, though by no fault of his own, of an appointment which he held under our East India Company, he readily seized an opportunity which fortuitously thrown in his way, [illegible] prosecuting the journey before us; and almost in a fit of desperation, he began it, as he informs us, in the agonizing hope, that, in a voyage so replete with danger, "some accident might cause his death; and thus deliver him from the anxieties of this world, and the ingratitude of mankind." Accident, however, and elements were kinder than he expected; and after visiting the Cape, St. Helena, and many parts of Ireland and England, he returned by France, Italy, Constantinople, and Busserat, to his native province in India, where he was appointed once more collector of a district in Bundelcund, in which situation he died, in 1806.

It was during the latter years of his life that he prepared and digested his journal; in which he styles himself "the wanderer over the face of the earth, Abu Taleb, the son of Mohammed of Ispahan, who associated with men of all nations, and beheld various wonders, both by sea and land;" and which he commences with true Oriental piety, by thanksgivings to God, the Lord of all the world, and to the chosen of mankind, the traveller over the whole expanse of the heavens (Mohammed) and benedictions without end on his descendants and companions. In the course of his travels he seems to be best pleased with Italy for its climate, with the French for their politeness, and with the English for their cleanliness, manliness, honesty, and, above all, their patriotic heroism, and courage. The magnificence of the different cities through which he passed, he places in the following scale, Calcutta, Cape of Good Hope town, Cork, Dublin, and London. "On my return towards India," he observes, "every thing was reversed, the last place being always inferior to that I had

had quitted. Thus after a long residence in London, Paris appeared to me much inferior: for, although the latter contains more superb buildings, it is neither so regular, so clean, nor so well lighted at night, as the former, nor does it possess so many gardens and squares in its vicinity: in short, I thought I had fallen from Paradise into hell. But when I arrived in Italy, I was made sensible of the beauty of Paris: the cities of Italy rose in my estimation when I arrived at Constantinople; and the latter is a perfect Paradise compared to Bagdat, Monsul, and other towns in the territory of *the Faithful*." As a translator, Mr. Stewart appears to have executed his task with ability, and rendered the brocaded Orientalisms of the Persian Khan into an easy and natural style, at the same time with a sufficient retention of their proper bearing.

" Authentic Narrative of four Years Residence at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands, in the South Sea. By ——, who went thither in the Duff, under Captain Wilson, in 1796. With an Appendix, by an eminent writer." 8vo. Who this "*eminent*' writer is, we know not: but we have heard that the other *incognito*, is a Mr. Veeson, who having separated himself for the work of missionary ministry, was appointed by the Missionary Society one of the *brethren* destined to call the barbarous natives of the Friendly Islands to a knowledge of the gospel. The whole number of missionaries who were deputed on board the ship Duff, on this new kind of crusade, was twenty-nine. The vessel sailed from Falmouth, Sept. 25, 1796; it arrived in due time at Matavai Bay, in the island Otaheite, (or according to the missionary orthography Taheite) where nineteen missionaries were dropped; and then proceeded to Tongataboo, where the remaining ten were deposited. The hero of the narrative before us, soon proved a renegade, married a native woman, a near relation of the chief's of the island, according to the Tongataboo ritual, which only extends the period of the marriage contract to the option of the parties, and would have married her, after much expostulation on the part of the scandalized brethren, conformably to the English ceremonial, but the lady refused to be thus restricted for life. Veeson appears to have passed his time agreeably and comfortably for the first year or two; he had a tract of ground given him by the chief of the island, he was industrious, and was becoming a substantial planter: a civil war, however, arose at this period, between the first and second chiefs in the island, three of the missionaries, and another European in company with them, were barbarously murdered in cold blood, and our hero, after having encountered several hair-breadth 'scapes, was at length fortunate enough, by plunging out of a canoe into the sea, to reach the boat of an English ship that was on the coast, and in this manner effected a return to his native country. The narrative is valuable, as it appears to be, with only a few exceptions, the fair unvarnished result of the observations of an eye and ear-witness, whose situation gave him peculiar opportunities of acquiring local information. "Every circumstance, (we are told,) was taken down in short-hand from the mouth of the author, and afterwards repeatedly revised in concurrence with him." The detail is unquestionably given, excepting in a few places, where we suspect a little

little exaggeration, in a very frank and artless manner: and the "composer," who signs himself "a clergyman of the established church," declares that he has not, "to his knowledge, exaggerated or disguised any circumstance, much less mingled with the narrative any conjectural or fictitious event;" but has merely "arranged the author's thoughts, and clothed them with language." Assuming this as a fact, the following information, in reference to the state of the Tongataboo opinions concerning a future existence, becomes highly interesting and important. "One day, I recollect," observes the author, "they were conversing about a person who was lately dead: they said to each other, '*he goes to the island through the sky*,' an expression by which they denoted a place very far off, as beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to touch the earth. Wishing to know their sentiments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and disbelief. 'How can he be,' said I, 'in that place, when he is dead, and his body is here? Did you not bury him some moons ago?' But all they answered was, 'but he is still alive.' And one endeavouring to make me understand what he meant, took hold of my hand, and squeezing it said, 'Goomaogge hen, mooe kekai maogge.'—'This will die, but the life that is within you will never die,' with his other hand pointing to my heart."

"A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam; of a Residence there, in 1805, 1806, and 1807, and of the Author's Return to Europe by the way of North America. By Baron Albert Von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty." 4to. This narrative is given in the form of letters, the number of which are seventeen; they are addressed to a lady, and our readers will, from the first, therefore, suppose that they are not intended to be very recondite. They contain, however, a considerable portion of valuable information, written in a style somewhat overloaded with finery and metaphor, and which must occasionally prevent the sober critic from being able to separate the plain fact from the ornamental attire. The Baron does not, indeed, appear to be deeply versed in any of the branches of natural knowledge, and we are hence sometimes doubtful of the real genus of a plant, or an animal, which he describes. Yet he describes what he actually saw, and he appears often to have seen with an inquiring eye. According to the statement before us, the slaves of Surinam have no great reason to repent of their situation, for their labour is comparatively trifling, except during the sugar-harvest; they are far better fed than the free-negroes who have to provide for themselves; they are kindly treated; and the instances are not unfrequent, in which slaves, manumitted by their master on his death-bed, have refused to accept the precious boon of liberty, and have requested the son, or other representative, to allow them to continue in his service. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that M. Von Sack should breathe no very warm aspirations for an abolition of the slave-traffic. The main question, however, is in no respect affected by the mode of treatment; the abstract iniquity is the same: and the slave-trafficker, or buyer of human flesh takes no concern whatever (as how, indeed, should a man of such a cast?) in the future destiny of the article he vends. It is in some degree adverse to the general statement of kindness conferred on the Surinam slaves, that with all

this forbearance and benevolent treatment, the females breed but sparingly, and that, in consequence, new importations are perpetually demanded. The Dutch government, not many years since, made an attempt to cultivate the land by European labourers; and sent a number of German husbandmen from the Palatinate for this purpose. Nothing could be more absurd: these industrious men soon fell a sacrifice to the climate. They should have been accustomed to the change by degrees, and have been allowed a residence of two or three years at the Cape of Good Hope: a gradation, which, we believe is, now usually, and ought to be always practised, in regard to the transmigration of European soldiers.

"A Description of the Feroe Islands; containing an Account of their Situation, Climate, and Productions, &c. By the Rev. G. Landt." These islands are in number twenty two, of which seventeen are inhabited. They extend lengthwise from north to south, sixty-seven miles; and breadthwise, from east to west, forty-five miles: and consist of a group of steep rocks or hills, rising from the sea, chiefly of a conical form, and, for the most part, placed close to each other. They are but very thinly inhabited, and produce but little food for the few inhabitants that are found among them. They are chiefly interesting for their romantic and picturesque scenery, the brightness of the winter moon, and the perpetuity of the summer sun. The wildest and most extraordinary of them is called the Greater Dimon, on which, however, only a single family resides. The volume before us contains a full and circumstantial description of these islands; and appears to surpass all that have preceded it in copiousness and accuracy of detail. Mr. Landt is evidently a man of learning, good sense, and just observation, and of extensive acquaintance with natural history. A residence of seven years in this forlorn part of the world, in the character of a clergyman, has enabled him to collect all the information concerning it that we can wish for: and the translator has given it to us with ease and apparent accuracy. The whole is illustrated with a pretty good map, and other engravings.

"A Tour through Part of the Atlantic: or Recollections from Madeira (or Western Isles) and Newfoundland, visited in the Summer of 1809, &c. By Robert Steele, Lieutenant of the Royal Marines," 8vo. The range of this tour is in few words as follows: Mr. Steele sailed from Spithead for the Madeiras, in his Majesty's ship the Vestal, May 23, 1809: made Porto Santo June 16: visited Funchial, St. Michael's, Ponta del Gado, the island of Pico, &c.: sailed July 17, for Newfoundland; reached the Great Bank on the 28th; and on the 30th anchored in St. John's harbour: St. John's was left August 9, "with the charm of a fine leading wind, and very soon lost sight of land. Nothing," continues the author, "could equal our rate of running. A moderate breeze, and a flowing sail, took us, at periods, thirteen knots (or miles) an hour, and we crossed the *almost immeasurable waters* of the Atlantic, without reducing a sail, or experiencing any of those casualties that are incidental to a voyage. On the 6th day we made the island of Corvo, and early the following morning, (the 16th) we anchored in Fayal Roads, having averaged seven knots and

and a half, each hour, since our departure from America. The Vestal being supplied with oxen, fruits, and vegetables, sailed for Newfoundland, Sept. 1, and anchored there, Sept. 19: weighed anchor October 26, for Portugal, with convoy; cruised in the Bay of Biscay; took two prizes; and anchored at Spithead, Nov. 25." The few incidents which occurred to the author in the course of this excursion, he has well described and made the most of: and his description of the Fournas, or Hot Waters, on the island of St. Michael's, the chief of the Azores, is well worth attention. The volume is illustrated by a neat chart.

"Travels through the Empire of Morocco. By John Buffa, M. D. &c." 8vo. We have still to learn much concerning this extraordinary people; yet the author before us has added considerably to our stock of knowledge, and as amply availed himself of the advantages resulting to him from having attended, in his medical capacity, his Moorish Majesty, and his principal Sultana, as well as several of the Moorish grandees at Fez: he took an opportunity of travelling to Morocco, and still further south; and the volume before us contains the fruit of his observations. The whole is agreeably, and, we believe, accurately, drawn up, and the map that accompanies it is a useful and valuable index.

"History of Brazil: by Robert Southey. Part I." 4to. There are few writers so rapid as Mr Southey; and still fewer that write so rapidly who write so well. The author is richly qualified for the task he has undertaken, by his knowledge of the Portuguese language, of which he has already given the public sufficient proofs: he is also qualified in another sense, we mean in being in possession of a variety of original MSS. which he affirms to be of very high importance to the illustration of Brazilian history; but which, in the volume before us, do not seem to be had recourse to. The following extract from his preface will put the reader into full possession of the author's scope, and general pretensions. "Something more than the title promises is comprised in the present work. It relates the foundation and progress of the adjacent Spanish provinces, the affairs of which are, in latter times, inseparably connected with those of Brazil. The subject may, therefore, be considered as including the whole tract of country between the rivers Plata, Paraguay, and Orellana (or the Amazons), and extending eastward, towards Peru, as far as the Portuguese have extended their settlements, or their discoveries. The only general history of Brazil is the *America Portugueza* of Sebastian da Rocha Pitta, a meagre and inaccurate work, which has been accounted valuable, merely because there was no other. There are many copious and good accounts of the Dutch wars. Earlier information is to be gleaned from books where it occurs rather incidentally than by design. Authorities are still scarcer for the subsequent period, and for the greater part of the last century printed documents almost entirely fail. A collection of MSS. not less extensive than curious, and which is not to be equalled in England, enables me to supply this chasm in history. The collection was formed during a residence of more than thirty years in Portugal, by the friend and relation to whom this work is inscribed, (the Rev. Herbert Hill,) without the assistance

ance which I have received from him, it would have been hopeless to undertake, and impossible to complete it." What the history of Brazil *may* be, hereafter, we know not; it is even at present rising into importance, and especially to the political and commercial interests of our own country. But hitherto its annals have been peculiarly meagre and repulsive, and they require all the present writer's powers to give them interest and impression.

The war in which we are engaged with the French government, and which might, at first sight, appear to be an effectual barrier against all knowledge of the French interior, has rather multiplied than diminished our acquaintance with it; so powerful is curiosity, in overcoming every species of difficulty and danger. The following is a catalogue of the chief publications that have reached us upon this topic in the course of the current year. 1. "Letters on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government, including a view of the Taxation of the French Empire. By an American, recently returned from Europe." 8vo. 2. "The Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte, including his Private Life, Character, Domestic Administration, and his Conduct to Foreign Powers, &c. By Lewis Goldsmith." 8vo. 3. "A Narrative of Three Years' Residence in France, principally in the Southern Departments, from the Year 1802 to 1805: by Ann Plumtre." 3 vols. 8vo. 4. "Real State of France in the Year 1809; with an Account of the Treatment of the Prisoners of War, and Persons otherwise detained in France. By Charles Sturt, Esq. M. P." 8vo. 5. "A Picture of Verdun; or the English detained in France: their Arrestation; Detention at Fontanbleau, and Valenciennes, Confinement at Verdun, Incarceration at Bitsche, &c. From the Portfolio of a Detenu."

Of all these, the first appears to be by far the most important. It is, in fact, a republication of a tract that appeared in the epistolary style at Philadelphia, towards the close of 1809: and is currently stated to be the work of Mr. Walsh, a gentleman connected with the legation from his own government to that of France. The person to whom the epistle is addressed is openly asserted to be 'a gentleman who enjoys the highest reputation as a statesman and an author,' both in Europe and America; and hence, were it necessary, it is no difficult task to decipher this gentleman's name. The writer affirms the letter to consist of mere hints, intended as the groundwork of a much larger work; and, consequently, we are called upon to make some allowance for the *disjecta membra*, the broken and desultory subjects of which it treats. He does not regard Buonaparte as the creator of the present state of things in France, but as the mere creature for whom the present state of things was previously formed by a catenation of facts, with which he was altogether unconnected. "The swing and impulse," observes he, "were already given. He did but move in concert with the regular march, and can scarcely be said to have outstripped the inherent alacrity of this system, which he was selected to administer. He has, indeed, adjusted all the parts, strengthened the springs, and monopolized the government of this colossal engine of conquest, with a degree of skill and energy, like that with which the Jupiter of the fable is said to have usurped and wielded the

empire

empire of Saturn. But he and his immediate predecessors were conquerors from necessity as well as choice. To disband the army would have been an act of political suicide, and was in itself utterly impossible. It was no less impossible to maintain them within the limits of the French territory." The seizure of Spain, he asserts, to have been long premeditated; but that the resistance of the Spanish people was altogether unexpected. He launches out into terms of the warmest enthusiasm on the constitution of the English government, the patriotic spirit of the English nation,—and their ardent zeal to serve and befriend every people on earth that is oppressed and deserves to be served and befriended: and believes that, if it were possible for England to fall a sacrifice to France, her destruction would be a death-blow to America. He condemns, however, the ostensible views with which the English ministry undertook to assist the Spanish cause, and, we believe, condemns them correctly: "In attempting," says he, "to rouse the moral energies of the country, they made their appeal to the prejudices of slavery and fanaticism, when in such a cause the soul of freedom, and a deep steady feeling of self-interest in the minds of the people, were the only auxiliaries fitted to supply the absence of skill and discipline."

Mr. Goldsmith, the author of "The Secret Cabinet of Buonaparte," should be qualified for communicating anecdotes concerning this extraordinary character, beyond what we are at present acquainted with, from his late situation in France; which was that of an intimate acquaintance of Talleyrand's, and editor of the newspaper published in English, called "The Argus," which, however, was soon suppressed, in consequence of its containing opinions offensive to the French chief. We are, in the main, induced to regard this political firebrand in a light as detestable as the present writer himself, but the history of Mr. Goldsmith is not altogether calculated to excite in us implicit confidence, in every individual incident he has chosen to relate. This writer was, a few years ago, one of those dissatisfied with the British government; and deserted to France in quest of a far superior degree of political felicity: he soon found, however, as all will find who take French professions literally, that the boasted liberty of that blissful paradise is little other than the horror of the house of bondage. Mr. G. was formerly a reformer: he now professes to be reformed himself: he has seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears. Being thus himself disabused, we see no reason, however, for Mr. Goldsmith's beginning to abuse others: "Lord Grenville," says he, in one of his notes, "never could have been *sincere* when he opened the negociations with Buonaparte:" but he admits, that throughout this work he has "not been sparing of his colours;" and we suppose the expression relates to the notes, as well as to the body of the work, to his own countrymen, as well to the enemy. The only difficulty is, that he has not supplied us with a proper prism to separate the colours from the substance, and to detect the quantity that is laid on.

Miss Plumtre appears to have enjoyed various opportunities of acquiring information concerning the present state of France at a distance from the metropolis: but she does not

not seem to have availed herself of them in any very eminent degree. We rise up from her three volumes almost as little acquainted with the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the country at large, as before we perused the first page. She is one of Buonaparte's warmest apologists, and in her particulars "respecting his early life," and her "general inquiry into his character," she acquits him of several of the most enormous excesses that a host of eye-witnesses of the highest respectability, have laid to his charge, and the world at large have done him the justice to believe, in consequence; and we now particularly allude to the massacre at Jaffa. This wholesale murder in cold blood, Miss Plumtre believes to have been impossible:—and therefore she does not believe it at all.

From Mr. Sturt's account, and the anonymous "Picture of Verdun," the English appear to have been most villainously imposed upon; but it appears also, that many of these impositions have been the result of their own imprudence. From both pamphlets we may collect, that General Wirion himself has been a bold and unblushing participant in the pillage.

The political productions of the year that relate more immediately to our own public concerns, may be arranged under three heads: those that respect the state of affairs in India, the Catholic question, and the scarcity of coin, and general question of finance.

The chief publications on the late disturbances in India, are the following: 1. "Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Dissensions at the Presidency, founded on Original Papers and Correspondence." 2. "Account of the Origin and Progress of the late Discontents of the Army on the Madras Establishment." 3. "Statement of Facts delivered to the Right Hon. Lord Minto. By William Petrie, Esq." It appears from these statements, that, in 1802, a certain monthly allowance, proportioned to their respective ranks, was given to each officer of the coast army, to enable him to provide himself with camp equipage; and that a monthly allowance was also made to the commanding officers of the native corps, for the provision of the camp equipage of these corps. This arrangement was called the *tent-contract*. The Madras government, not long since, thought this allowance an unnecessary expenditure; Colonel Munro, the quarter-master-general, was directed to report upon it; and his report not only acknowledged it to be needlessly expensive, but most unwisely charged the officers with having taken advantage of it for sinister purposes. The officers indignantly demanded of the commander-in-chief, General Macdowal, that Colonel Munro should be put on a court martial, for a libel upon their conduct: General Macdowal at length consents: Munro is arrested; the governor, Sir George Barlow, most indiscreetly interferes upon application from Munro to this purpose, and he is set at liberty. General Macdowal reprimands Col. Munro for his unmilitary application to the civil power: and Gen. Macdowal is now abruptly deprived of his command: a great multitude of most excellent officers who had waited with him, or had been a party to the demand of a court martial on Colonel Munro, are suspended or deprived of their commands: the whole native army, consisting of eighty thousand men, is thrown,

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Real Cause of the Depreciation of the National Currency explained, &c." 7. "An Exposé of the present Ruinous System of Town and Country Banks, and a Sketch of a Plan for an Establishment of District Banks. By a British Merchant." We have here five vigorous assailants, and only one solitary defender of the Bank Note System. Yet the very different grounds taken by the assailants, obviously prove that the question is by no means settled in the opinion of the public, notwithstanding that it has been at least *temporarily* settled in parliament, by the rejection of Mr. Horner's resolutions upon the "Report of the Bullion Committee."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Etymology, Grammar, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

WE have received the first and second parts of the Philosophical Transactions for the current year; and the articles of which they consist are the six following:—I. "The Crooninian Lecture, by W. Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." This is a more desultory and unconnected, and in many respects a less elaborate paper than has lately been presented to the world under the title it bears. "I am aware," observes Dr. W. "that the remarks which I have to offer on the present occasion, may be thought to bear too little direct relation to each other for insertion in the same lecture; yet any observation respecting the mode of action of voluntary muscles, and every inquiry into the causes which derange, and into the means of assisting the action of the heart and blood vessels, must be allowed to promote the design of Dr. Croone, who instituted these annual disquisitions." And, accordingly, the writer proceeds to discuss three distinct subjects connected with his general survey; and of these the lecture before us consists: part 1, being "on the duration of muscular motion:" part 2, "on sea-sickness:" part 3, "on the salutary effects of riding, and other modes of gestation." The observations are neatly drawn up; but we do not perceive any thing of peculiar novelty or importance to detain us by a detailed examination of them. "The Bakerian Lecture for 1809, on some new electrochemical researches on various objects, particularly the metallic bodies, from the alkalies and earths, and on some combinations of hydrogen. By Humphry Davy, Esq." This paper is divided into five sections: the first is a brief introduction: the second contains "some new experiments on the metals from the fixed alkalies;" the chief object of which is to confirm the author's theory in respect to potasium and sodium, as being simple substances in opposition to that of M. M. Gay Lusac and Thenard, who have asserted them to be compounds of their respective alkalies and of hydrogen. This assertion Mr. Davy shortly noticed in his paper on the same subject, introduced into the volume of the Philosophical Transactions for the preceding year; he returns to it more in detail in the section before us, and if he do not sufficiently establish his first doctrine, completely refutes that of his tagonists. The third section tains "Experiments on nit ammonia, and the amalgam ammonia." These are very being decisive; and, to extent, seem rather to bri to the old idea that a simple elementary sub a compound either of hydrogen. Section the metals of [illegible]"

ments here detailed, so far as they go, advance the doctrine of the metallic origin of the earths, but they only advance it. The fifth section is entitled "Some Considerations of Theory illustrated by new facts." The general object aimed at by these observations is the establishment of the doctrine, that "hydrogen is a protoxyd of ammonium, ammonia a deutoxyd, and nitrogen a tritoxyd of the same metal," by which means "the theory of chemistry would attain a happy simplicity, and the existing arguments would harmonize with all the new facts." Upon the whole we here meet with another retrograde march towards the antiphlogistic theory, hydrogen being here considered, or at least hinted at, as the principle of inflammability, as well as the cause of metallization.

Whilst we are upon the subject of the electrochemical experiments of Mr. Davy, we shall step forward to article XIV., in which we meet with another and still more important paper upon the same subject. It is entitled "Researches on the Muriatic Acid, its nature and combinations; and on the Elements of the Muriatic Acid. With some experiments on sulphur and phosphorus, made in the laboratory of the Royal Institution." When Scheele produced his wonderful discovery of the oxymuriatic acid, he considered it as muriatic acid freed from hydrogen; and regarded common muriatic acid as a compound of hydrogen and oxymuriatic acid: and on this theory, he denominated oxymuriatic acid, dephlogisticated muriatic acid, hydrogen being the phlogiston of this acute and indefatigable chemist. M. Berthollet, a few years after the discovery of Scheele, made a number of important and curious experiments on this body; and concluded that it was composed of muriatic gass and oxygen; hence arose the name it bears at present, and the doctrine which for the last twenty years has been almost universally adopted. Dr. Henry, in an elaborate series of experiments, made with the view of decomposing muriatic acid gass ascertained that hydrogen was produced from it by electricity; but he ascribed it to the water contained in the gass. The general tendency of the very valuable paper before us, is to re-establish the original theory of Scheele in opposition to that of the French chemists. We cannot copy the experiments referred to, nor even the general chain of reasoning that accompanies them; but shall briefly remark in the words of Mr. Davy himself, that "it is evident from this series of observations that Scheele's view (though obscured by terms derived from a vague and unfounded general theory) of the nature of the oxymuriatic and muriatic acids, may be considered as an expression of facts: whilst the view adopted by the French school of chemisty, and which, till it is minutely examined, appears so beautiful and satisfactory, rests, in the present state of our knowledge, upon hypothetical grounds."—"Few substances have less claim to be considered as an acid than oxymuriatic acid. As yet we have no right to say that it has been decompounded: and as its tendency of combination is with pure inflammable matters, it may possibly belong to the same bodies as oxygen. May it not in fact be a *peculiar* acidifying and dissolving principle, forming compounds with combustible bodies, analogous to acids containing oxygen, or oxyds, in their properties and powers of combination; but differing from them

them in being for the most part decomposable by water? On this idea muriatic acid may be considered as having hydrogen for its basis, and oxymuriatic acid for its acidifying principle. And the phosphoric sublimate as having phosphorus for its basis, and oxymuriatic acid for its acidifying matter." It evinces an approach, or rather a similarity towards oxygen in thus possessing an acidifying power; and in its flying off when electrized, in the Voltaic circuit, at the positive surface, at least when a solution of oxymuriatic acid in water was the substance experimented upon. It differs wonderfully, however, from the properties of oxygen in the curious fact, that "amongst all the known combustible bodies charcoal is the only one which does not combine directly with oxymuriatic gass." The remainder of this curious paper is devoted to a farther elucidation of some previous opinions advanced by the author upon the sulphur and phosphorus. In consequence of the extent of the new discoveries, and the still greater extent of the new views which such discoveries have opened in the regions of chemistry, Mr. Davy forcibly adverts to the imperfection of the modern chemical nomenclature. "It is in many cases," observes he, "connected with false ideas; and in a more advanced state of the inquiry, it will be necessary for the progress of science, that it should undergo material alterations."

III. Case of a man who died in consequence of the bite of a Rattlesnake; with an account of the effects produced by the poison. By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S. Our readers are well acquainted with the general features of this case through the medium of the newspapers. The man, aged 26, was bitten in the

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might destroy it when formed, was first suggested by Mr. Home. Mr. Hatchett hinted that perhaps magnesia might have the best chance of answering such a purpose, and Mr. Brande upon this double authority has employed it, and in a variety of cases which are here detailed with much apparent success. This paper is well worth attention.

VII. "Supplement to the first and second part *(parts)* of the paper of experiments, for investigating the cause of coloured Concentric Rings between Optic Glasses, and other appearances of a similar nature. By William Herschel, LL.D. F.R.S." The points chiefly aimed at in this elaborate article are the following: supplemental considerations which prove that there are two primary prismatic bows, a blue one and a red one. Illustration of the dependance of the streaks of both the bows upon the critical separation: and of the dependance of the rings seen in a prism in this state. Remarks on colours supposed to be produced by thin plates, or wedges of air. Experiments on the multiplying power of surfaces in contact which modify the form of prismatic appearances. Of the breadth of the streaks compared to that of the bows, and the cause why they must take up a broader space than the bows from which they are derived. Of the manner in which rays that are separated by critical reflection or intromission come to the eye.

VIII. "On the Parts of Trees primarily impaired by Age. In a letter from T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. to the Right Hon. Sir Jos. Banks," &c. &c. This is also a very valuable paper, though in some degree conjectural. It is well known that many old stocks will not bear when grafted, and even that some young stocks become cankered in the same manner. Whence this anomaly? The paper before us goes to prove that the infertility and disease do not in these cases proceed from the stock, but from the graft itself; and that the grafts of all old varieties grow progressively effete, and destitute of power.

IX. "On the Gizzards of Grazing Birds." The muscular stomach, or gizzard of graminiverous and granivorous birds have a near approach to each other, and differs essentially from the membranous stomach of carniverous birds: but grass food requires more powers of digestion than grain food: the paper before us points out in what these additional powers consist, being partly in the position of the muscles of the stomach themselves, and partly in a peculiar swell at the lower end of the œsophagus, in which the grass is first deposited, and which has a close analogy with the first and second stomachs of ruminating animals.

X. "Observations on Atmospherical Refraction as it affects Astronomical Observations. In a letter from S. Groombridge, Esq. to the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, D.D. F.R.S." &c. This paper cannot possibly be abridged.

XI. "On the Mode of Breeding of the Oviviviparous Shark, and on the æration of the Fœtal Blood in different Classes of Animals. By Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S." Skates uniformly produce their young from eggs hatched exterior to the body: in the shark genus, some species produce their young in this manner, and others hatch their eggs within the body. The paper before us examines accurately the mode by which this last phenomenon is accomplished, and the structure of the organs for this purpose. Some valuable

the aerostation of the shark's eggs, whether within or without the body; as also upon the aerostation of the viviparous fœtuses of other animals.

XIII. "On Cystic Oxyd, a new Species of Urinary Calculus. By Wm. Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." In a previous paper published in the present journal for the year 1797, Dr. Wollaston gave an elaborate account of five distinct kinds of urinary calculi which he had examined. To those five, he now adds a sixth, which appears to contain more magnesia than any of the rest, and differs from them in some other qualities.

XV. "Observations upon Luminous Animals. By J. Macartney, Esq. Communicated by Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S." A very curious, ingenious, and entertaining paper. Mr. Macartney traces a luminous organ in many kinds of insects, in some situated in one part of the body, in others in other parts. In the greater number there appears, however, to be no distinct organ whatever, and in all these the luminous matter is a peculiar fluid. He examines the property of this fluid, and evidently proves that it is neither electric, nor phosphorescent. He inclines to the opinion that light is not a substance *sui generis:* and that the animals that thus produce it, produce it by mere modification of the material elements that surround them. The animal which chiefly produces the luminous appearance of the sea on our own coasts, and perhaps every where else, is a minute species of medusa, perfectly pellucid, and which the author names Medusa Scintillans. He believes Peron's Pyrosoma to be a mere species of beroe.

XVI. "Observations and Expe-

son, M. D. F. R. S." Dr. Pearson continues his account of experiments commenced in the volume for the preceding year, and follows up the subject under the consideration of the simple and obvious properties of pus: the agency of the caloric upon it; as also of water, of alcohol of wine, and of acetous acid: and subjoins various experiments to distinguish pus from mucus.

"Asiatic Researches: or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History, and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia." Vol. X. This is a very interesting volume, and highly creditable to the indagations of its learned contributors. We regret deeply that our limits will scarcely allow us to do more than notice the heads of the eight articles contained in it. These are as follows: I. "Remarks on the State of Agriculture in the district of Dinajpur. By William Carey." II. "An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West: with other Essays connected with that work. By Capt. Wilford." "Essay V. On the Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India." III. "Essay VI. Part I. Chap. I. Of the two Trientadri, or Moun tains with three Peaks: one in t north-west, and the other in south-east quarters of the old C tinent. By Capt. Wilford." "On the Languages and I ture of the Judo-Chinese N By J. Leyden, M. D." V Account of the Trigon Operations in crossing the of India, and connectir George with Mangalor Lambton." VI. "A the Male Plant, which medicine generally

Root. By Dr. Berry." VII. "On Sanscrit and Prācrit Poetry. By H.T. Colebrooke, Esq." VIII. "Remarks upon the Authorities of Mosulman Law. By J. Harrington, Esq." Perhaps the most extraordinary of these learned dissertations is the former of the two contributed by Capt. Wilford His erudition is very extensive; but there is often a luxuriance in his fancy that prevents us from fully confiding in it. We observed on a former occasion, that the object of his preceding Essays was, that the Sacred Isles of the West were Great Britain and Ireland; and that the Bramins derived their religion from this quarter. His present object is to show that the Bhāgavat is comparatively a modern production, and many of the particulars in the life of Crisna taken from the life of Christ.

In the department of Biography, the year before us has been peculiarly rich. As first in respect of chronology, we shall begin with "the Life and Acts of St. Patrick, the archbishop, primate, and apostle of Ireland, now first translated from the original Latin of Jocelin, the Cistertian Monk of Furnes, who flourished in the early part of the twelfth century. With the elucidations of David Rothe, bishop of Ossory. By Edmund L. Swift, Esq." 8vo. This gentleman we understand to be the nearest collateral descendant in the male line from the family of the far-famed dean: and in one respect at least he is worthy of the alliance; for he appears labouring with most patriotic attention to benefit Ireland, by giving a turn and taste to the Irish people for literary composition, and by rendering more extensive the powers of the Irish press. As a work of curious antiquity we have also been highly pleased with the volume before us, and there can be no doubt that the warm-hearted and imaginative countrymen of the translator will be infinitely more delighted; for it is a mine of as wonderful and as absurd miracles as any book we have ever dipped into. Whether, upon this account, Mr. Swift might not have employed his talents in a manner still more patriotic, had he directed them to something useful rather than marvellous, we shall not stay to inquire. We perceive him to be admirably qualified for his undertaking; for his style is perfectly simple, and most agreeably shadowed with the dusk of obsoleteness: and he himself is somewhat more than half inclined to credit the wonders he records, and almost opens his work with the proposition that "it may be questioned if implicit belief be not at least as safe as absolute scepticism."

"Life of Torquato Tasso: with an historical and critical account of his Writings. By John Black," 2 vols. 4to. If variety of incident, perpetual change of fortune, and the alternation of sickness and health, of madness, melancholy and genius may be supposed to give interest to biography, the life of Torquato Tasso ought to be one of the most interesting upon record. Baptista Manso, the friend both of Tasso and of Milton, is suspected of having very unnecessarily grafted many fabulous stories into his life, and it was the object of the Abbé Pierre-Antonio Serassi to free them from those redundancies. Serassi, in a considerable degree, succeeded, and the present biography is chiefly founded upon his corrections. Mr. Black has, upon the whole, executed his task in a manner highly respectable to his taste and learning. Yet we have noticed various attempts

unworthy of a man of sterling abilities; and various incongruities in the more dazzling of his metaphors, which have not a little surprised us. A copious index is subjoined to each of the volumes; into one of which is introduced a long dissertation upon the talents of the admirable Crichton, which, in Mr. Black's opinion, have been very considerably over-rated.

"Historical and Critical Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch: with a translation of a few of his Sonnets." This is little more than a republication of a similar work, though on a smaller scale, which appeared in 1784. It is worthy of its new dress, and we can conscientiously recommend it to our readers. It is well illustrated with portraits and engravings.

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri: written by himself. Translated from the Italian," 2 vols. 8vo. This is the third Italian poet of whom we have received original or translated biographies in the course of the current year. If the self-biography before us, however, had never been written, the omission would have been equally advantageous to the fame of the author and to the world. Alfieri, even as he has described himself, was neither an amiable nor a truly great man. The short passage of his life appears to have been made entirely in the tempest of the passions: reason seems never to have guided the helm; and the vessel never sailed in a fair direction, except when vain-glory happened to be attracted to a praise-worthy object, by the hope of immediate or subsequent gratification. We see no disinterestedness, no magnanimity, in the character of Alfieri, unless the sacrifice of a smaller for- a greater pleasure can be mistaken for the one, or a haughty and supercilious pride be misnamed the other. Nothing in his boyhood distinguished him from the crowd of ordinary children; his youth was spent in idleness, frivolity and dissipation; and, which is truly disgusting, his memoirs present us with no apology or repentance for the continued and systematic immorality of his advanced years. It was not till the middle of life that he seriously attached himself to study. He had at this period written three tragedies in the French language; these he was now determined to translate into his mother-tongue; but the first thing he found upon a trial was, that he was unacquainted with it, at least for the purpose of writing it. He now laboriously set his hand to the plough, studied Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto, with indefatigable assiduity, for six months, and at the close of this period became master of their different styles. He was still less acquainted with the Greek and Latin poets; and had yet to put himself to school to acquire a knowledge of these languages. In the latter he seems to have been successful after severe labour for some years; yet never, we believe in the former. And it is this ass duity of application, and the spl did harvest that resulted from that is all of sterling value w we can gain by a perusal of th lumes before us.

"Memoirs of the Life o Daniel Huet, bishop of Av written by himself; and t from the original Latin, pious notes, biographical cal, by John Aikin, M. 8vo. The original of composed and Publish thor a few years bef

It furnishes, which, indeed, is a principal object with the respectable translator, a good basis for a literary history of the age in which Huet flourished; for as his life was protracted to a very late period, and he maintained an intercourse with all the literary characters of his time, there is scarcely a name of eminence on the continent between the years 1650 and 1710, concerning which we hear not some account. To this self-biography, however, as to the preceding, there can be little doubt that vanity, and a sense of self-importance were the moving springs: yet the Memoirs of Huet are less lively and interesting than those of Alfieri, though unquestionably they are less mischievous and immoral. They contain, in few words, a dull string of literary anecdotes, which we are persuaded Dr. Aikin would have worked into life and spirit, had he given us an original work founded upon their basis, instead of a mere version of the Latin text. The notes subjoined to every book are biographical and explanatory: they are a very useful supplement, and form, in many instances, the best part of the book.

"The Life of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray: compiled from original Manuscripts. By M. Z. F. de Bausset, formerly bishop of Alai, &c. Translated from the French, by William Mudford." 2 vols. 8vo. The materials for this life are peculiarly interesting: they relate in the first place to one of the most virtuous men, of the most sagacious preceptors, of the most enlightened politicians, of the most liberal philosophers, of the most pure and ardent christians that ever existed: they unfold to us the full excellence of his principles both in prosperity and adversity, and the extensive benefit they produced in the life and character of his royal pupil, the natural violence of whose disposition seemed, at one period, to render him proof against all moral subjection and reclamation. They are interwoven with the state of the French court, and of French politics, in a very busy and important era. But M. Bausset has not contrived to give that spirit and energy to these materials, which they are so capable of receiving: and consequently we cannot expect that a translation of a very dull work, (and dull in spite of its subject) should exhibit a liveliness not to be found in the original. We have made one or two important extracts from it in a prior department of the present volume.

"A History of the Political Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt, including some accounts of the times in which he lived. By John Giffard, Esq." 3 vols. royal 4to. 8l. 8s. and 6 vols. 8vo. 4l. 4s. The very extraordinary and highly-gifted statesman whose life is here offered, is entitled to a full and circumstantial detail of whatever relates to him, whether public or private: and it is possible that three quarto or six octavo volumes might not have exceeded the due bounds either of desert to the personage biographized, or of interest to the reader, had a degree of spirit and elegance pervaded them worthy of the occasion. Mr. Giffard, however, does not appear, in the work before us, to have aroused himself either consistently with his usual talents, or with the dignity of his subject. We are told that he was to have been assisted by a colleague, whose aid, from some reason or other, has been withdrawn. Yet we should rather have hailed this circumstance as a fortunate omen; for an intermixture of styles and

and of sentiments, could never have contributed to the integrity or perfection of the work. These volumes avow themselves to contain the *political* life of Mr. Pitt, and they affect to give nothing more: yet the *private* life of such a man must have afforded many an interesting and useful lesson, and we lament that Mr. Giffard did not make it compatible with his design to have broken, in some degree, into the *penetralia* of Mr. Pitt's domestic circles, and domestic hours: we would readily have sacrificed half, or even three-quarters, of the parliamentary and other speeches here asserted, but after all not duly authenticated, to have been given by other public orators, many of whom are scarcely entitled to such a name; and we could even have assented to have been deprived, for the same purpose, of many of Mr. Pitt's own speeches. As the work now stands, we can readily admire many detached passages, and give credit to the writer's assiduity in collecting so many important materials. But we cannot applaud it as a whole; it may be found a useful miscellany for some future historian, but an adequate historian of the life of Mr. Pitt is a desideratum yet to be looked for.

"Cead Leabhar na Gaoidheilge, &c."—that is, "A Spelling-book of the Irish Language, intended for the Instruction of Youth." We notice this little work as a great singularity. It is printed in London, avowedly for the Missionary Society, and apparently at the *expense* of the Hibernian Society. We had hoped that the very valuable and patriotic labours of this last-mentioned institution would have sufficiently succeeded before this time, to have been in a situation to produce a national grammar from a national press. Let the matter, however, be as it may, we rejoice that so useful a little work has even at length proceeded from any press: it does great credit to the patriotism, and, we may add, to the philological caution of Dr. Neilson of Dundalk, to whom, we understand, the world is indebted for its appearance, as it has been, indeed, for the appearance of one or two other works of a similar kind a few years before. It is formed on the model of the Spelling-book in use among the different branches of the English Sunday-school Society, and is well adapted to introduce a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures among the native Irish.

"Ve a e b i no Taheiti, e te Paron Mata Mua, &c."—that is, "The Otaheitan aebi (a, e, b) or Alphabet, with Otaheitan Readings, &c." We are greatly indebted to the indefatigable zeal of the Missionary Society for this, as well as for a variety of other pieces of barbarous, but valuable philology, which perhaps we should never otherwise have been in possession of. The word *Otaheite*, however, has now been so long and so generally naturalized, not only in our own country, but over Europe generally, that the attempt to alter it to *Taheite* will, we suppose, prove as little successful as that of changing Mahomet into Mohammed. It is an effo scarcely worth a trial: for t former is an established term, derived, perfectly adequate, and can never be mistaken. Th much reason for promoting a ledge of the Otaheitan tong it appears mellifluous in its is probably spoken with lit tion over all the Polynesi if not over what may be continental parts of Captain Cook was a finding that a

who was with him when he first approached New Zealand, was capable of conversing with the New Zealanders; and we have since had evident proofs that it is a mere variety of the same tongue that is spoken both at Tongataboo, and even at Papuan, or New Guinea.

Whilst we are upon the subject of the importation of foreign grammar and philology into our own country, we shall ask no apology for stepping forwards a little, in order to notice a vernacular version of works from one or two other Oriental tongues: and shall commence with

"The Ramayuna of Valmeeki, translated from the Sangskrit, with Explanatory Notes: by William Carey and Joshua Marshman." Vol. I. containing the first book. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* This translation, as being the first of a series of works on the same subject of *Sanscrit* literature, (for *we* must still write it thus) is of great importance on a variety of accounts. It is but an act of justice to state, that it owes its existence chiefly to the indefatigable zeal of the Baptist Missionary Society, for whose benefit it is sold; but that it has been undertaken under the express recommendation and patronage of the British government in India. Aware of the value of acquiring a full knowledge of the literature, religion, manners, and customs of the Hindus, Sir John Anstruther, the late president of the Asiatic Society, "indicated a wish to the Society of Missionaries at Serampore, that they would undertake the work of translating such of the Sangskrit writings as a committee, formed from the Asiatic Society, and the College of Fort William, should deem worthy of the public notice; and, in consideration of the great expense necessarily attending an undertaking of this nature, these learned bodies generously came forward with a monthly indemnification of three hundred rupees. In addition to this, the late president of the Asiatic Society, anxious for the advancement of Eastern literature, addressed a letter to the different learned institutions in Europe, soliciting their patronage to this undertaking." It was proposed to print the original of the principal Sanscrit works, accompanied by a translation as nearly literal as the genius of the two languages would admit, "particularly those that are held sacred by the Hindus, or those which may be most illustrative of their manners, their history, or their religion, including also the principal works of science." The Committee made choice of the Ramayuna of Valmeeki, to be the first in the series of translations. The reverence in which it is held, the extent of country through which it is circulated, and the interesting view which it exhibits of the religion, the doctrines, the mythology, the correct ideas, and the manners and customs of the Hindus, combine to justify their selection." The translators then proceed to inform us, that a strict conformity to the original has been the object constantly kept in view. "To this has been sacrificed, not only elegance of expression, but *in some places perspicuity*. A free translation would have been an easier task: but esteeming it their duty to lay before the public, not merely the story and machinery, but the imagery, the sentiment, and the very *idiom* of the poem, they have attempted this as far as the difference of the two languages would permit." We have been anxious to announce this most valuable and important undertaking to our readers. As to the story contained in the

the work immediately before us, a greater jumble of sublime nonsense never issued from any pen, or from any brain, in any hemisphere, or any age of the world. It cannot but serve to lower our high-flown fancies concerning Hindu poetry, and Hindu mythology, and in this respect may, perhaps, have a beneficial influence. The basis of the story is the birth, life, and adventures of Rama, who is an incarnation of the god Vishnu; who, in his early years, gave prodigious signs of that power which, in process of time, was to perform the most wonderful achievements. We have, however, a tiresome series of adventures before his coming upon the theatre of action; and the regular narration is afterwards strangely broken in a multitude of places, by a variety of episodes containing the adventures of other gods and heroes. We hail the work, however, imperfect and heterogeneous as are its materials; and we trust the plan will be rigorously persevered in, that the public at last may be enabled to form a due estimate of the value of Hindu literature.

"Ta Tsing Leu Lee: being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes of the Penal Code of China, &c. by Sir George Staunton, Bart." 4to. This is a still greater novelty than the preceding work: and is not only worthy of notice as containing a pretty full statement of the political, fiscal, ritual, military, and criminal law of the Chinese empire, but as constituting the first book that has ever been translated immediately out of the Chinese character into the English language. The original has been printed and published in Pekin, in various successive editions, under the sanction, and by the authority, of the several emperors of the Ta Tsing, or present dynasty. It fails chiefly upon the subject of religion, upon which we still seem to be in a considerable degree of darkness: and it is truly extraordinary that Sir George Staunton, in a note subjoined to the first page of the division on the ceremonial law, candidly admits that he does not know whether the Chinese worship the deity as one individual being, or as compounded of various beings of different attributes and powers. The established religion, however, be it what it may, is vested solely in the state. The emperor himself is the high-priest, and his state officers are religious ministers. The sect of Fo and Taotse are merely tolerated, as the Christians are; and the priests of the two first are prohibited from imitating the imperial rites, under a penalty of eighty blows, and expulsion from their own order of priesthood.

"The Conquest of the Miao-tsé: an Imperial Poem, Kien Lung, entitled a Choral Song of Harmony for the first Part of the Spring. By Stephen Weston, F.R.S. &c." 8vo. We cannot pay the same compliments to this work as we have don to the preceding. We did not e: pect by any means, however, have had to announce translati of two Chinese books in the co of a single year. We admir patient toil with which Mr. W has plodded through the po fore us, if poem it may be but cannot avoid lamenting time and his talents sho been so woefully misbest this imperial poem pres a fair specimen of Chin poetry, nothing is clea these people are even than they are painter nal poem is in rhyme don, is intended to

of recitative, slow, shrill, and plaintive.

"Herculanensia: or Archæological and Philological Dissertations; containing a Manuscript found among the Ruins of Herculaneum, &c." 4to. With a munificence worth of himself, the Prince of Wales purchased, a few years ago, the whole collection of papyri found in the ruins of Herculaneum. The labour of unfolding these, so as to retain a legibility of their characters, is immense: not less, however, than eighty have at length been rendered legible by the care of persons employed by his Royal Highness for this purpose. The MS. now printed, and which is one of them, is a second treatise on Music, by Philodemus, a former treatise by the same author, and obtained by the same means, having been published long since by Rossini. The dissertations that accompany this re-edited manuscript, relate mediately or immediately to Herculaneum, and are many of them truly valuable. They are ten in number. The chief writers are Sir William Drummond and Mr. Walpole.

"Specimens of Ancient Sculpture; Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman: selected from different Collections in Great Britain, by the Society of Dilettanti." Imperial folio; plates seventy-five; introduction pp. lxxxi. price 18*l.* 18*s.* This superb work is, upon the whole, highly creditable to the opulent and well-informed society from whose bosom it proceeds. It is composed of figures, or heads, with a few basso-relievos intermixed, all arranged in chronological order, as far as can be estimated; the leading intention of the work being to exhibit the various styles of art in ancient times, according to its progress, its maturity, and its decay. Part of these curious and valuable antiques are from marble, and part from brass: many of them are highly interesting; and the learned world is obliged to the industry which has collected and communicated them in this assemblage, and to the appropriate observations by which they are illustrated. A considerable portion of the *introduction* before us is occupied with an account of the composition of the Roman military power, and the distribution of the army into ranks, according to the difference of age, strength, and merit. The subject of the introduction to the second volume is, as we are given to understand, to consist in an investigation of the mythological meaning and language of the symbols adopted in ancient arts: a most important field of inquiry, and from which we may promise ourselves a very high treat, from the well-known abilities of the gentleman who, it is understood, is to furnish it. There are a few blunders, both in the plates and letter-press, in the volume before us, which ought by no means to have been suffered to disgrace a work that seems to have spared neither expense nor labour.

"General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland, arranged for the Piano Forte, &c. by Edward Bunting." Folio, vol. I. price 1*l.* 6*s.* We know not, and perhaps never shall know, how first the harp became introduced into the *sister isles* of the British empire, nor whether that of Wales is a derivation from Ireland, or that of Ireland from Wales. The writer before us embraces the former opinion. It is at least clear that the harps of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, possess one common origin, not only from the unity of structure evinced in this ancient instrument itself, but from the

through a long succession of ages. Though collected from parts distant from each other, and taught by different masters, the harpers always played them in the same keys, and without variation in any essential passage or note. This circumstance seemed the more extraordinary, when it was discovered that the most ancient tunes were, in this respect, the most perfect, admitting of the addition of a bass with more facility than such as are less ancient. It was remarked that their instruments were tuned on one uniform system, though the performers on them were ignorant of the principle." We have received great pleasure from this first volume of the Collection of Irish Music, and contemplate a renewal of the pleasure in the different volumes, as they make their appearance.

"A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford: containing an Account of the Studies pursued in that University." ---"A second Reply to the Edinburgh Review: by the Author of a Reply to the Calumnies, &c." The Edinburgh Review, in its xxxth number, selected an edition of Strabo, lately published by Mr. Falconer, at the Oxford University press, as a vehicle for expressing the contempt of its editor and his associates, in regard to the mode of education *generally* adopted at both the English universities, but *peculiarly* that in use at Oxford. The edition of Mr. Falconer, unquestionably, had its faults, but the university itself, as a body, was neither chargeable with the faults, or answerable for the edition. There were a variety of other errors, many of them of a gross and palpable kind, into which the reviewers fell in the course of this acrimonious diatribe: of all which the anonymous author of the "Reply," (we say *anonymous*, because, although his name is well-known, as he has not yet chosen to give it officially to the public, it does not become us to make a communication of it) has availed himself with justifiable, but temperate severity. This Reply was examined by the Review in the ensuing number, being the thirty-first, with a most violent ebullition of wrath and abuse: and to this examination succeeded the "Second Reply," from the same writer: in which he is at least as successful in every respect, as in the first. In reality, we have never seen a more finished piece of critical composition than these two articles contain; the triumph of the English universities has been complete, and it deserves to have been so. The Edinburgh Reviewers, like the public at large, have felt their inferiority: and have not ventured, and we may safely affirm never will venture, to examine the "Second Reply," which they have suffered to walk the area without an opposing lance or look.

"Extracts from the Diary of the Lover of Literature." 4to. In this work we have a little of every thing, for the writer is a man of extensive reading, and his Diary appears well stored with original observations. Whatever he has seen, or heard, or tasted, or smelt, or touched, becomes a subject of remark, and is treated upon in a literary manner. There is, consequently, no kind of connexion between the subjects: but the variety itself prevents languor, and the author's manner is calculated to maintain attention. We recommend to him, however, in his future lucubrations, a more rigid selection, and more original force of thought.

"Materials for Thinking: by W. Burder." 2 vols. 8vo. Every book pretends

seduced into it from the dignified stateliness of the trammels in which he has hitherto appeared. The evil, however, must soon become its own cure, for unless the public taste should be still more deeply depraved than we have any reason to apprehend it is, this *sing-song* of our modern epic poets cannot pass current much longer. It is unnecessary to offer any remarks upon the respective merit of the different styles, as we have copied pretty largely from each in a preceding department, in order that the reader may exercise his own judgment.

Our list of epic poems for the year closes with Mr. Cottle's "Fall of Cambria."

"Of Cambria and her valiant sons subdued
By the first Edward, England's lord, I sing."

Here we have regularity of metre, but great want of spirit: we do not think the subject a happy one, for divided as our affections are between the contending parties, we feel too much neutralized to possess that desirable enthusiasm of hate on the one side, and hope on the other, which alone can make an epic poem interesting. The versification is smooth; and as the author's genius seldom soars to high excellence, it is not often that we find it sinking into palpable degradation.

"The Sabine Farm, a Poem, &c. By Robert Bradstreet, Esq. A. M." It is sufficient to observe of this elegant little piece, that it forms a network for a series of translations from the different poems of Horace, descriptive of his villa and life: it was occasioned by an excursion from Rome to Licenza. The versification is neat, and the author has illustrated it by several engravings, which also are his own production.

"The Borough: a Poem: in twenty-four Letters. By the Rev. G. Crabbe, LL.B." This poetical description of the buildings and businesses, the history and events of a borough-town, is in Mr. Crabbe's best manner. There is a minuteness which we often prize on account of its truth and originality; but which we sometimes feel tired of, from its insipidity. Many of the stories interwoven into the piece are possest of a very high degree of interest.

"Epistles on the Character and Condition of Women in various Ages and Nations: with Miscellaneous Poems. By Lucy Aikin."—"Woman: a Poem: by E. S. Barrett, Esq." The first of these poems is historical; the second descriptive. They are both neatly written; but the former possesses most force, and at the same time most elegance. Miss Aikin seems to succeed less in her smaller poems, than in her principal essay.

"Poems by Mary Russel Mitford." This is a very elegant miscellany of minor poems. Miss Mitford discovers taste, genius, and facility of composition: and we have copied one or two of her best productions in a prior department of this work.

"Tales of Romance, with other Poems, including Selections from Propertius. By Charles A. Elton." We cannot speak in much commendation of this volume, after the very superior talents shown by the same author in his translation of Hesiod. Of the plays, romances, tales, and novels of the year, we can only give a brief catalogue; and few of them are worthy of even such a notice. Mr. Mengin has translated M. Luce de Sencival's "Hector, a tragedy, in five acts." We have received a ludicrous mock heroic romance, in verse, under the the name of "The Maid of Kenmore, or Platonic Love." We have also received "The Daughters of Isenberg,

Isenberg, a Bavarian Romance, in 4 vols. by Alicia T. Palmer."---"The Maniac: a Tale."---"Romance Readers and Writers, a Tale." "Rural Princes."---"The Prison of Montauban.' "Falconstei Count de K and Ordella. Daughter."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1810.

CHAPTER I.

BIBICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Containing a Sketch of the chief Productions of Germany, Spain, and France.

OTHER concerns than those of religion---tyranny intolerable, and misery goading almost to madness, military adventure, and commercial speculation, have of late overwhelmed the continent, and left it but little time, and we lament to add, apparently less inclination, for the practice of piety and the exercises of devotion. The books we have been able to collect upon this important subject, are the following.

"Geschichte des Religion Jesu Christi," &c.—"History of the Religion of Jesus Christ. By Frederic Leopold, Count of Stolburg, vol. V." 8vo. pp. 690. Hamburg. We are glad to see this work continued, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, and the decline of German literature. The volume before us contains the usual merits, and the usual defects of those that have preceded it. There is too much minuteness, and too little animation. It comprises the history of the Christian religion, from the birth of our Saviour to our own day; and is accompanied with three memoirs: 1. On the Double Genealogy of Jesus Christ. 2. On the Passover. 3. On the Demoniacs. If we have not always entered into the author's views in the course of his argument, we have at least been pleased with his liberality. The volume is illustrated by a map of Judea, while under the Roman government.

"Lehrbuch der Christlichen Religion, &c."--"Elements of the Christian Religion. By M. Cannabich." Chiefly and usefully designed for the lower classes of the author's countrymen: and with this view compiled in a plain, popular style, and admirably calculated for the important object at which it aims.

"Parabeln:"—"Parables by F. A. Kramachen, D.D. and Professor of Divinity in the University of Duisburg." 2 vols. 8vo. Duisburg. These parables are of unequal value: the characters are chiefly taken from Scripture history, and, where these are introduced, the Scripture expressions are generally imitated. The author is evidently a man of talents, of fine feeling, and of acute observation: but the desire of being sentimental

sentimental is in many cases too obvious; and the emblems are often far-fetched and unnatural.

"Contemplacion de la Vida de Nuestro Senor Jesu Christo, &c." "Meditations on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ; from the Conception to the Ascension: composed by S. Buenaventura, to assist Devout Minds by the means of Contemplation." There is much ardour and seriousness exhibited in this work: but it is rather calculated for a Catholic than a Protestant meridian.

"Analyse de l'Ecriture Sainte, &c."—"Analysis of the Holy Scriptures: by B. de Battiere." 12mo. A considerable portion of very useful matter is crowded into this little work: such as the names, and genealogies of the sacred writers; a variety of important etymologies; an epitome of the principal æras, reigns, and actions; examples for persons in every state of life; the triumphal and other songs of the patriarchs; premonitions towards a right understanding of the sacred books; and a brief recapitulation of the history of the Old Testament.

"Les Vues de la Religion Chrétienne et Catholique, &c."—"Views of the Christian and Catholic Religion. By the Abbé Germain." 8vo. Paris. This volume is chiefly designed for young persons; and is formed upon a very excellent plan, proposed by Pascal. It appears to be drawn up with liberality, and a careful attention to the subject.

"Devotions à l'Usage des Familles, &c."—"Devotional Effusions for the Use of Families. By J. Martin, Pastor of the Church of Geneva." 2 vols. 8vo. Paris and Geneva. Well-digested reflections, in the form of a running commentary, on the chapters of the Old and New Testament; containing a chain of sacred history, of th
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(Bossuet) are triumphantly opposed to those of the archbishop of Cambrai (Fenelon.) The *ex*-bishop of Alai (M. de Bausset) has, indeed, ventured to give an eulogistic biography of the latter, and in some degree, at the expense of the former: but the general theme of those actually in clerical employment, or who are panting for clerical notice and preferment, is the excellence, the patriotism, the unrivalled eloquence and captivation of the latter; and his decided superiority to M. Fenelon. To the eloquence of Bossuet we are sufficiently alive; his fire, his force, his abruptness, his penetrating spirit, that pressed home to the heart, and led it away captive: but Bossuet was at the same time a courtier, an intriguer, a gross flatterer of his prince, and the supplanter of a man whose stern integrity was as much dreaded by himself, as it was by the licentious monarch whom his pulpit orations almost ridiculed by the effrontery of their panegyrics. Who can endure such stuff as the following, uttered by this orator in his funeral eulogy on the weak and sanguinary Le Tellier; "Warmed by these miracles, let our heart overflow with admiration of the piety of Lewis! let our acclamations rise to heaven; and let us address this *new Constantine*, this *new Theodosius*, this *new Marcian*, this *new Charlemagne*, in the language of the six hundred and thirty fathers of the council of Chalcedon: 'You have confirmed the faith; you have *exterminated the heretics*; *this is the illustrious work*, the great feature of your reign. *Through you heresy is destroyed.* God alone can have wrought this miracle. *King of heaven! preserve the king of earth!*' This is the prayer of the church and its bishops." When this blasphemy was uttering by one of the first orators, and most learned polemics of France, this *king of earth*, who is, poetically at least, contrasted with *the King of heaven*, was ransacking every quarter of the globe for the means of administering to his lusts, and was exercising the enormous power of which he was possest, to the misery and ruin, instead of to the welfare and happiness of the world.

We are led to these observations from the publication of the ensuing two works now before us.

"Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire, &c."—"Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit: together with Panegyrics, Eulogies, and Dissertations. By Cardinal Maury, archbishop of Montefiasconc, and Cornelo, Member of the Imperial Institute, &c:" and "Le Genie de Bossuet, &c." — "The Genius of Bossuet, or a Collection of Sublime Thoughts, and beautiful Specimens of Eloquence, which are scattered through all the Works of that Writer. To which is prefixed his Eulogy, by D'Alembert. By E. Z. Author of the 'Spirit of Christian Orators.'" The author of this essay may well hold up the bishop of Meaux as his idol, and chief object of eulogy, for he has followed his steps both through evil report and good report. He is certainly a very able man, and a very excellent writer, if not preacher; he is also as warm a flatterer of Buonaparte as ever Bossuet was of Louis XIV.; and as Bossuet, who was chiefly raised into notice through the friendly hand of Fenelon, abandoned his patron, and opposed and trampled upon him as soon as ever he had an opportunity; so has cardinal Maury abandoned the Bourbons, after having been first introduced into the world under this dynasty, and having first signalized himself as the fervid

fervid champion of it, both in and and out of the pulpit. Bossuet was, unquestionably, a man of many extraordinary talents, but we can by no means subscribe to the hyperbolical praise bestowed upon him by this writer, when he asserts, that he was "in all the modes of composition which he invented or adopted, the greatest and most exquisite genius that ever adorned literature;" a man "who may be placed, with just confidence, at the head of all writers, ancient or modern, who have displayed in their greatest perfection the powers of the human mind;" and who, as he directly affirms, in one of his notes, possessed a proud superiority over Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Cicero, Tacitus, Leibnitz, Newton, and Pascal. 'In various other respects, this is an able work: the author commences with a good illustration of the eloquence of the pulpit; discusses the means of impressing conviction on an audience: the advantages of studying one's own powers, the mode of preparing oratorical compositions, the general plan of a sermon, its connexion with the text, and its progressive management. As he proceeds, he very fairly distinguishes between the eloquence of the bar, and of the pulpit; and draws an able distinction between the characteristic talents of Cicero and Demosthenes. He chiefly speaks of them, however, as pleaders or popular orators; nor does he seem capable of entering into the full spirit of the oratory of the senate: to have duly qualified him for which would have required a far deeper acquaintance with English history, and the English language, than M. Maury proves himself to be possessed of. At the head of the pulpit orators of France stands his idol, the bishop of Meaux: next to him I Massillon, w rival, and a st suet, and wh necessary to portion of h may not still an equal in t a servile imi ties that ch Massillon, he some degree present degr quence in Fr examine, in talents of de Vincent de pays due res passing to th land, shew l acquainted pretensions, rused a few inadequate I

The secon before us, "' opens with eulogy, in Meaux is ar warrantable and noble- Cambray, t ship to *his c trine!* The lousy, how this volume and we he what is gre lent. "Th his panegyr mous with thing is m tolled, or few person his claims We now," cited two o *sons Funeb sur l'Hist* which dis

genius, but do not give the full measure of his merit. He has written about fifty others, which lie buried in libraries, and all of which bear the marks of the genius that produced them." The author remarks of his "*Histoire des Variations*," that "in addition to the rigid reasoning that it contains, which confounded the most able defenders of Protestantism, and which is a *chef-d'œuvre* of discussion, it furnishes a great number of eternal truths, which do not depend on the interest of sects, but which are applicable to all times, and which are of the greatest interest, on account of the lively expressions with which they are clothed." It is sufficient to observe upon this subject, that this vaunted work has long sunk into complete oblivion: we are ready to admit that it was a work of spirit, but of spirit chiefly; had its argument been as triumphant as here contended, it would still have been in existence. The *Meditations sur l'Evangile*, are better entitled to the praise bestowed upon them; "all the authority of religion," observes the author, "all the energy of reason, and all the gentleness of persuasion, are here employed to lead men to the practice of virtue." He seems to have copied his opinion from Laharpe, who observes of the same work, that "it has not less of *unction*, of enthusiasm, and of fluency, than the *Letters sur la Religion* of the tender Fenelon; except that Bossuet constantly retains that tendency to the sublime, which was, on all occasions, natural to him. Had we time, we could equally amuse ourselves and our readers, by copying a variety of passages of forcible and eloquent writing, introduced into the present volume. We will make one extract only: "Man is vain in more ways than one. Those deem themselves the most reasonable who pride themselves on intellectual distinctions, such as the learned and the witty. In effect, they are worthy to be distinguished from others, and are the fairest ornaments of the world: but how insupportable are they when they become too sensible of their talents, and fatigue all ears with their deeds and their sayings! Because they know how to arrange words, to measure verses, and to round periods, they think that they have a right to be heard without end, and to decide on all things without appeal —O even tenor of life! Consistent manners! Regulated passions! Invaluable and just ornaments of human nature!—When shall we learn to prize you? Let us leave the men of genius to their disputes concerning words, to their commerce of praises which they barter with each other, to their empire over letters and fame. Their works are sacred things, and he who finds fault with a word in them, inflicts on the author a mortal wound. Thus vanity, which, at first view, appears to be only fantastic, becomes cruel and merciless. Satire soon oversteps its legitimate bounds, and from a war of words, passes to foul libels, or to accusations which outrage manners and characters. It is not regarded how envenomed are the darts, provided they are thrown with address; nor how fatal the wounds to honour, provided the thrusts are skilful."

"Histoire des Inquisition Religieuses, &c."—"History of the Religious Inquisitions of Italy, Spain, and Portugal; from their Origin to the Conquest of Spain. By Joseph Lavallée, Chief of the Fifth Division of the Grand Chancery of the Legion of Honour, &c." 8vo. 2 vols. This is in many respects a valuable

valuable work, and while it records a series of many of the worst miseries that have ever afflicted the race of man, it records also the triumphant fact, that these miseries at least are at an end. We rejoice most ardently in the fact, but we can by no means subscribe in the panegyric which is here offered to him that has accomplished it. "The Inquisition," exclaims M. Lavallée, "is no more! *humanity owes* this benefit to the greatest of heroes — The hero whose genius has vanquished this foe to science.—This blessing was reserved for the days of glory and heroism: it was decreed that Castille should receive it from the hand of Napoleon, the august kings Joseph Napoleon, and JoachimNapoleon—scattering knowledge, *benefit and new life*.—Napoleon, with a single word, has avenged heaven, monarchs, and men—he *has relieved the earth; let the earth bless him*. Spaniards! when your children read your history, all your public places will be covered with the statues of the hero who has given you vengeance and liberty!!!" The simple fact is certain, and, we trust, is established for ever. But it is also equally certain, that *humanity owes* neither this nor any other *benefit*, to the man whose mighty power has achieved it: for there cannot be a doubt in any part of Europe, or even of the world, that if it had not altogether corresponded with the personal views of Buonaparte, to have extinguished this hell upon earth, he would never have touched it with one of his fingers: and if ever a period should arrive, in which it may appear most advantageous to his own interest to re-establish the same power, we shall once more see it called into existence by the same fiat, and possessed of ten times its original force and, if possible hold, not thousands force of i same sava waged, in smallest re was form brave and shall once must *hear* and young distinction given whi de Citeaux during th who, whe him to k were to d an Albige God will naparte!— to bless k scourges i scribed as *life!* We vallée's se have beer panegyric he so ung fice of a well wor with grea timents heart.

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ing article we have pointed out *one* advantage, we believe, the *only* advantage, which the Catholic nations, *exterior* to France, have gained by the almost universal empire of the tyrant to whom they have so ignominiously submitted: in the article before us, we are called upon to notice *one* advantage; and, we believe, the *only* advantage also, which France herself has gained by this extraordinary dynasty. It suits the present interest of Bonaparte (who on a thousand occasions has proved himself to have no religion whatever) to promote a spirit of toleration to its utmost extent, and to give almost equal encouragement to the religion of Jews, Christians, and Pagans. Yet this very man, with that inconsistency which always attaches to vice, while he has been constantly tolerant (because he has never found it necessary to be otherwise) to every *licensed* mode of faith, has been in the most barbarous and tyrannical manner intolerant to the very faith that he professes, has robbed the acknowledged head of his own church of his power, has imprisoned him within the precincts of his own court, has wrenched off the jewels from his tiara, and has humiliated him into the office of a slave for his own sinister purposes. We learn, however, from the work before us, that since Protestantism has been allowed to shew itself openly, it has been found to exist upon a much larger scale than we had any conception of, or, as we believe, than the French court itself had any conception of. It appears also to be gaining ground very considerably; and unless any new persecution should shortly arise (a fact, in our own opinion, by no means unlikely) there is great reason to hope that in a few years France may be as much protestantized as, at least, the Protestant states of Germany; and be sufficient, from the force of numbers, to resist any attempt against its suppression.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMA

Containing a Sketch of the chief Production and France.

"GRUNDRISS der Anthropologie, &c."—"Elements of Physiological Anthropology: by G. Liebesh, M. D." 2 vols. 8vo. Gottingen. In the first of these volumes the author gives a general history or description of the human body, under the two divisions of *anthropo-history*, and anthropography; in the second he applies the different phænomena of life, sensation, reason, and the other internal senses and sensations: and to this branch of his subject he has given the name of anthroponomy. This last word is fair enough; to the second we have no great objection; but the first is intolerable.

"Darsteltung der Pferdearzeneikunde, &c."—"Manual of Hippionomy: or a Treatise on the Nature, Natural History, and Treatment of the Diseases of Horses: illustrated with an engraving. Gratz." 8vo. This is a useful work on that peculiar branch of veterinary science to which alone it makes pretensions. It is, in effect, a compilation from Welstein, Kersting, Tenneher, and other esteemed writers upon the subject; and, if we mistake not, might be worth translating into our own tongue, as a general result of German authorities.

"Abbildungen zur Anatomie der Insecten, &c."—"Anatomical Figures of Insects: published by C. A. Ramdohr." The two first numbers, conta
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plates. This system is now pretty well known over Europe: and especially since its analysis by a committee of the National Institute, which inclined to its doctrine of the origin and termination of the nerves, but by no means to its physiognomonical doctrines. The volume, or livraison, before us, contains a hundred and twenty pages of letter-press, and five plates.

"Journal général de Medicine, de Chirurgie, de Pharmacie, &c."—"General Journal of Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy, or Periodic Collections of the Medical Society of Paris: edited by M. Sédillot, M.D. Secretary-general of the Society." This respectable society has now existed for fifteen or sixteen years, and the present forms the thirty-first volume of its labours. The most valuable contributors appear to be M. Sédillot, M. Scarpa, M. Vanquelin, M. Portal, and M. Pradier.

"Flore des Antilles, &c."—"The Flora of the West Indies: or general History, Botanical, Rural, and Economical, of the Vegetables Indigenous in the West India Islands; and of such exotics as are susceptible of being naturalized in these islands. Described after nature; with coloured plates: published in numbers, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* each, containing six plates: by F. R. de Tussac, of St. Domingo. Paris." This, if executed, as it bids fair to be, will be found a very useful work to a variety of persons; and perhaps to more in our own country than in France; as, *at present*, we have a much larger concern in West Indian trade, and territory. The plants, so far as the publication has advanced, are so well described, that the planter may well consult it for the best mode of selecting and cultivating the plants in which he is chiefly concerned: the physician for the general nature, and properties, and description, of the numerous drugs furnished by this part of the world; and the artizan, as to the names, the kinds, species, and varieties of those trees that supply them with the woods, chiefly employed in Europe, for house-building, ship-building, inlaying, machinery, or dying.

"Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux, &c."—"Natural History of African Birds: by Francis Levaillant." No. 48. It is sufficient to observe, that this superb work is still in progress. Every number is printed both in folio and quarto, for the facility of accommodating purchasers; the paper belonging to both is fine satin vellum; the figures are both plain and coloured. The number before us contains six plates, with their explanations.

"Annalen der Physik, &c."—"Annals of Physical Science. A New Series, for the Year 1809, published by L. G. Gilbert." Nos. X. and XI. 8vo. with plates. Leipsic. These numbers contain rather useful and important selections from other journals, than original matter of much consequence. The most prominent writers who have been made contributors to them, are Leplace, Vanquellin, Klaproth, Patrin, Davy, and Nicholson.

"Taschenbuch für die Mineralogie, &c."—"Manual of Mineralogy: by C. C. Leonhard." octavo. Franckfort. This work is continued without any loss of spirit. Two volumes have preceded that before us, and an additional volume is announced to be published annually. Among the more valuable or interesting papers, we may reckon a "Description of Kammerberg, by Goethe: on the Individuals of the Mineral Kingdom, by Bernhardi: Mineralogical Observations made at Cracovia, by Haquet: Physiological and

and Geognostic Observations on Norway, by de Buch: and a glance at the present State of Mineralogical Science.

"Geographie de Strabon. Traduite du Grec en Français."—"The Geography of Strabo. Translated from the Greek into French." Vol. I. Paris, Imperial Press. 4to. This, upon the whole, is one of the best translations that has of late years issued from the Paris press, and is, in every respect, worthy of the patronage it has received from the French government. The text is not, indeed, always given with a critical comprehension of its meaning; but the general sense is not often materially disturbed; the version itself is striking for the simplicity of its elegance, and the whole is admirably enriched with illustrations and explanatory notes: and introduced by several valuable preliminary dissertations. It is the joint production of M. Coray, and M. de la Porte du Theil; both of them men of considerable literary eminence in France: the former remarkable for being a native Greek, whose real name is Koraes, born, if we mistake not, at Smyrna, and having as such cultivated his vernacular tongue, in its present state, more considerably than modern Greek has hitherto been cultivated by any one.

"Connoissance des Tems, ou des Mouvemens Celestes, &c."—"The Science of the Seasons, or of the Heavenly Motions, for the Use of Astronomers and Navigators; for the Years 1810, 1811: published by the Board of Longitude." We rejoice to see this most valuable work continued, and continued with so much exactness and spirit. Its first volume was proposed by Picard, in 1679, seven years after the completion of the Paris Observatory; it

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Abbate Bossuet. Tradotto del Francese, &c."---"A Course of Mathematics, by the Abbé Bossuet; translated from the French, and enriched with supplementary matter: by P. Andrea Mazzoni." 2 vols. 8vo. Venice. The mathematics of Bossuet are rather calculated for the beginning of the last, than the beginning of the present century. By the aids of M. Mazzoni, however, it will still be found a useful book, and its reasoning is correct and close, so far as it will apply.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITIC

Containing a Sketch of the chief Productions of land, Portugal, and Ita

"BIOGRAPHIEN Merkwürdigen Mœnner," &c. "Biographies of the most celebrated Personages of the Austrian Monarchy. By Michal Kanitsch;" volume I. 8vo. Graek. The term *most celebrated*, but ill applies to the greater number of persons who are here biographized: we meet with many names dragged back into the world from the dust of obscurity for the mere purpose, as it should seem, of serving to fill up a certain number of pages. The names here given, which are best known to the world, are those of Heipl, Luerwald, Puchen, Reinegge, Rutschman, and Tiller. If the work should be persevered in, the editor should be more cautious in his selections. "Heber das Ungrische Küstenland," &c. "Letters on the Shores and Coasts of Hungary: by Count Vincent Barthiany," 8vo. Pest. These letters were written in 1796, during a coasting voyage around the country described: they are in number fourteen: and commence with political and statistical observations on the commerce of the Adriatic; particularly on Finmi and Buccari; the former of which M. Kanitsch thinks might easily be converted into an excellent sea-port, and become of incalculable *advantage to Hungary*. We do not want the date to tell us that this account was written before the close of the last Austrian w to notice country, n ture, and closes witl of the vale

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burg," &c. "History of the House of Austria, from the time of Rodolphus Hapsburg to the death of Leopold III. By William Coxe. Translated from the English. By P. Henri." 5 vols. 8vo. It is only necessary to notice this instance of respect, which is fairly due to one of the most correct and indefatigable historiographers of our own times. The translation, so far as we have examined it, appears to be correctly given.

"Relation de l'Egypte per Abdolatif," &c. "Account of Egypt by Abdolatif, an Arabian physician of Bagdad;" &c. By M. Silvestre de Sacy, 4to. No man is better qualified for a translation of Abdolatif than M. de Sacy: he appears, however, to have availed himself very largely of the previous version of Professor White: though in his appendix he has added some papers omitted by the latter.

"Memoria Sulla Bussola Orientale," &c. "Memoir on the Mariner's Compass as used in the East, read at the University of Pavia; by Joseph Hagar. fol. p. 33. with a vignette and other plates of Pavia and Paris." Dr. Hagar who tried his fortune (we cannot say his *good* fortune) in England and France, is now professor of oriental languages in the University of Pavia. The same kind of oriental generalities which distinguished his *Chinese Elements*, and *Chinese Pantheon*, are exhibited in the work before us. It was known long before Dr. Hagar, or his ancestors to the third or fourth generation were born, that the Chinese mariner was acquainted with the compass and the use of the compass before the European. The present work suggests how it *might possibly* have been communicated as a discovery to other oriental nations, and at length to those of Europe. We cannot say this was *not* the method; nor has Dr. Hagar offered any thing like proof that it was.

"Precis d'Histoire Universelle," &c. "A Summary of Universal History, Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary, from the earliest period to the treaty of Schœnbrunn: translated from the German of the twentieth edition of J. H. Zopf: and continued on a more comprehensive plan, and augmented by a history of the French Revolution; with two Memoirs on the distinct races composing the inhabitants of Europe, and on the different religions that are professed by them." In 5 vols. 12mo. pp. 2030. Paris 1810. The well-known and ably-abridged Universal History of M. Zopf, who was principal teacher in the academy of Essen in Westphalia, and who published it about eighty years ago, chiefly for the use of his own students, is brought down to the present day, in the work before us, for it reaches to the battle of Corunna. Considering the influence so arbitrarily exercised over the French press, this work is entitled to the praise of liberality and candour. The notation of the pages is most awkwardly continued, without any break, from the beginning of the first volume to the close of the fifth.

"Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne," &c. "Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain. By Alexander de Humboldt;" the three first fascicles in quarto, with a geographical and physical Atlas in folio. Paris. Long before the present revolution in old Spain, Spanish America was assuming a high and distinguished character from the improvements which have been progressively introduced into

into its political, commercial, and even agricultural systems. But the events which have lately occurred, the actual transfer of the Portuguese government to the same quarter of the world, and the probable transfer of the legitimate government of Old Spain to its trans-atlantic settlements, give an interest to this portion of the globe which can scarcely be exceeded in any other part. The work before us is more extensive than Ulloa's, and is almost the only work upon which we can rely since Ulloa's time: it is drawn up by a philsopher, a politician, and a physiologist of very high and deserved merit, from actual observation, and is replete with the most valuable knowledge. In every part of Spanish America (for the publication glances at other parts than that of the kingdom of New Spain) the population appears to be prodigiously increasing; the working of the mines (here denied to be attended with the danger which is usually ascribed to them) has been of late greatly improved in productiveness; new roads have been extensively constructed in consequence of the growing prosperity of the internal commerce; and we are glad to find that even the slave-trade, though not from any principle of real humanity, has been in some degree diminished. This work has just been translated into our own tongue, and we shall of course have occasion to return to it in our next volume.

" Voyage en Grèce fait dans les Années 1803, 1804," &c. " Travels in Greece performed in the years 1803 and 1804, by J. L. S. Bartholdy," 2 vols. 8vo. These travels contain numerous details on the mode of journeying in Greece, and the Archipelago; a description

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chivalry, which was so advantageous to an era that would probably have been otherwise buried in barbarism. There is, perhaps, some truth in the following passage, and it may be worth while to contrast the spirit it describes with the tranquillity that results from the opposite spirit of the present day. "By mixing up religion and war in a whimsical kind of amalgam, our forefathers made religion sanguinary without rendering war humane: and, by fomenting our religious zeal against Mahometans and idolaters, they augmented the principle of hatred which had already divided the christian world. The step is very imperceptible from the persecution of infidels to that of heretics."

"Législation Hypothécaire ou Recueil Méthodique," &c. "Hypothecary Legislation; or a Methodical and Complete Collection of Laws, imperial Decrees, Advices of Counsellors of State, and Legislative Instructions on the New Hypothecary System, &c. By M. A. C. Guichart, Advocate." 3 vols. 8vo. This collection affords the advantage of presenting in a bird's-eye view a vast mass of different laws of different dates, scattered through a great number of volumes, and perhaps, young as the French revolution yet is, more difficult to be digested and reconciled than the whole range of English law, whether statute or common. The author takes a brief view, as introductory to the body of the work, of the history of legislation, ancient and modern, particularly in reference to the department of law more immediately before him.

"B. S. Nan's Grundsætze des Völkerseerechts," &c. "The Maxims of Maritime Law: by B. S. Nan." Hamburg. The subject is here examined historically, theoretically, and actually, or as it exists in modern practice. The author traces it from the times of Castor of Rhodes, the earliest writer on the subject, and who flourished under Augustus; he discusses the authority allowed to the Rhodian code by succeeding emperors of Rome; its sanction from the Vatican in 1075, and its general admission among the Christian powers. This he calls *natural* maritime law; reserving the term positive maritime law, or the law of states, to describe those, of a more limited and peculiar kind, which grow out of temporary relations, and specific treaties. He scrutinizes, and disapproves of the English "Rule of the war of 1756," under which neutral vessels are seizable if laden in hostile colonies: and proposes the establishment of universal courts of jurisdiction at Hamburg, Copenhagen, or some other place, as separate as possible from the parties concerned.

"De Landing des Engelschen in Zeeland: door J. Dykshoorn. Te Vlissingen," &c. "The Landing of the English in Zealand. By J. Van Dyskhoorn, Flushing." This is a well-written account by an eye-witness. It appears to be drawn up with impartiality. The governor of Flushing, Bonnet, might, in the author's opinion, have done more to obstruct the landing and attack of the English; and the latter might very successfully have pursued, *at one period*, their ulterior intention, and possessed themselves of Antwerp, and its fleet: or they might have marched a column of troops to Holland, at that time totally unprepared, and taken possession of the Dutch navy.

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" Les Voyages de Kang-Hi," &c. " Travels of Kang-Hi, or New Chinese Letters. By M. de Levis," 2 vols. 12mo. We cannot much compliment M. Levis on the characters which he has selected for those fictitious travels, which are those of a mandarin, and a Chinese female; the first of whom is never allowed to quit his own country, nor the last her own house. Yet his general satire on various European customs is lively and correct.

" Alphabet Mantchew," &c. " The Mantchew Alphabet, regulated according to the arrangement of Syllables; and Universal Dictionary of that Language By L. Langles, Conservator of the Oriental MSS. of the Imperial Library, Professor of the Persian Language," &c. One vol. large octavo. Paris. The Mantchew, or Tartar language, is acquired with almost infinitely more ease than the Chinese, and far more readily assumes an alphabetic arrangement: according to father Amyot, however, " there does not exist a single good book in the Chinese, which is not translated into the Mantchew." And hence a study of Mantchew becomes an object of high importance in a double sense, on its own account, and as a key to Chinese literature. The volume before us consists of three chapters, in which the writer discusses the utility, the origin, and the structure of this language; the formation of the Mantchew characters, and the twelve classes of the letters of the Tartar Mantchew alphabet. The alphabet here presented, was formerly published in 1789, under the sanction of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Letters; and consists of only twenty-eight simple letters, each of which, however, has two or three d
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of Plato to the present day. By J. J. Combes-Dounons, Ex-legislator," &c. 2 vols. 12mo. The author of these volumes is unquestionably a good scholar, and a nice and discerning critic. These talents truth compels us to concede to him. For the rest, the work before us is intended as a direct attack on christianity: and is conducted with a boldness that we should have suspected would long since have sent the ex-legislator back to the state-prison, in which it appears he was confined for fourteen months, during *the reign of terror:* had we not recollected that France is now become the most tolerant country in the world upon the subject of religion; and that, notwithstanding the catholic faith is officially professed and established, any man may say or do whatever he pleases against it, provided he pays his taxes, sends his sons for soldiers into the army, and flatters Napoleon. In more than one instance, however, we confess we have trembled while perusing the book before us, even on this last account: for it is a fact, that no French publication has reached our hands during the present dynasty, in which the author has dared to throw out such bold invectives against tyrants and tyranny. Perhaps M. Combes-Dounons may have saved himself by calling Lewis XIV. "a slave of Madame de Maintenon, and a puppet of the Jesuits," to whom, continues he, "these bigoted partizans, *the orthodox,* would vainly compare the hero who has astonished all Europe by his military success, and by the greatness of his soul."

"Peintures de Vases antiques vulgairement appellés Etrusques," &c. "Paintings of antique Vases, commonly called Etruscan; selected from various collections, and engraven by A. Clener: accompanied with explanations by A. L. Mellin," vol. II. folio. This very fine work is preceded by a general introduction to the knowledge of painted vases drawn up with taste and spirit. The volume before us contains five numbers; and justifies the character the preceding volume has acquired for those who are engaged in it. The subjects are well chosen, and the execution is in a masterly style.

Neither France nor Germany has produced any poem of the higher class in the course of the year before us that is worthy of being specially noticed. There is, however, a new and elegant edition of the complete works of Boileau, on fine paper, in three volumes, 8vo.; and M. Campenon, has given a new edition of his "Maison des Champs," materially altered from the preceding.

The theatre, among other pieces, has chiefly furnished in France, "La Supercherie, ou Elles veulent, et ne veulent pas." "The Deception, or they will and they will not: a comedy, in verse, in five acts: and "Les Projets de Divorce."—"Plans for Divorce," a comedy in verse, in a single act. The chief dramatic works in German are "Attila," a romantic tragedy in five acts, by L. Z. Werner. Leonidas, a tragedy in five acts, by Jos. Schutz: and a translation of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, by M. Kessler of Berlin.

"Il Calandrino."—"The Calender," a small poem. Padua. There is a considerable degree of wit and elegance in this little effusion, which is well known to be the production of Father Augustin Marie Mulia,

at Venice, learned Greeks are often to be met with. At these presses have been published, in the vulgar Greek, "An Epitome of Locke on the Human Understanding, του Κυριου Λοκκιου, as they call him, some plays of Metastasio and of Goldoni; the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; and Montesquieu on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire."

FINIS.

T. Bensley, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.